

# The Bader Collection

Dutch and Flemish Paintings

David de Witt

















# The Bader Collection







# The Bader Collection

Dutch and Flemish Paintings

David de Witt

Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada

This publication is generously supported by Alfred and Isabel Bader

Author: David de Witt, with additional contributions by Kristen Campbell,  
Franziska Gottwald, Raeme Lockington, and Volker Manuth

Project Management: Janet M. Brooke

Editors: Judith Terry and Donald Pistoletti, Montréal

Design: Rodolfo Borello, Associés libres, Montréal

Printing: Marquis Book Printing Inc.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Agnes Etherington Art Centre

The Bader Collection : Dutch and Flemish paintings / David de Witt.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-55339-094-7

1. Painting, Dutch--17th century--Exhibitions. 2. Painting, Flemish--  
17th century--Exhibitions. 3. Bader, Alfred, 1924--Art collections--  
Exhibitions. 4. Bader, Alfred, Mrs.--Art collections--Exhibitions.  
5. Agnes Etherington Art Centre--Exhibitions. I. De Witt, David  
II. Title.

N910.K45A53 2008 759.949209'03207471372 C2007-907485-5

Distribution: ABC Art Books Canada/ ABC Livres d'art Canada

[www.abcartbookscanada.com](http://www.abcartbookscanada.com)

Agnes Etherington Art Centre

Queen's University

Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 3N6

[www.aeac.ca](http://www.aeac.ca)

Jacket: Circle of Aelbert Cuyp, *Portrait of a Young Girl* (cat. 3), detail

© The Agnes Etherington Art Centre, David de Witt, 2008

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by  
any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information  
storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ..... 7

Introduction ..... 9

Catalogue ..... 15

Bibliography ..... 327





COMPOSING THE catalogue for a large collection of paintings entails the gathering of many facts and a great deal of visual material, as well as numerous scholarly opinions. I am grateful to the following people for their assistance during research for the Bader catalogue of Dutch and Flemish paintings: Thomas Döring, Franziska Cottwald, Ross Kilpatrick, Philip Knijff, Friso Lammertse, Volker Manuth, Charles Munch, Otto Naumann, the late Leonard Slatkes, Douglas J. Stewart, Anke van Wagenberg, Nicolette Sluijter-Seijffert, Ernst van de Wetering, Marieke de Winkel and Sebastian Dudok van Heel.

The staff members of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (Netherlands Institute for Art History) in The Hague not only offered their highly informed opinions on various problems presented by works in the Bader Collection, but also graciously helped by placing large quantities of material at my disposal, permitting the research to progress smoothly. My thanks go to Rudi Ekkart, Jan Kosten, Marijke de Kinkelder, Fred Meijer and Jasper Andriessen, and for assisting with photos, Elly Kluk. Back home in Canada, Peter Trepanier of the National Gallery Library facilitated access to the remarkably rich holdings there.

Visits to the galleries and storerooms of other museums played an important role in confirming or dispelling hypotheses concerning the attribution and dating of paintings in the Bader Collection. I am indebted to several colleagues for putting works in their collections at my disposal and sharing their museums' research. Their number includes Taco Dibbits of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam; Jan Nicolaisen of the Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig; Norbert Middelkoop of the Amsterdams Historisch Museum; Bob van den Boogert and Jaap van der Veen of the Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam; Martha Wolff of the Art Institute of Chicago; Quentin Buvelot of the Mauritshuis, in The Hague; Gert Elzinga of the Fries Museum en Prinsessehof, Leeuwarden; and Marcus Dekiert of the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

A variety of contributions, from writing to photography orders, were made by students and graduates of the Department of Art at Queen's University, mostly through the Internship and Practicum programs. My thanks to Raeme Lockington, Kristin Campbell, Victoria Pollard, Vanessa Nicholas and Amy Hall.

I am grateful to editors Judith Terry and Donald Pistoletti for taking on a project of such scope. Their work has made it a much better text. It was a pleasure to see Rodolfo Borello from Associés libres transform the mass of words and images into a distinctive, legible and engaging design. A debt of gratitude is also owed to my colleagues at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, especially Janet Brooke, Barry Fagan and Jan Allan, for their substantial support of this major undertaking.

Alfred and Isabel Bader have assisted the project in a number of ways, aside from providing the financial support that has made it possible. They helped vitally during the course of numerous visits and conversations by sharing the wealth of information conserved in their documentation files and in their memories. They also pointed the way to additional research avenues, ensuring that this catalogue is as complete and representative as possible.

Finally, just as Alfred Bader acknowledges his many scholarly friends and contacts for their help in building the Bader Collection – their role is discussed in greater depth in the introductory essay – so must I express my gratitude to them for the expert opinions that have shaped the content of many of the entries in this catalogue.

*David de Witt*

Kingston, September 2007



# For the Love of Paintings

PASSION OFTEN COLOURS student life, and so it was for Alfred Bader. He was first smitten by what was to become a lifelong love of paintings while studying in the Ph.D. chemistry program at Harvard, where his imagination was captured by the lectures in art history he attended on the side. Over the subsequent six decades he has had the good fortune to be able to act on this passion by becoming a collector of paintings. In so doing, he has remained loyal to those initial lectures' focus on 17th-century Dutch painting, and on Rembrandt in particular. Moreover, the aura of academia has never faded, still perceptible in his appetite for exchanging opinions and ideas with scholars of art history. Alfred Bader shows an unusual bent for problematic works that are – or could be – the object of academic debate. He thrills at the prospect of discovering previously unrecognized paintings and thus making new contributions to the field. Engaging directly with the academic world, he and his wife Isabel have endowed chairs and fellowships at Queen's University, his alma mater. Crowning this effort will be the formation of the Bader Collection at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, consisting of the over 130 paintings that the Baders have donated to date and of the over 130 paintings from their private collection that will come to the University as a bequest. Once complete, the collection will embody the fused aims of enjoyment and knowledge, bearing the stamp of the vivid personal experience of art that has motivated its assembly. This catalogue presents the core of the Bader Collection, its Dutch and Flemish paintings.

As Alfred Bader often emphasizes, his taste in art did not come from home or family. His grandparents on his mother's side were Count and Countess Serényi, and his paternal grandfather was knighted Ritter von Bader by Emperor Franz Josef, for diplomatic services to the Austrian state. Alfred's father, also Alfred, was a Jewish antique dealer active in Vienna and Munich, but he played no role in his son's life, having met an early (and suspicious) death in 1924, when his son was only two weeks old. The infant was then adopted by his father's sister, Gisela Reich, who also lived in Vienna. Alfred Bader retains memories from his early childhood years of walls lined with paintings, but unfortunately the works were mostly examples of the third-rate genre and landscape scenes in the Romantic tradition that were common in Vienna at the time. He sometimes explains his later inclination toward Rembrandt's sober, robust mastery as a reaction against these weak and sentimental images.

The events of 1938 separated Alfred irrevocably from this early world. After the *Anschluss* and the infamous *Kristallnacht*, Gisela sought a safe haven for her son in England. At fourteen Alfred took leave of his family and his homeland, departing on the first of the famed *Kindertransporte*. With the arrival of his sixteenth birthday, however, he was rounded up by the authorities as an enemy alien. By this time war had broken out, and the British government feared a "fifth column" that would assist a German invasion. In 1940, the youth was shipped as a prisoner of war with a group of German and Austrian Jews to an internment camp at Fort Lennox, on Île aux Noix, Quebec.



Poorly housed and harshly treated at first, the Jewish internees were eventually recognized as refugees and their conditions improved. They were permitted to write university entrance exams and to leave the camp for host families. It was Martin Wolff of Montreal, son of the boy's sponsor in England, who welcomed Alfred into his family. Alfred was so eager to apply to McGill that he and his new protector visited the campus on his first day of freedom. But it was already November, and the university's annual Jewish quota had been filled. He was told to reapply the following year. When his application to the University of Toronto was also rejected, Wolff encouraged Alfred to approach Queen's, where his daughter Rosetta had studied. The registrar there, Jean Royce, willingly accepted the young refugee. Despite a late start, he eventually advanced to the top of the class in his chosen field, engineering chemistry. This student milieu, enriched by membership in the soccer and debating teams, participation in Hillel Society activities and regular dances, was remarkably different from the world he had left behind in Vienna.

During Alfred's years at Queen's, the University did not offer any formal training in art history. Since 1936, however, it had been hosting artist-in-residence André Biéler, a charismatic Swiss-born modernist painter who would settle in Kingston and develop close ties to one of its keenest promoters of the arts, Agnes Etherington (née Richardson). In 1954 she bequeathed her residence for the founding of an art centre. Biéler would become the first director of the centre named in honour of Agnes Etherington, where he taught art classes, and during the following decade the University's first courses in art history were also offered there. These eventually grew into a full program, up to the doctoral level, which is housed today in nearby Ontario Hall.

This was all too late to benefit Alfred, who first encountered the discipline of art history at his next academic address, Harvard University. The two years he spent there, 1947-1949, were devoted principally to the completion of his Ph.D. in chemistry. Even so, he managed to attend a few art history lectures given by the renowned and inspiring scholar of 17th-century Dutch art Jakob Rosenberg (1893-1980). Rosenberg, another Jewish refugee from the Nazis, had left his position at Berlin's Kupferstichkabinett (Museum of Prints and Drawings) in 1936 to teach at Harvard, where he was ultimately awarded a professorship. His highly-respected two-volume monograph on Rembrandt, published in 1948, underwent numerous reprints and had a lasting impact. It illustrated two paintings that Alfred Bader later acquired. Rosenberg's interest in a second giant of Dutch Baroque art, the landscapist Jacob van Ruisdael, on whom he had published an earlier monograph, also struck a chord with the young chemist, who would go on to collect three paintings by this master.

A great passion for art had thus taken hold. It soon manifested itself in Alfred Bader's first purchase of an Old Master painting: a panel entitled *A Man Surprised* (cat. 53), executed in the manner of the Flemish genius of genre painting Adriaen Brouwer, which he came upon in 1951 during a visit to the Paul Drey Gallery in New York. This picture, in fact one of the most striking works by

Brouwer's pupil Joos van Craesbeeck, is an adaptation of the self-portrait that Brouwer incorporated into his painting *The Smokers* (fig. 53a), now in New York's Metropolitan Museum.

By 1950, his Ph.D. completed, Alfred Bader had taken up a position with the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company in Milwaukee. In 1951 his employer allowed him to start his own firm, the Aldrich Chemical Company. Working with a partner in his free time, in a rented garage, he offered at the outset only a single chemical. He left PPG in 1954, and by 1955 he was on his own. Aldrich rose quickly, buoyed by the healthy sales of its range of fine organic chemicals aimed at the needs of researchers in academia and industry, who until then had had access only to the limited products and services offered by the giant Kodak. In 1975 Aldrich merged with the biochemical firm Sigma, and today the presence of Sigma-Aldrich catalogues in nearly every chemical laboratory in the world attests to this company's impact and success.

Alfred Bader's numerous visits over the years to chemists and suppliers took him to the great market centres for historical European art – New York, London, Amsterdam, Vienna and Munich – putting him in an ideal position to search for paintings. He bought the beautifully understated still life by Pieter Claesz. (cat. 50) for a modest price in 1954, from a dealer in England. A few years later, in 1959, he was able to buy his first painting attributed to Rembrandt – the *Scholar by Candlelight* (cat. 164) – through contact and correspondence with the owner in Vienna. Significantly, his early acquisitions include works by Jacobus Vrel (cat. 193, purchased in 1953) and Constantijn Verhout (cat. 189, purchased in 1960). The fact that both these artists' works, though little known at that time, are now highly prized confirms the budding collector's considerable discrimination and insight. Already in these purchases the pattern of taste was established: a liking for modest, sober presentation, combined with a penchant for the human figure and a palpable emotional undertone. By the early 1960s Alfred Bader had seen hundreds of paintings and had bought a few works that he would keep, along with some that he would sell on. The surviving acquisitions from this first decade of collecting attest to a marked selectivity, reflecting their owner's academic exposure but also his still limited means during these years. Only later would he start in earnest to fill up the walls of the Milwaukee home he purchased in 1957.

In 1952 Alfred Bader married Helen (Danny) Daniels, and their first son, David, was born in 1958. Both David, who pursued architecture, and his brother Daniel, who studied business, have followed their father's interest in art according to their own taste and inclination. Two paintings from the collection are not being bequeathed to Queen's University but are gifts to the collector's sons: the as-yet anonymous *Joseph and the Baker* (cat. 6), chosen by David (and the collector's own favourite), and Rembrandt's *Study of the Head of an Old Man with Curly Hair* (cat. 162), Daniel's selection.

By the early 1960s the pace of collecting had increased considerably, as Aldrich prospered. Alfred Bader consolidated his strategy of pursuing unrecognized talent and achievement, as



opposed to collecting names that were already famous – and expensive. Verhout and Vrel were joined by Jan van Noordt, whose highly expressive and dynamic style draws from both Rembrandt and Jacob Jordaens. Alfred Bader even started buying paintings without secure attributions, on the basis of their quality alone. For example, *Vanitas Still Life with a Calendar and Musical Instruments* (cat. 63) and *Head of a Young Woman* (cat. 41), purchased in 1965 and 1967 respectively, confounded art historians for many years before convincing attributions were proposed. Depending increasingly on his visual memory and powers of discrimination, the collector regularly bought paintings lacking signatures or monograms, whose authorship was evident to him from their style and quality. The exquisite little *St. Christopher* by Cornelis van Poelenburch (cat. 151), acquired in 1964, is an example.

But Alfred Bader was not relying solely on a combination of bravado and discernment. He enjoyed meeting and corresponding with art historians, discussing the problems he encountered. The names of over seventy established scholars appear in the letters dating from 1951 to the present that are kept in the collection files. In the years 1951–1953, after making his first acquisition – the Van Craesbeeck – the young chemist consulted Jakob Rosenberg and Ulrich Middeldorf (1901–1983), professor at the University of Chicago, concerning its attribution, which at the time still rested with Adriaen Brouwer. In addition to exercising caution, Alfred Bader was learning, building on his limited exposure to academic art history at Harvard through contact with reputable scholars. He credits Middeldorf, whom he visited every summer in Florence, with helping most to sharpen his eye for quality. His approach to collecting art paralleled his activity as a research chemist in his own company: working frequently with outside specialists, he drew regularly on their opinions and gradually built up a formidable network of important contacts.

With further travel and the ongoing pursuit of works of art, the collector's circle of art historian friends widened. When, in 1960, he acquired Constantijn Verhout's genre-like portrait from the Montreal scholar-dealer Max Stern (1904–1987), he was encouraged by the Munich specialist Walther Bernt (1900–1980) – well known for his multi-volume surveys of 17th-century Dutch and Flemish art – and he would remain in regular contact with Bernt and his wife Ellen (1913–2002), who worked as a team. The German-Dutch art historian Horst Gerson (1907–1978), head of the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) for several decades, helped the young collector obtain literature on this portrait, which had already been described in 1938 by Abraham Bredius (1855–1946) as the finest surviving example of Verhout's rare art.

The assistance of such renowned specialists bolstered Alfred Bader in his initial, audacious forays into the Rembrandt school. After his 1959 acquisition of the *Scholar by Candlelight*, he became interested in 1962 in another painting assigned to Rembrandt, the *Quill Cutter* (cat. 107), but this time with a greater sense of trepidation. The work's large figure scale and hatched execution spoke against its ambitious attribution. Bader consulted with Jakob Rosenberg and his younger colleague at

Harvard, Seymour Slive, who had been Middeldorf's student in Chicago, both of whom rejected the work as a Rembrandt. He purchased it nonetheless, at a lower price, and continued to seek scholarly opinion. The Bernts suggested Karel van der Pluym as a possible author, and this opinion was seconded by Werner Sumowski – a scholar specializing in the Rembrandt school – in his initial contact with the collector in 1971. Ten years later, cleaning would reveal a monogram identifying the artist as Paulus Lesire, an early Rembrandt pupil from Dordrecht. Lesire's name was by then already familiar to Bader, for this artist's monumental signed painting entitled *Tobias Healing His Father* (cat. 108) had entered the collection in 1967. With discoveries like this early example of Lesire's work, Alfred Bader has been able to make his own contribution to research on the Rembrandt school.

Late in the 1960s Bader made the acquaintance of another luminary, Wolfgang Stechow (1896–1974), a German émigré of Protestant and Jewish background who had been forced by the Nazis to abandon his professorship in Göttingen. Despite his stature as a scholar of wide-ranging expertise, established through books and numerous articles published in various fields, he did not pursue a glamorous post at an Ivy League school but spent the remainder of his career (1940–1963) teaching at Oberlin College, a small liberal arts college near Cleveland with an outstanding music department – a circumstance that no doubt appealed to him and his wife Ursula, both talented amateur musicians. Stechow helped regularly with art historical problems. His generosity and fine character left a deep impression on Alfred Bader, who treasured their friendship (which ended only with Stechow's death in 1974), describing him as “a masterpiece of a human being.” Stechow's legacy at Oberlin is most evident in the many important acquisitions in Dutch art made by its Allen Memorial Art Museum, foremost among them being a famous painting by Hendrick ter Brugghen, *St. Sebastian Tended by St. Irene*. Stechow's awareness of the teaching potential of a collection no doubt originated in Göttingen, where he had been able to make use of what is still the only substantial university art collection in Germany, and his work at Oberlin served in turn as a model for the Bader Collection at Queen's University.

Great inspiration also came during these years from another scholar, who had by contrast positioned himself at the heart of the action: Benedict Nicolson (1914–1978). As its editor, Nicolson shaped *The Burlington Magazine* into Great Britain's premier art historical publication. Aside from offering advice and opinions on possible acquisitions, he also encouraged Alfred Bader to publish some of his ideas and discoveries relating to specific paintings. Three articles by the collector appeared in the *Burlington* – on Michiel Sweerts, Aert de Gelder and Rembrandt – engaging their author directly in scholarly debates on attribution and iconography.

Many of the problems Alfred Bader has faced in assessing works encountered over the decades have to do with authenticity, attribution, quality and condition, issues that are increasingly the concern of museum scholars rather than academic art historians.



Two museum curators have been of particular assistance in the building of the Bader Collection: William S. Robinson, a specialist in the paintings and drawings of such later Rembrandt pupils as Nicolaes Maes, working at the Fogg Art Museum, and Anthony Clark, an Italian specialist and director for many years of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

With most of his art historical contacts, Alfred Bader has sought to provide data and documentation in order to stimulate enquiry and discussion. His growing interest in the pupils and followers of Rembrandt brought him into frequent contact with Werner Sumowski, a scholar who developed into the foremost specialist in this area. For nearly three decades the collector visited this friend every summer in Stuttgart, where he was a professor at the University. Bader would arrive with photographs and information about new acquisitions and works on the market, and the two would discuss issues of attribution, quality and iconographic interpretation. After launching a series of books on the drawings of the Rembrandt school in 1979, Sumowski began work on a similar project on the paintings of Rembrandt's pupils and close followers. In this undertaking, he benefited from Alfred Bader's skills in persuasion and communication to obtain much-needed illustrations. Among the over 2,500 works appearing in the six-volume series, more than sixty are in the Bader Collection. Moreover, Bader's great enthusiasm provided moral support for the often heavy-spirited scholar, whose gravity and acerbic wit appealed in turn to him.

In the early 1960s Alfred Bader made the acquaintance of a scholar-turned-collector, Dr. Efim Schapiro (1899-1977). Having studied art history in his native Russia and in Germany, Schapiro fled the Nazis for Paris in 1938, moving on again in 1940 to London. There he settled into a long-term post at the BBC, collecting art resourcefully on his government salary. An insistent and forceful personality, he relied on his own knowledge, selecting on the basis of quality, primarily from among anonymous or unrecognized works. Prompted by him, Alfred Bader adopted a more aggressive and daring approach to collecting, deriving pleasure from the hunt and taking more risks. Unlike Schapiro, however, Bader also reserved time and energy for enjoying his collection, studying and arranging his works with care. Schapiro was more of a pack rat, stacking and propping up paintings – sometimes unframed – in every available space in his home. He willed his collection to the Hermitage, but estate taxes eventually necessitated the sale of most of the works. Alfred Bader purchased about ten percent of them, and the Schapiro legacy lives on in sixteen pictures in the Bader Collection. They include Jan Brueghel the Elder's *Two Squirrels* (cat. 45) and one of Jacob Pynas's most significant paintings, *The Stoning of St. Stephen* (cat. 157).

By the 1970s Alfred Bader had become convinced of the artistic quality of the work of Jan Lievens, then not widely recognized. Though appreciated as a great talent, Lievens was traditionally seen as having compromised his vision by adapting to reigning tastes and pursuing court patronage. Despite the publication of an important monograph in 1932 and its major

revision in 1973, scholars were only beginning to understand Lievens's work. A monographic exhibition in 1979 brought the artist much deserved attention, but nonetheless adopted a title that sustained the negative comparison to Rembrandt, describing Lievens as "A Painter in Rembrandt's Shadow." Bader was both provoked and inspired. Like Rembrandt's, Lievens's approach is characterized by a serious tone and great technical virtuosity developed through constant application; in fact, one of Rembrandt's noted early technical devices – lines scratched through wet paint with the butt end of the brush – was borrowed from Lievens. By 1979 the collector had acquired two paintings by Lievens – *A Man Singing* (cat. 111) and *The Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 116), both intriguing and impressive works and both now at Queen's. He began to systematically acquire Lievens paintings: the *St. Paul* (cat. 112) was bought inexpensively in 1985, and the dazzling so-called *Rembrandt's Mother* (cat. 114) for a much more substantial sum in 1989. With the 1995 purchase of *River Landscape with a Resting Traveller* (cat. 119), the total had reached ten. By this time the penny had dropped in the art market, and prices for Lievens's early works were starting to spiral, eventually reaching into the millions. Alfred Bader's own pursuit of the artist has no doubt played a role in his rehabilitation, and interest may well grow beyond the early works. The *Portrait of Jacob Junius* (cat. 120), at first not even recognized as a Lievens, demonstrates that this artist reached great heights late in his career as well.

Another artist from Rembrandt's circle already represented in the collection was Aert de Gelder, with his unusual depiction of the prophet Elisha (cat. 83), acquired in 1967. This was followed in 1970 by the imposing *Judah and Tamar* (cat. 82), one of De Gelder's most significant works. These acquisitions reveal the appreciation Alfred Bader had cultivated for a loose, expressive painterly technique, evident in the work of many Rembrandt pupils and followers but nowhere as strongly as with De Gelder, who attended Rembrandt's atelier in the early 1660s, when the master was working in his famously rough late style. These works also carried a strong iconographic appeal for the collector. Both show scenes from the Old Testament, reflecting the frequent depiction in 17th-century Dutch art of subject matter taken from this part of the Bible, especially by Rembrandt, Lievens and their followers, but also by their predecessors – Pieter Lastman, Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert and the Pynas brothers. Such themes began to receive more scholarly attention in the late 1960s in the publications of Rembrandt expert Christian Tümpel, who would also become a correspondent of Bader's. Tümpel's research focuses on the books that form the Old Testament and recount the stories of the ancient Hebrews and their faith, and for this reason held a double appeal. Alfred Bader later contributed extensively toward the translation of the English edition of Tümpel's 1993 monograph on Rembrandt and became good friends with him and his wife Astrid, the foremost specialist on Pieter Lastman. By the 1970s the artists in Rembrandt's wider circle, and in particular their depiction of Old Testament themes, had become the focus of Alfred Bader's entire collecting activity.



As he explored the Rembrandt school in ever-greater depth, Alfred Bader revisited the revelations gained at Harvard from Jakob Rosenberg's lectures. The attention Rembrandt paid to Jewish sitters and types now took on a greater significance, for it could be seen within the broader context of Dutch 17th-century art as having been made possible in part by the practical tolerance shown toward Jews and their religion in the Dutch Republic. For Alfred Bader, the style of Rembrandt and his school also reflects an ethical attitude: their expressive, direct manner and their observant naturalism speak of an inclusive, open-minded human interest that contrasts with the exclusivity and class pretension often associated with the finish, refinement and idealization of classical or academic modes of painting. Even within the Rembrandt school, Bader has little sympathy for the works of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) and his followers, the so-called *fijnschilders* (fine painters), favouring instead the rough, loose style of De Gelder. This preference finds a personal parallel in the collector's own lack of pretension and avoidance of a luxurious lifestyle. Andrew Loman, writing about the Baders' extraordinary donation to Queen's University of an entire 15th-century English castle – Herstmonceux, in East Sussex – and surprised at their modesty, quipped that Alfred and Isabel “look more like a couple that, in a fit of extravagance, would order a third cookie with their coffee.” Guided by ethical convictions rooted in the Jewish faith, social conscience and personal experience, the Baders choose to devote their wealth to a wide variety of causes. The bequest of their remarkable collection of paintings to Queen's University, where it can be studied and enjoyed by students, scholars and the general public, is just one example.

With the Bader Collection, Queen's University is receiving the fruits of decades of passion, experience, research and exchange with scholars in art history. The prime example of the ability that Alfred Bader developed as a collector is his acquisition of the *Head of an Old Man in a Cap*, by Rembrandt (cat. 161). This work came to auction after it had been rejected by the Rembrandt Research Project despite the evidence of the print made after it by Jan Gillisz. van Vliet (fig. 161e). Still convinced of Rembrandt's authorship, Bader purchased the painting. Eventually, a 1996 exhibition used paper watermarks to demonstrate that Van Vliet worked very closely with Rembrandt and could not have erred in the inscription he made on the print, which names Rembrandt as the author of the painting. Regular loan requests for major Rembrandt exhibitions followed, and in 2003 the Baders donated the small panel to the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, making it only the fourth accepted painting by the master to enter a public collection in Canada. More importantly, it provides a key reference point for the works by Rembrandt's followers already donated to Queen's University, giving the visitor direct contact with Rembrandt's early style. It is one of four such paintings of heads – a genre known as the *tronie* – executed in Rembrandt's manner that Alfred Bader has acquired based on the intuition of Rembrandt's authorship. In 2006 two more of these were accepted as autograph by Ernst van de Wetering of

the Rembrandt Research Project. One is the *Study of the Head of an Old Man with Curly Hair* (cat. 162); the other, *Head of a Man in a Turban* (cat. 163), from around 1661, has come to Queen's this year as a gift. Visitors can now study Rembrandt's early and late manners side by side and in the context of the works of pupils and followers who took up the master's style and turned it into a widespread trend that had an impact across Europe.

Alfred Bader's first gifts of art to Queen's University were meant simply to provide original works of art for students of art and art history to study. The donor had learned the value of the university collection during his time at Harvard, with its renowned Fogg Museum, and from his contact with Wolfgang Stechow, who had built the collection at Oberlin. Agnes Etherington Art Centre curator Frances K. Smith – now curator emeritus – suggested the initial donation, a 16th-century Italian painting, in 1967. Alfred Bader's donations to Queen's were then part of a broader pattern of benefaction to a range of museums, including institutions in Chicago, Minneapolis, Milwaukee and Oberlin, as well as the Fogg at Harvard. Although the most likely candidate for the collection was Milwaukee's own Art Center (later the Art Museum), beginning in the early 1960s Bader became thoroughly disenchanted with its leadership. His relationship with the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, on the other hand, flourished, especially during the directorship of David McTavish, himself a scholar of 16th-century Italian art. The Baders signalled their commitment to Queen's with a gift of seventeen paintings in 1991, many of which were featured in a travelling exhibition curated by McTavish. In the preface to the catalogue, the Baders spoke of donating their collection to Queen's with a view to the establishment of a Ph.D. program in art history. This program, launched in 1994, includes a Chair in Northern Baroque Art endowed by the Baders. From 1995 to 2002 it was held by Volker Manuth, a German scholar of Rembrandt and his school whose strengths include religious iconography; since 2006 it has been filled by Stephanie Dickey, also a Rembrandt scholar. Pleased with the development of the program, the Baders endowed a second Chair, in Southern Baroque Art, in 2002.

Over the years, several important changes took place in Alfred Bader's life. In 1982 he married Isabel Overton, whom he had first met over thirty years earlier during a trip to England. Since their marriage, Isabel has joined Alfred on all of his travels and taken an active part in the collecting process. Her priorities are evident in a number of portraits, florals and still lifes characterized by brighter colours and a certain compositional repose, several of which were birthday gifts from her husband.

A second major turn resulted from a traumatic professional blow. In 1992 Alfred Bader was ejected from the board of Sigma-Aldrich, falsely accused of “betting against the company.” Not interested in retiring, he embarked on the expansion of Alfred Bader Fine Arts (established in 1961) into a gallery. His passion for art turned into a full-time occupation. Even today, in his eighties, he puts in a full day at the office, driven as much by this



enduring enthusiasm as by a deep-seated work ethic. For the more valuable paintings, he operates in tandem with other dealers. His sale of Rembrandt's 1633 *Portrait of Johannes Uytenbogaert* to the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in 1992, in partnership with Otto Naumann of New York, was the first major transaction. With the close attention he pays to the art market, few opportunities escape his notice. However, the meteoric rise of prices for Old Master paintings and the scarcity of quality works are presenting new challenges.

The Baders remain nonetheless on the lookout. The most prominent purchase in recent years has been the lyrical *Self-portrait as St. John the Evangelist* (cat. 64) by Willem Drost, an important Rembrandt pupil not hitherto represented in the collection. Other pupils may never find a place – Ferdinand Bol and Gerard Dou, for example, whose polished and emotionally cool works would be an uneasy fit. Outside the Rembrandt school, the humane and restrained portraits of Gerard Terborch, though elusive, remain a tempting possibility.

The private collection the Baders have assembled will eventually join the works they have already donated to Queen's to form a Bader Collection of over 270 paintings. To ensure that there would be sufficient space to store and exhibit these works, the Art Centre undertook a major expansion in 1997-2000, supported by the Baders and a number of other private and public sponsors. In 2001 the couple endowed a curatorial position to bring specialized expertise to the care and presentation of the collection. It has been my pleasure to work with the Baders in this capacity for the last six years. This role fits into a long tradition among North American museums of working actively with collectors who plan to donate some or all of their works to the institution, in the public interest.

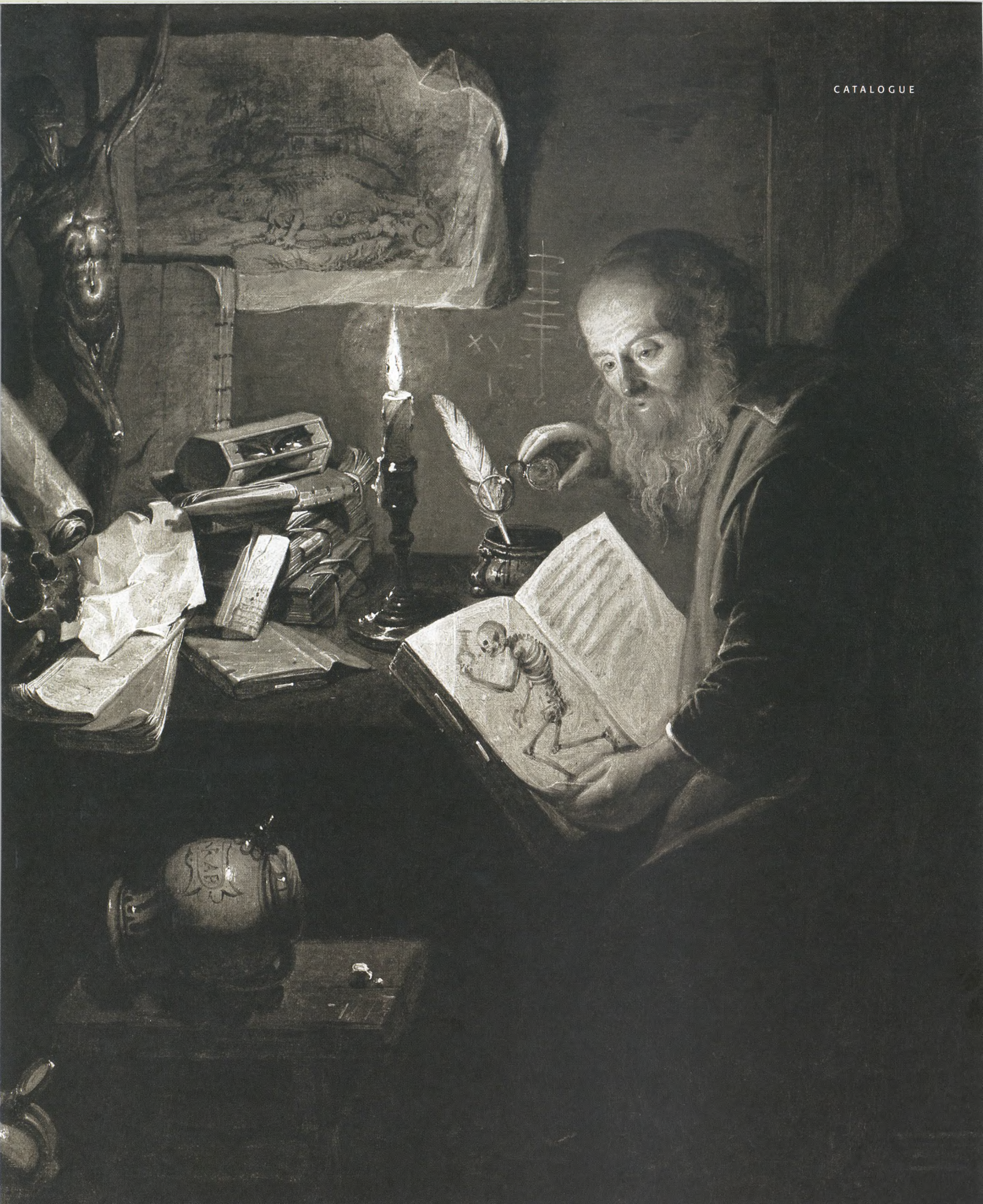
The present catalogue opens this remarkable collection to visitors, scholars, art lovers and the broader public. In addition to the Dutch and Flemish works, it includes pictures by a few directly related artists from other schools, among them an important German forerunner of Rembrandt, Adam Elsheimer (see cat. 72), and several German followers. The works from Italy, France, England and elsewhere in Europe will be presented in a subsequent catalogue, as will all future acquisitions. The collection is by no means closed.

The result will be a public collection of Baroque paintings bearing the stamp of Alfred Bader's life and his passion for art. Unlike many private collections being assembled today, it has not been supplied by prominent dealers at full price, with ironclad guarantees of authenticity and condition. It is the result of one man's long love affair with art. Moreover, the collecting process has been filled with aesthetic and scholarly challenges that over the decades have steadily enhanced his own knowledge and ability. A significant proportion of the works were acquired because they offered the intriguing combination of high artistic achievement and an insecure or missing attribution. These puzzles present opportunities for research, not only for the collector, but also for the art historian. Certain works, including the one illustrated

on the cover of this book (cat. 3), still wait for conclusive evidence to surface. This collection, which has its earliest origins in the lecture halls of art history, will find its home on a campus where the language of research is spoken by scholars, students and museum staff. They will in turn interpret its works – uncover their riches and their secrets – for the public in whose trust it is being placed.

This essay draws extensively on Alfred Bader's autobiography (Bader 1995) and on numerous conversations with him and his wife Isabel. Other sources include Wolfgang Stechow's preface to collection catalogue Milwaukee 1974, and the Baders' own prefaces to exhibition catalogues Kingston 1984 and Kingston 1988-1991.









1.

Anonymous Dutch artist

Active around 1630, possibly in The Hague or Delft

*Portrait of a Young Man Wearing a White Collar*

Oil on panel, 50.2 × 40 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

London, with Richard Philp; sale, London (Christie's), 24 July 1987, lot 104, purchased by Alfred Bader



Fig. 1a. Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of a Scholar in His Study*, 1628, oil on panel, 52 × 39.5 cm, signed. Location unknown.

THIS INTRIGUING portrait shows a young man in a subtly twisted pose, his head facing slightly toward the right edge of the painting and his upper body to the left. Over a black buttoned jacket, with sleeves that open from just above the elbow, he wears a plain white linen collar decorated with an elaborately scalloped lace border and tied with a tassel-tipped string under the chin. His thick, curly brown locks are trimmed to the shoulder, reflecting a fashion of the late 1620s and 1630s. The unusual design of the collar, which compares closely to one seen in a portrait from 1628 by Thomas de Keyser (fig. 1a),<sup>1</sup> points even more specifically to a date of around 1628–1630.

Despite its competent execution, this panel has defied any attempt at attribution. It was initially thought to be the work of an artist active in The Hague, such as Cornelis Johnson van Ceulen or Pieter Dubordieu, since it follows the formal portrait conventions of this city and of nearby Delft, where Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt dominated portrait production. However, instead of the smooth, crisp handling typical of these artists, the painting displays open brushstrokes and a dry application of impasto colour

that results in a fuzzy, almost granular effect and soft edges, similar to the later approach of Vermeer. Curiously, the artist also appears to have applied dark shadow tones on top of light, opaque underlayers, departing from the standard technique of rendering shadows with thin, dark underlayers not covered by paler pigments. This feature may be an indication that the author was unconventionally trained, perhaps in another specialty, such as architecture or landscape. Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the artist more precisely than to say it was someone working in the period around 1630, in all likelihood in The Hague or Delft.

1. Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 14 January 1988, lot 92 (ill.).





## 2.

Follower of Dirck van Baburen (1594/95-1624)

*Jesus among the Doctors*

Around 1650

Oil on canvas, 165.7 × 207.6 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1971, acc. no. 14-033

### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Christie's), 16 January 1970, lot 169 (as by Stomer), purchased by Alfred Bader

### LITERATURE

Slatkes 1981-1982, p. 173 (as after Baburen)

### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 52-57, no. 13 (ill.)

THIS LARGE CANVAS depicts the episode of the twelve-year-old Jesus' visit to the temple in Jerusalem, as told in the Gospel of Luke (2:41-52). When his parents leave the city after their annual Passover visit, Jesus (unknown to them) remains behind and joins the company of learned men discussing theology in the temple, impressing them with his intelligence and knowledge. Eventually found there by his distressed parents, Jesus responds to their rebuke by saying: "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" (Luke 2:49). He is shown here at the centre of a lively and colourful group of old men, engaging them in debate. His calm confidence contrasts both with the elders' anxious agitation and with the worried faces of his parents, who can be seen in the background beneath the arch, on the point of approaching their son.

When it appeared at auction in 1970, this painting was attributed to Matthias Stom (about 1600-after 1650). However, it lacks that artist's characteristically Caravaggesque technique of laying down dark, semi-transparent underlayers and building up lighter tones in opaque colours mixed with white or ochre, so as to exploit contrasts of opacity as well as tone. Leonard Slatkes later pointed out that the composition is derived directly from a painting on



Fig. 2a. Dirck van Baburen, *Jesus Debating with the Elders*, 1622, oil on canvas, 190 × 210 cm, signed. Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet.

the same theme by Dirck van Baburen, now in Oslo (fig. 2a).<sup>1</sup> Although the artist has changed many of the figures and features of the setting, the prototype remains clearly discernible.<sup>2</sup> The figure of Jesus occupies the same position, slightly to the left of centre, but gestures rhetorically by pointing a finger instead of grasping one finger with the other hand. The kneeling figure in the left foreground, clutching a book against his knee, appears to be a composite of two of Van Baburen's characters: his dark, bearded face is adapted from his counterpart in Oslo, but his body is a reversed reworking of the figure in the right foreground of the Oslo painting. For the doctor on the right, the artist has preserved the prominent turban worn by the corresponding figure in Van Baburen's original painting but has given him a more relaxed pose, seated, with a book on his lap. The lunging figure between him and the young Jesus shows up here as well, but seems to have inherited the glasses of the figure behind him in the Oslo picture and is making a more forceful rhetorical gesture, with his finger pointed upwards. The two figures standing behind on the right are more loosely based on their counterparts in the original, and those on the left appear to be new inventions. The plain, massive walls forming the background in the source work, closely following Caravaggio, are here enriched and enlivened with columns and fluted pilasters. This last modification reflects the penchant for more strongly classicizing elements that began to affect Dutch and Flemish painting during the 1640s. It is also consistent with the liberal use of opaque colours – even in the shaded areas – and the blond tonality, which likewise speak of the technical repertoire of classicism. A date around the mid-17th century is most likely, but the work's authorship must remain an open question. Slatkes's attribution to the little-known Dutch (or Flemish) Caravaggist Jan van Dalen (Antwerp, around 1611-around 1677) may have resulted from confusion with a work that appeared at a later auction.<sup>3</sup>

1. See Slatkes 1981-1982, p. 173.

2. As noted by David McTavish, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1988-1991, p. 55; see Slatkes 1965, pp. 114, 116, no. A11 (fig. 13).

3. Slatkes 1981-1982, p. 173 (as by Jan van Dalen). Slatkes erroneously claims that the present painting was formerly attributed to Wouter Crabeth II when he connects it with a depiction of the same theme that appeared in a sale in 1975, after the present work was acquired by the Art Centre (sale, London [Christie's], 11 July 1975, lot 51 [ill.], as by Wouter Pietersz. Crabeth). Unlike the present painting, the known works by Van Dalen show conventional Caravaggesque technique and tonality, consistent with their dating to the 1630s. See for example Jan van Dalen, *Bacchus*, oil on canvas, 1648, 68 × 59 cm, signed, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. CG 1687; collection cat. Vienna 1991, p. 48 (pl. 439). ♦







### 3.

Circle of Aelbert Cuyp (1620-1691)

*Portrait of a Young Girl*

Before 1640

Oil on panel, 36.9 × 28.2 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of Mrs. Charles Mills; sale, London (Christie's), 17 December 1985, lot 88 (colour ill., as by Circle of Dirck Dircksz. van Santvoort), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader 1995, p. 234, no. 10 (pl. 15)

A YOUNG GIRL, shown in a three-quarter view, looks up toward the viewer. Her eyes are calm and mildly inquiring, and the slight smile engaging her full lips conveys a sense of security and contentment. The artist has skilfully captured his young sitter's innocence, with all its attendant charm. The warmth and informality with which the subject is presented – not conventional for portraits – may be the result of a close relationship between subject and artist. Both the costume and the setting are very sober. In fact, the simple two-layered neckwear, consisting of a flat under-collar with stitched-down pleats covered by a partlet,<sup>1</sup> seems to assign the sitter to a more modest social class than is typical for portrait patronage, especially at the level of quality seen here. It seems possible, then, that the artist was portraying a family member, and not the child of a paying patron.

Executed with aplomb, the work has nonetheless received no convincing attribution since it surfaced on the art market in 1985. It does not display the smooth, refined handling of Dirck Dircksz. van Santvoort, to whom it was assigned at that time. Though it shows some liveliness of brush in certain passages, such as the collar, it remains generally restrained in effect. This quality speaks against a proposed attribution to Jan Baptist Weenix.<sup>2</sup> However, combined with the relatively dry application of impastoed paint, it does point to the portraitist Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp. Born in Dordrecht in 1594, Jacob Cuyp forged a career there as a



Fig. 3a. Attributed to Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp or Aelbert Cuyp, *Portrait of a Child in a Straw Hat*, around 1630-1640, oil on panel, 36.6 × 31.4 cm. Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, inv. 230.



Fig. 3b. Aelbert Cuyp, *Portrait of a Girl with a Basket of Fruit*, around 1655, oil on canvas, 65 × 48.2 cm, signed. The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, inv. 829.

painter of highly competent if rather unexciting portraits, achieving considerable social standing in the city by the time of his death in 1652.<sup>3</sup> Today, he is better known as the father of the renowned landscapist Aelbert Cuyp. A comparable head of a child by Jacob's hand appears in his *Portrait of Four Children in a Landscape* of 1645,<sup>4</sup> and a parallel can also be drawn to the *Portrait of a Child in a Straw Hat* in Frankfurt (fig. 3a)<sup>5</sup> (attributed alternatively to Jacob and Aelbert), which shows a similarly simple composition and the same flat, dry modelling of smooth and youthful features. The dexterity displayed in the Bader portrait in the description of the costume and hair is perhaps more akin to the work of Aelbert, who executed a number of known portraits, including the *Portrait of a Girl with a Basket of Fruit* in the Mauritshuis (fig. 3b).<sup>6</sup> If by Aelbert, then this portrait is an early work, for it can be dated to before 1640 on the basis of the costume.<sup>7</sup> In the absence of further evidence, however, any attribution of this compelling work remains in the realm of speculation.

1. In a letter to the author dated 17 February 2000, Dutch costume specialist Marieke de Winkel writes, "She is wearing a two-layered collar: a flat collar or *bef*, with stitched-down pinches or pleats; over it a *neerstick* or 'partlet.' This was typical for Dutch women of the 17th century, indicating that this is a portrait of a girl dressed as an adult woman."
2. Suggested by Rudi Ekkart in a letter to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, dated 5 August 1989, of which there is a copy in the Bader Collection work files. However, Weenix favoured sharp edges and contrasts, by which he achieved a brilliant effect. Compare, for example, Jan Baptist Weenix, *A Girl as a Shepherdess*, oil on canvas, around 1650, 125 × 100 cm, signed, Amiens, Musée de Picardie, inv. M.P.Lav.1894.62; see exhib. cat. Haarlem and Antwerp 2000-2001, pp. 206-207, no. 52 (colour ill.).
3. For an overview of the artist's life and career, see exhib. cat. Dordrecht 2002.
4. Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp, possibly with the assistance of Aelbert Cuyp, *Portrait of Four Children in a Landscape*, 1645, oil on canvas, 104 × 132 cm, signed, private collection; *ibid.*, pp. 142-143, no. 30 (colour ill.).
5. See exhib. cat. Dordrecht 2002, no. 15, pp. 112-113 (colour ill.).
6. See collection cat. The Hague 1993, p. 51 (ill.).
7. Compare the neckwear shown here with the more elaborate form of a similar collar in Willem van der Vliet, *Portrait of a Boy*, 1638, oil on panel, 93 × 76 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-2577; see exhib. cat. Haarlem and Antwerp 2000-2001, pp. 164-165, no. 33 (colour ill.). ♦





4.

Anonymous Dutch artist, 17th century

*Hermit with a Large Book*

Oil on canvas, 106.7 × 94 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1974, acc. no. 17-025

PROVENANCE

London, art market, around 1972; purchased by Alfred Bader for Bert van Deun; Beerse, collection of Bert and Mia van Deun-Loyens; acquired in trade by Alfred Bader, 1974

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 72-73, no. 28 (ill.)

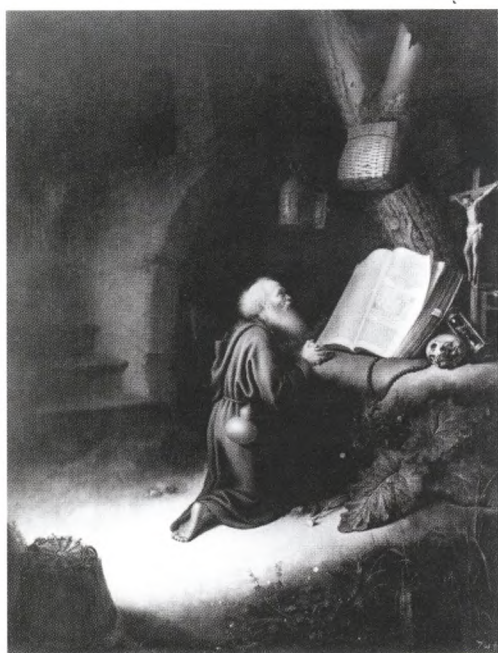


Fig. 4a. Gerrit Dou, *Hermit Kneeling in Prayer*, around 1635, oil on panel, 57 × 43 cm, signed. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 1711.

A MAN SITS near a tree and a ruined building, holding a large book on his lap and gazing ahead of him, his hands clasped in prayer. Standing on the ground before him, on the right of the picture, is a massive volume, with a human skull perched on top that faces directly toward the man. Lying on the ground in front of this book is the skull of a horse, with a flask encased in woven reeds leaning against it. In the mid-ground, a clay pot and a lid-ded basket sit on a stone ledge in front of the tree. Hanging from one of the tree's branches is an unlit lantern, its doors open. The hermit's retreat is apparently lit by daylight coming from above.

This scene can be related to various depictions of hermits by the Leiden-based painter Gerrit Dou (1613-1675), who in turn based his treatments of the theme on a now lost depiction of St. Jerome by his teacher Rembrandt (see fig. 5a).<sup>1</sup> Dou followed Rembrandt's composition most closely in a painting now in Dresden (fig. 4a), which may have served as a model for the present painting.<sup>2</sup> Several of its elements reappear here, including the ruined building, the human skull, the dead tree, the open lantern and the oversized volume. Such images evoke the tradition of the *vita contemplativa*, seen as a path of virtue for the Christian, but



they are also examples of the *vanitas* genre. In this work, the skull and the crumbling building serve to remind viewers of the transience of earthly concerns in the face of the hereafter. The artist has revised Dou's image by eliminating the explicitly Roman Catholic elements of the crucifix and the rosary, probably in response to a Protestant milieu and market. However, he has retained the dead tree, upon which the hermit gazes, which is an allusion to the Crucifixion and the legend that the Cross was made of wood from the Tree of Knowledge that grew in the Garden of Eden.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the lantern is a reference to Jesus, who is described in the Gospel of John as the "light of the world" (8:12 and 9:5). The visible page of the open volume bears the letters *MED*, likely a fragment of the word *meditationes*, and the letter *S*, probably standing for *sint* (saint). These words would identify the text generally with the hermit's activity of spiritual contemplation. Another addition is the horse's skull on the lower right, which again symbolizes death and possibly alludes to the pale horse mentioned in the Book of Revelation (6:8).<sup>4</sup> The particular emphasis here on the book (it is actually on the saint's lap), brings the painting closer to the spirit of an early *Hermit* by Rembrandt, known through a copy in Paris (fig. 109a)<sup>5</sup> and more in line with the Protestant emphasis on the reading of the scriptures. On the sheet of paper in the mid-ground, behind the open book, the fragment *Weder* is legible. This may have been intended as part of the word *Wederdooper*, or Anabaptist, which could link this image to the Mennonite faith. Alternatively, it may hint at the word *Wederop-standing*, or Resurrection – a more general Christian theme.<sup>6</sup>

It is not possible to uphold the tentative attribution by Walther Bernt to Jan Adriaensz. van Staveren,<sup>7</sup> a Leiden follower of Gerrit Dou; although this artist painted many depictions of hermits, it was generally in a livelier, more agitated style. The smooth, finished execution of the present painting may even reflect an altogether different specialization practiced by the artist: significantly, the figure does not follow a standard hermit type, and his neatly trimmed beard, contemporary coiffure and relatively youthful features suggest that this may be a portrait. It therefore seems likely that the name of the artist is to be found among the ranks of Dutch 17th-century portraitists.

1. See Hollstein, vol. 41, p. 156, no. 13 (ill.).

2. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 526, no. 248, p. 545 (ill.).

3. See exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 69. On the interpretation of the dead tree in depictions of St. Jerome, see Kuretsky 1994, pp. 571-574.

4. Bergström 1983, pp. 189-190. Note that this interpretation is not supported by Sandra Richards in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 72.

5. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 539-546, no. C16 (ill., as not by Rembrandt) and collection cat. Paris 1982, pp. 98-99 (ill., attributed to Adriaen van Ostade by Horst Gerson).

6. This possibility was raised by Sandra Richards in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 72.

7. Bernt's opinion is reported in a letter from Alfred Bader to Frances K. Smith, dated 20 September 1974, of which there is a copy in the Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files. ♦



## 5.

Follower of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675)

*St. Jerome in the Wilderness*

17th century

Oil on canvas, 78 × 60 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

## PROVENANCE

New York, with Jan Streep; Plantation, Florida, with Lewis G. Nierman; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1990

## LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 3061, 3064 note 51, p. 3071 (colour ill.); Alfred Bader 1995, pp. 233-234, no. 9 (pl. 25, as *Jerome*)

## EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 70-71, no. 27 (ill.)

AN ELDERLY, BALDING man, bearded and wearing a simple heavy robe, is seated outdoors before a large open volume. Between the thumb and forefinger of his raised hand he holds a quill pen, the end caught between his teeth in a way that suggests a pensive pause. A number of other books are visible, some propping up the one in which he is writing, and another leaning against the tree stump on the left. The man's material nourishment is assured by a loaf of bread, a basket (presumably of food) and a squat, rounded leather flask for water. The basket and flask have clearly been taken directly from a print by Jan Gillisz. van





Fig. 5a. Jan Gillisz. van Vliet, after Rembrandt, *St. Jerome Kneeling in Prayer*, around 1631, etching, 2 states, 34.8 × 28.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Vliet, after a lost painting by Rembrandt depicting St. Jerome (fig. 5a).<sup>1</sup> This print was also the source of the hourglass, the embroidered shawl and the rosary with pendant crucifix. Since this work displays the same orientation as the print, it was definitely Van Vliet's interpretation that served as the reference, and not Rembrandt's original painting.

Until recently, the title of this painting was given simply as *Hermit in Contemplation*. However, Alfred Bader and Sandra Richards have noted the presence of a lion in the lower left-hand corner, interpreting it and the hat resting on the basket as indications that the painting – like the print by Van Vliet – depicts St. Jerome.<sup>2</sup> The vine overhead and the dead tree in the centre are also important features of the iconography of St. Jerome, referring respectively to Jesus' identification of himself as the "true vine" (John 15:1) and to the legend that the wood of the cross came from the Tree of Knowledge that grew in the Garden of Eden.<sup>3</sup> Richards has further pointed out that the absence of the crucifix in front of which Jerome meditates in the Van Vliet print departs from traditional depictions of the saint but renders the image more suitable for a Protestant art market. It nonetheless remains possible that Jerome was not originally the artist's subject. The lion appears to have been added later: the brushstrokes and motifs of the background clearly pass underneath it, and it shows a slightly different handling than the rest of the picture. However, as the lion closely follows Rembrandt's imaginary concept of the beast as recorded by Van Vliet, it could well have been added by the original artist. The hat, too, lacks the crisp, smooth handling of the rest of the painting; moreover, it does not show the flat form and bright red colour of the cardinal's hat traditionally associated with Jerome. If original, it could well represent a misunderstanding of the iconographical content of the

print by Van Vliet. Equally confusing is the inscription on the open book, which reads *Lettres de* (Letters of). This inscription was almost certainly added later by a French owner, who may have interpreted the work's theme as St. Paul writing his epistles. For the time being, the original theme remains uncertain.

Werner Sumowski published the present painting in an attempt to elicit an attribution from fellow scholars.<sup>4</sup> The only connection he could offer was to a well-known depiction of *The Return of Tobias and the Angel* (private collection), formerly attributed to Rembrandt, later assigned to an unknown follower of Gerrit Dou, but recently convincingly attributed by Fred Meijer to Pieter Hermansz. Verelst.<sup>5</sup> Likely born in Dordrecht around 1618, Verelst trained in Leiden under Gerrit Dou before establishing himself in his native city, entering the Dordrecht painter's Guild in 1638 and marrying there in 1643.<sup>6</sup> He then moved to The Hague, where in 1656 he became one of the founders of the confraternity *Pictura* and in 1659 served as a beadle. He appears to have left the city shortly thereafter and given up painting, resurfacing in the area of Hulst in 1671 as a brewer. Verelst specialized in peasant genre interiors, but also executed portraits and a number of history paintings. In assigning the large Tobias picture to Verelst, Fred Meijer points for evidence of his style to the shallow space, flattened forms, smooth finish and purplish-toned palette – elements that also characterize the present painting. Furthermore, both compositions were derived from an existing print and betray a certain lack of assurance with historical themes, which one might expect from a specialist in genre painting. The Kingston work can also be compared to an early signed and dated picture by Verelst entitled *Interior of a Farm House* (1633),<sup>7</sup> which displays a similarly uncluttered space and the same simple presentation of a figure combined with elaborate still-life detail. Facially, the hermit can be compared to some of the types in Verelst's early *Jesus before Caiaphas*, now in Bourgen-Bresse.<sup>8</sup> As Fred Meijer has pointed out,<sup>9</sup> however, the plain background and soft contours speak against an attribution to Verelst, leaving the question of authorship open.

1. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, p. 3061.

2. See Sandra Richards, catalogue entry on this painting in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 70.

3. Ibid. On the interpretation of the dead tree in depictions of St. Jerome, see Kuretsky 1994, pp. 571-574.

4. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, p. 3061.

5. Attributed to Pieter Hermansz. Verelst, *The Return of Tobias and the Angel*, around 1645, oil on canvas, 108.5 × 143 cm, private collection; see exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002, no. 67, pp. 332-335, and Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 467-477, no. C4 (ill.). On the attribution to a follower of Dou, see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2874, 2881 note 13, p. 2889 (colour ill.). The attribution to Verelst was first presented by Fred G. Meijer at the symposium "The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt," Amsterdam (Rembrandthuis), 27 May 2002, and then published in his article "A New Attribution Proposed for an Enigmatic Painting: 'The Return of Tobias and the Angel' by Pieter Verelst," in Roscam Abbing 2006, pp. 97-102.

6. Horst Gerson, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 34, p. 237, s.v. Verelst.

7. Pieter Hermansz. Verelst, *Interior of a Farmhouse*, 1633, oil on panel, 47.5 × 63.5, signed, formerly Munich, with Xaver Scheidwimmer; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 83, 86 note 17, p. 96 (ill.).

8. Pieter Hermansz. Verelst, *Jesus before Caiaphas*, oil on canvas, around 1645, 51 × 78 cm, signed, Bourgen-Bresse, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. 853, 8; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 83, 86 note 24, p. 100 (ill.).

9. E-mail correspondence with the author, 2 November 2005. ♦





6.  
Follower of Carel Fabritius (1622-1654)

*Joseph and the Baker*

Oil on canvas, 106.7 × 114.3 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

Note: This work is not part of the Bader Bequest to the Agnes Etherington Art Centre.

PROVENANCE<sup>1</sup>

London, collection of Dr. Robert Bragge; his sale, London, 10 May 1748 (not in Lugt) lot 58, purchased by the Duke of Bedford; Woburn Abbey and London, collection of the Dukes of Bedford; sale, London (Christie's) 19 January 1951, lot 50; Amsterdam, with Gebroeder Douwes; sale, London (Christie's), 26 June 1959, lot 29 (as by Rembrandt, *Joseph Interpreting the Baker's Dream*, 42 × 45 in.); St. Peter Port, collection of Daan Cevat; Chicago, collection of Morris I. Kaplan; his sale, London (Sotheby's), 12 June 1968, lot 37 (as by C. Fabritius), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Young 1770, vol. 1, p. 38 (below; as by Rembrandt); Pennant 1782, pp. 359-360; Brayley and Britton 1801-1815, vol. 1, p. 51 (at Woburn Abbey, in the Saloon, as by Rembrandt); Waagen 1854-1857, vol. 2, p. 283 (in London, as by Flinck); Supplement, p. 333 (as by Rembrandt); Havard 1879-1881, vol. 4, p. 62 (as by Carel Fabritius); Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 1, p. 538 (as by Flinck); Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 33, no. 19 (as not by Rembrandt, questions the connection to a painting in the sale of the collection of the Prince of Carignan in 1743); Walpole 1928, vol. 16, p. 18; Hofstede de Groot 1929, p. 135 (as by Victors); Lewis and Brown 1941, vol. 9, p. 122 (letter from Horace Walpole to George Montagu, dated Tuesday, 8 October 1751); Thomson 1950, p. 321; Pont

1958, p. 153 (as not by Carel Fabritius); Von Moltke 1965, p. 226, no. 12 (as not by Flinck); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 3, no. 2 (1970), p. 2 (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 2175-2176, no. 1459, pp. 2180, 2194 (colour ill., as by Johan Ulrich Mayr); Bader, 1995, p. 214 (pl. 10), p. 217

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Amsterdam 1955, p. 7, no. 22 (ill., as by Carel Fabritius); Oshkosh 1968, not paginated, no. 11 (ill.); Milwaukee 1976, pp. 56-57, no. 23 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 42-43, no. 17 (ill.; cover ill. in colour); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, p. 94, no. 38 (colour ill.), pp. 142, 159

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Woburn Abbey 1877, no. 412 (as by Rembrandt); Woburn Abbey 1890, p. 257, no. 412 (as by Rembrandt); Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 9 (ill.)

THIS PAINTING PORTRAYS an episode in the life of Joseph, son of Jacob, as told in the Book of Genesis. After being sold as a slave to Egypt, Joseph rises to favour in the household of Potiphar, only to be falsely accused by his master's wife of attempted rape and thrown into jail. In prison he encounters the Pharaoh's chief baker and butler, who have offended their master. When the king's men each have a distressing dream, Joseph offers to help by providing an interpretation. The butler is the first to relate his dream, which Joseph interprets positively, predicting the man's rehabilitation at court. When the baker's turn comes, however, Joseph explains his dream as meaning that in three days' time he will be executed for his offence. The present





Fig. 6a. Carel Fabritius, *Self-portrait*, 1654, oil on panel, 65 × 49 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 1205.



Fig. 6b. Johannes Vermeer, *Jesus in the House of Mary and Martha*, around 1654, oil on canvas, 160 × 141 cm. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, inv. 1670.



Fig. 6c. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Flute Player*, 1621, oil on canvas, 71.5 × 56 cm, signed. Kassel, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. GK 180.

painting depicts the moment when the unfortunate baker hears his fate (40:19).

Joseph stands to the left, leaning slightly forward with his left wrist propped on the stone table before him, the hand raised in a rhetorical gesture designed to command attention. His right arm and hand are spread wide to similar expressive effect, and his face bears a subtly pained expression as he looks directly into the baker's eyes. Meeting Joseph's earnest gaze, the baker registers his astonishment and disappointment with raised brows, a grimly set mouth and stunned features.

In the iconographical tradition for this theme, artists have almost always depicted Joseph with both prisoners, but here he appears with the baker alone. The painter was clearly seeking to emphasize the sense of shock and tragedy filling the minds of both figures at this fateful moment. The reduction of a traditional theme to its principal figures – a strategy known as *Herauslösung*, which concentrates the viewer's attention on the event and its attendant emotion – is associated with the later work of Rembrandt.<sup>2</sup> Although this painting was assigned to Rembrandt for several centuries, the attribution was eventually discarded after the work had circulated on the art market during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>3</sup> In fact, over a hundred years earlier Gustav Waagen had proposed an alternative (although untenable) attribution to Covert Flinck.<sup>4</sup> More recently, Werner Sumowski proposed Johan Ulrich Mayr as the author, but the heavy, dry impasto effects seen here have no parallel in Mayr's work.<sup>5</sup> More significantly, when Havard saw the work at Woburn Abbey, it was given not to Rembrandt but to his talented pupil Carel Fabritius (1622–1654).<sup>6</sup> The slightly blond overall tonality, the masterful arrangement of greyish tones of both cool and warm colour, and the assured handling of the *matière* are all reminiscent of Fabritius's independent style. He is best known for transforming his initially

Rembrandtesque approach by introducing light backgrounds, yet it is his effective application of a range of brushstrokes to render form, surface and structure – as seen in his famous *Self-portrait* in Rotterdam (fig. 6a)<sup>7</sup> – that truly distinguishes him among Rembrandt's pupils. Here, though, the angular contours and stiffly rendered surfaces contrast with his deftly and sensually painted and rounded forms. Furthermore, Fabritius's independent work gives little prominence to the rendering of emotions, and he never employed large-scale figures like those seen here.

Nonetheless, it appears likely that this picture of *Joseph and the Baker* was produced in Fabritius's immediate circle. Its chromatic brilliance, with bluish green set against reddish orange in the figures, accents of red umber distributed throughout for dynamic coherence and the whole rendered with great subtlety and fine variation, can be closely aligned with Fabritius's interpretation of Rembrandt's pioneering efforts. After Fabritius's early death, his manner was partially adopted by his brother and pupil Barent, but more fully by the patient genius of Delft, Johannes Vermeer. The stunning effects of light, especially where it strikes Joseph's back from the left, are highly reminiscent of this master. However, like Fabritius, Vermeer exercised a fluid manner with the brush even in his earliest work – for example, his *Jesus in the House of Mary and Martha* now in Edinburgh (fig. 6b).<sup>8</sup> In this work, by contrast, the lines of the fabric folds have been rendered stiffly, in a hesitant hand that has left impasto accents. Indeed, a rather rough, hard effect, likely caused by inexperience, prevails in several passages.

It seems that the author of this work also adopted aspects of Hendrick ter Brugghen's approximation of Caravaggio's idiom. Certainly, the figure of the baker, with his bared shoulder and lanky proportions, can be seen as a direct descendent of Ter Brugghen's musicians. Even the sash encircling his waist recalls



the orientalizing penchant of the Utrecht Caravaggist, evident in a painting in Kassel (fig. 6c).<sup>9</sup> The compositional format of the Bader work, where the figures fill the frame and are cut off by it at the bottom, also harkens back to Ter Brugghen and his fellow Caravaggists in Utrecht, as do the muted palette and predominantly cool tones.

These Utrecht artists had a lasting impact on Dutch art, and it is well known that they bore a special appeal for Vermeer, whose family owned several of their works.<sup>10</sup> Their influence here was no doubt an echo of the interest that marked Vermeer's milieu in Delft around 1650. The emotional intensity captured in the exchange between the two figures actually goes further than Vermeer in reproducing the quiet drama characteristic of many of Ter Brugghen's works. The artist, likely directed by Fabritius to Rembrandt and his subtle rendering of emotional expression, appears to have discovered the work of Ter Brugghen from several decades earlier with fresh eyes. It is tempting to seek a connection with the Delft Caravaggist Adriaen Cornelisz. van Linschoten (around 1607-1677),<sup>11</sup> active during this period and sufficiently established to warrant a lively anecdote in Houbraken. However, no paintings by him survive, and the two recorded in prints show no relation to the present work.<sup>12</sup> We can do little more, then, than attribute this astonishing painting to a brilliant but unknown follower of Carel Fabritius, likely in contact with the young Vermeer, whose career was cut short – possibly by the same disastrous gunpowder explosion that took the life of Fabritius in 1654.

1. It is highly unlikely that the provenance of the present painting can be extended by identifying it with a work attributed to Fabritius (see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 2175-2176, no. 1459, pp. 2180, 2194) that appeared on the market in the mid-18th century at the Theodorus van Pee sale, The Hague, 23 May 1747 (Lugt 667), lot 41 (as by Fabritius, "Een [stuk] daar Joseph den Droom uitlegt, van den Schenker en den Bakker, zeer fraai en natuurlyk" [A piece in which Joseph is interpreting the dream of the butler and the baker, very beautiful and natural]); see Hoet and Terwesten 1770, p. 49, no. 41. This is almost certainly the painting of identical description that appeared on the market at a sale, also in The Hague, several years later, 19 April 1752. This time, dimensions are given, indicating that the painting was considerably smaller than the Bader work: "2 voet, 1 duim x 2 v. 7 duim" (63.9 × 81.1 cm); see Hoet 1752, vol. 2, p. 327.
2. For a fuller account of *Herauslösung*, see Tümpel 1966.
3. See the references between 1770 and 1815 under Literature at the head of this entry and the references to 1877 and 1890 under Collection Catalogues.
4. Waagen 1854-1857, vol. 2, p. 283.
5. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 2175-2176, no. 1459.
6. Havard 1879-1881, vol. 4, p. 62.
7. See exhib. cat. The Hague and Schwerin 2004-2005, pp. 111-115, no. 7 (colour ill., as around 1647-1648). Sumowski dates this work to around 1650; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 985, no. 603. However, the painting's emphasis on strong light effect places it slightly earlier in the artist's oeuvre.
8. See exhib. cat. New York and London 2001, pp. 363-365, no. 65 (colour ill.).
9. See Nicolson 1958, pp. 54-55, no. A14 (pls. 21, 24a).
10. See Leonard J. Slakes, "Utrecht and Delft: Vermeer and Caravaggism," in *Vermeer Studies*, Ivan Gaskell and Michiel Jonker, eds., "Studies in the History of Art" 55 (Washington, 1998), pp. 80-91.
11. Bredius 1884; Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 114-115; Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 2, pp. 493, 497, 499 and vol. 6, pp. 1924-1931; and Edwin Buijsen, in exhib. cat. The Hague 1998, p. 325, where Van Linschoten's date of birth is unconvincingly placed around 1590.
12. Nicolaes Verkolje, after Adriaen Cornelisz. van Linschoten, mezzotint, dimensions unknown, inscribed; see Bredius 1884, pp. 136-137 (ill.) and Hollstein, vol. 11, p. 83, nos. 1, 2. ♦



## 7.

Workshop of Frans Francken II (1581-1642)

*Balaam and the Ass*

Between 1617 and 1637?

Oil on panel

22.9 × 17.8 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 February 1960, lot 85 (as by Frans Francken II, for £18), purchased by Efim Schapiro; London, collection of Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader in 1992

THIS SMALL PANEL depicts Balaam's famous encounter with the angel, as narrated in chapter 22 of the Book of Numbers. Pressed by the Moabites to curse their opponents the Israelites, Balaam initially refuses but later agrees to travel with them to visit their king, Balak. Vexed by the weakness of his prophet, God sends an angel to stand in his way as he makes the trip by donkey. At first, however, only the animal sees the divine messenger, and balks, receiving a beating from its master for its hesitation. When this has happened three times, the ass miraculously speaks, voicing its protest. Only then does Balaam see the angel and repent. Here, the angel stands to the left of centre brandishing a sword in his right hand, the other arm reaching out toward Balaam and his steed. The donkey turns away, one eye gazing out rather wildly at the viewer as Balaam raises his stick to strike. Although the



biblical text has the pair traversing a passage with a wall on either side, painters generally left this element out. Here, in a manner typical of the Flemish tradition, the artist has set his travellers in an imaginary forest landscape, with the action taking place in a clearing and a tree framing the composition at the left edge.

The stylized handling of the figures is strongly reminiscent of the hand of the Antwerp history painter Frans Francken II, who was famous for his small cabinet pictures and to whom this work was attributed when it was in the Schapiro Collection. The smooth, rounded forms, bright local colour and large eyes of the figures are all consistent with his style. However, his characteristically solid clarity and refinement are not evident. It is possible that the painting was executed by another member of the large

Francken family workshop, possibly Frans II's son Ambrosius Francken II (1590-1632), who closely imitated his father's style.<sup>1</sup> But since no comparable scenes by him survive, this work can only be placed generally among the followers of Frans Francken II. The panel mark can be traced to the Antwerp panel maker Michiel Claessens, indicating that the painting was likely made in that city between 1617 and 1637.<sup>2</sup>

1. On Ambrosius Francken II, see Härting 1989, pp. 9, 182-184.

2. According to Jørgen Wadum in a letter to Alfred Bader, dated 10 January 1993; Bader Collection work files. On Claessens, see the journal kept by Jan Moretus II as deacon of the St. Luke's Guild (1616-1617), published in *Uitgaven der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen* 1 (Antwerp, 1878), pp. 17, 18, 30 and especially p. 83. ♦



## 8.

Circle of Pieter Fransz. de Grebber (around 1600-1652/53)

*Head of a Woman with a Turban*

Around 1628-1630

Oil on panel, 38.5 × 27.2 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1982, acc. no. 25-004

### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), December 7, 1934, lot 88, purchased by Weisser; London, collection of Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate in 1979 by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

THIS LIVELY PAINTING of an old woman belongs to the genre of the *tronie*. The Dutch term *tronie*, synonymous in the 17th century with "head," "face" or "facial expression," was used in inventories to describe paintings portraying character heads or busts of different human types. It could refer, for example, to a generic image of a wrinkled old man, the head of an Oriental, or simply the symbolic representation of a human affect.<sup>1</sup> Originally, the *tronie* served as a preliminary study for a larger composition, but during the 1620s the Leiden artists Jan Lievens (1607-1674) and Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) developed the character study into an autonomous genre intended for sale.

Because of its genesis, the autonomous *tronie* varied in character, sometimes approaching portraiture, sometimes genre or history painting. It often combined the likeness of a distinctive model with an exotic or fantastic costume. Beholders could make their own associations, since the image was generally open to a range of interpretations. The *tronie* also possessed an experimental dimension: not bound by the rules of decorum, it could be painted in a sketchy manner and often made use of dynamic effects of light and shadow, and exaggerated physiognomies.

The present painting exemplifies the interpretive polyvalence of the *tronie*. At first glance, it appears to meet the parameters of a portrait: the bust of an old woman is positioned at a three-quarter angle, and as is typical in a portrait, the sitter gazes out of the image, creating the usual suggestion of timelessness. But while the true portrait seeks a balance between verisimilitude and ide-





Fig. 8a. Luca Ciamberlano, after Agostino Carracci, *Head of a Woman in a Turban*, engraving, 15.5 × 11.4 cm. In *Clare Teeckenspiegel* (Amsterdam: J. Londerseel, around 1620).

alization, here the description of the female face is realistic and un-enhanced. The face, modelled in tones of red, white and blue, conveys an impression of vitality, but the solid forms of wrinkled flesh clearly show the signs of old age.

The identification of this image as a *tronie* is also reinforced by the dramatic illumination, rarely seen in a portrait. The light is concentrated on the woman's face, leaving the rest of the head and shoulders in shadow. The fantastic clothes, too, which have no connection to a historical personage, speak against a portrait. The woman's conspicuous, turban-like headgear is reminiscent of the so-called *chaperon*, a Burgundian fashion from the 15th century. Such turbans appear in a number of early Netherlandish portraits, including Jan van Eyck's famous *Portrait of a Man*, where the sitter – possibly the artist himself – wears a flamboyant red version.<sup>2</sup> The headdress consisting of a scarf draped loosely around the head may also go back to Italian depictions of ordinary women and sibyls from the 16th century: an engraving by Luca Ciamberlano showing a bust of a woman wearing a turban-like scarf (fig. 8a) appears in a drawing book published in the Netherlands in the early 17th century.<sup>3</sup>

In the present work, the pearl-decorated bonnet worn under the white-and-gold silk turban is reminiscent of 16th-century costume. This recourse to the fashion of past centuries is often found in representations by Rembrandt and his circle. Many of the *tronies* of old, wrinkled women identified by 17th-century scholars as Rembrandt's mother show their subjects wearing antique veils and turban-like headwear.<sup>4</sup>

But despite the iconographic proximity to images by Rembrandt and his circle, this colourful representation of an old woman relates more closely to the painting of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640): the brilliant light on the face and the smooth brushwork are clear reminders of the famous Flemish painter's manner. We must conclude, then, that the author of this *tronie* was influenced both by Flemish painting and by the *tronies* made by Lievens and Rembrandt during their Leiden years (1626–1631).

It is known that the Haarlem portraitist and history painter Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, after training under Hendrick Goltzius, began in the 1630s to follow the style of Rembrandt.<sup>5</sup> But his early paintings were clearly influenced by the handling and composition of Rubens's works, which his Haarlem master Goltzius also adopted in his final years.<sup>6</sup> Pieter's father, Frans de Grebber, was a friend of Rubens from 1618 onwards, and arranged the exchange of paintings and antique sculptures between the Flemish painter and Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador to the United Provinces. A letter from Sir Dudley makes mention of Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, and it has been suggested that he joined his father on a trip to Antwerp and had the opportunity to study the works in Rubens's atelier.<sup>7</sup> It is also possible that Rubens made a trip to Haarlem on the occasion of Goltzius's death in 1617.<sup>8</sup>

Because of the evident Flemish and Haarlem influences, as well as the kinship with Rembrandt's *tronies*, this painting should be dated to between 1628 and 1630. Based on the free, almost sketchy brushwork, it can reasonably be attributed to a pupil of Frans Pietersz. de Grebber – possibly his talented son Pieter – or to a painter from his circle.

Franziska Gottwald

1. For a fuller discussion of this type of head study, see Lyckle de Vries, "Tronies and Other Single Figured Netherlandish Paintings," in *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989), pp. 185–202, and F. Schwartz, "The Motion of the Countenance: Rembrandt's Early Portraits and the Tronie," in *Res. Anthropology and Aesthetics* 17–18 (1989), pp. 89–116.
2. Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of a Man (Self-portrait?)*, oil on panel, 1433, 25.7 × 19 cm, signed, London, National Gallery, inv. NG 222. See Paul van Calster, "Of Beardless Painters and Red Chaperons: A Fifteenth-century Whodunit," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 3 (2003), pp. 465–492, especially pp. 479–483.
3. See Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 39, p. 314, no. 21 (ill.).
4. See for example, cat. 114.
5. Peter C. Sutton, "Rembrandt and Pieter de Grebber," in *Shop Talk: Studies in Honor of Seymour Slive, Presented on His Seventy-fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995), pp. 241–248.
6. See exhib. cat. Amsterdam, New York and Toledo 2003–2004, pp. 33–56.
7. Rene Hazeleger, "Pieter Fransz. de Grebber. Schilder tot Haarlem," Master's thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1979, p. 21.
8. Jan Gerrit van Gelder, "Rubens in Holland in de Zeventiende Eeuw," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 3 (1950/51), p. 120. ♦





9.  
Workshop of Pieter Frantz de Grebber (around 1600-1652/53)

*The Four Evangelists*

Oil on canvas, 132.1 × 189.2 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1996, acc. no. 38-043

PROVENANCE

Private collection; Amsterdam, with John H. Schlichte Bergen; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 11 January 1996, lot 228 (ill., as by Pieter de Grebber, around 1635), purchased by Alfred Bader

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1996-1997, p. 28 (colour ill., pl. 2), pp. 60-61, no. 21 (ill.)

IN THIS HEROIC depiction of the four Evangelists, the figures are portrayed life-size. Shown against the backdrop of a dark, lowering sky, the group is illuminated by a gleam of light bursting through the clouds. On the left looms the figure of Matthew, with his attribute, the angel, behind him. In the centre, half hidden by Matthew, is Luke, who bends over a panel holding a stylus in his right hand. His attribute, the ox, thrusts its head forward to lean its chin on his back. Behind Luke stands the figure of John, swathed in a simple white drapery. His principal attribute, the

eagle, hovers over his right shoulder, its wings spread and a pen tube hanging from its beak. To the right sits Mark, grasping a page of the book that leans against a lectern on the table in front of him; his right hand, holding a pen, seems to rest on the head of his attribute – the lion that glowers below.

The tradition of depicting the four Evangelists goes back to early Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Their association with the symbolic attributes shown here appears to have emerged during the second century CE and is based on both Old and New Testament texts (Ezekiel 1:1-28 and Revelation 4:7).<sup>2</sup> Depictions of the four Evangelists, who were also linked with the four elements, usually take the form of a series of figures or portraits, often in decorative cycles. Portrayals like this one, showing all four Evangelists in one scene, are less common. Early examples began appearing in Netherlandish art in the 1550s, in the work of Frans Floris,<sup>3</sup> Pieter Aertsen<sup>4</sup> and Joachim Beuckelaer.<sup>5</sup> During the 17th century, the theme was explored by the Flemish painters Peter Paul Rubens<sup>6</sup> and Jacob Jordaens,<sup>7</sup> and by the Dutch Mannerists Abraham Bloemaert<sup>8</sup> and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem.<sup>9</sup>

None of these artists supplied a direct model for the figures or composition of the present painting. However, the casting of Luke as an artist – a reference to the legend that makes him the



author of the original image of the Madonna – may be derived from Bloemaert. More generally, the compositional massing of the figures to one side of the pictorial space, the smoothly rounded forms, the diffuse yet directional quality of the light and the striking device of having it break through a sombre background sky can all be related to the work of the prominent Haarlem painter Pieter Fransz. de Grebber. Son of Frans Pietersz. de Grebber (1572/73–1649), a prominent history painter who also served as agent to Pieter Paul Rubens, Pieter trained with his father and with Hendrick Goltzius, embarking on a career in 1622 but not registering with Haarlem's Guild until 1632. He enjoyed great success, producing portraits and history paintings, many of which served as altarpieces for the homes and hidden churches of fellow Roman Catholics.<sup>10</sup> Pieter de Grebber is perhaps best known as a champion of the classicizing style, and may be credited with sparking its revival in Dutch art during the 1650s, especially in Haarlem. He even published a broadsheet of "Rules" outlining his artistic principles.<sup>11</sup> His style synthesizes elements from the work of Goltzius and Rubens with the chiaroscuro modelling of Rembrandt's work from the 1630s. The House of Orange commissioned a number of paintings from him, including an allegorical scene for the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch.<sup>12</sup> De Grebber established a large workshop employing a number of assistants, and it is in this context that the present work was created. Although the painting is thoroughly consistent with the master's style, its execution is not strong enough to be considered autograph.

1. LCI, vol. 1, col. 699.
2. LCI, vol. 1, col. 709.
3. For example, a copy after Frans Floris, *The Four Evangelists*, oil on panel, 104 × 138 cm, sale, Antwerp (Bernaerts), 30 March 1998, lot 32 (colour ill., as by Circle of Frans Floris); see Van de Velde 1975, vol. 1, pp. 213–214, with no. 64. This work is also known through a reproduction print; see *ibid.*, vol. 2 (fig. 192).
4. For example, Pieter Aertsen, *The Four Evangelists*, 1559, oil on panel, 124 × 81 cm, Aachen, Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum; see Friedländer 1967–1976, vol. 13, p. 99, no. 319 (pl. 158). Also, Pieter Aertsen, *The Four Evangelists*, oil on panel, 80.5 × 118 cm, Culemborg, Collectie Museum Elisabeth Weeshuis; see Wouter Kloek, "Register van het werk van Pieter Aertsen en zijn atelier," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 40 (1989), p. 295.
5. For example, Joachim Beuckelaer, *The Four Evangelists*, 1567, oil on panel, 175 × 130 cm, monogrammed, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 831; see collection cat. Dresden 1992, p. 120.
6. For example, Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Evangelists*, around 1614, oil on canvas, 224 × 270 cm, Potsdam, Gemäldegalerie Schloss Sanssouci, inv. GK I 7580; see Vlieghe 1972, vol. 1, pp. 70–72, no. 54 (fig. 96).
7. For example, Jacob Jordaens, *The Four Evangelists*, oil on canvas, 133 × 118 cm, Paris, Louvre, inv. 1404; see D'Hulst 1982, pp. 126–127 (ill.).
8. For example, Abraham Bloemaert, *The Four Evangelists*, around 1612, oil on canvas, 178 × 222.5 cm, Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum; see Roethlisberger and Bok 1993, vol. 1, pp. 190–193, no. 223, vol. 2 (colour ill., pl. XIII).
9. For example, Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *The Four Evangelists*, 1601, oil on canvas, 128 × 143 cm (originally 93 × 143 cm), signed, Schönborn Mallebern, collection of the Graf von Schönborn Buchheim, inv. 80; see Van Thiel 1999, p. 332, no. 101 (pl. 172).
10. See Albert Blankert, "Classicism in Dutch History Painting," in exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999–2000, pp. 116, 118.
11. See P.P.J. van Thiel, "De Grebbers regels van de Kunst," *Oud Holland* 80 (1965), pp. 126–131.
12. Pieter de Grebber, *Triumphal Arch with Procession of the Spoils of War*, 1648, oil on canvas, 376 × 203 cm, signed, The Hague, Huis ten Bosch, Oranjezaal; see exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999–2000, pp. 140–143, no. 19 (colour ill.). ◆



10.

Circle of Lucas de Heere (1534–around 1584)

*Portrait of a Girl*

Around 1565

Oil on panel, 89 × 80.6 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1986, acc. no. 29-005

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Christie's), 15 July 1983, lot 47 (colour ill., as attributed to Lucas de Heere); London, with Neville Orgel

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988–1991, pp. 20–23, no. 5 (colour ill., as by Anonymous, 16th century)

THIS RATHER PERPLEXING portrait shows a young woman in a three-quarter-length view, standing beside a table on which she rests her left hand. With her body turned a little to one side, she fixes the viewer with her eyes, her slightly raised eyebrows adding intensity to her gaze. Her pose is stiffly formal: she stands straight, with her arms forming symmetrical arcs on either side. This aristocratic bearing appears to corroborate the high social status indicated by her extremely lavish costume, which is richly embroidered with gold thread and set with countless precious stones. The ensemble is completed by a necklace and belt in gold filigree, ornamented with numerous larger stones. From the belt hangs a chain composed of gold filigree dart-forms separated by pearls, which loops up to where it is grasped between the girl's right forefinger and thumb and ends in a tassel of metallic threads. The same rich decoration adorns the small cap resting





Fig. 10a. George Perfect Harding, *Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots*, watercolour, 21.1 × 16.5 cm. London, National Portrait Gallery, inv. D18742.



Fig. 10b. Lucas de Heere, *Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba*, 1559, oil on canvas, 183 × 260 cm, signed.

on top of her head, from which a pendant set with jewels and a pearl hangs down over her hairline.

The subject's dress possibly connects her to the royalty of England and France, for it corresponds closely to that worn by Mary Queen of Scots in a portrait attributed to the Flemish painter Lucas de Heere, known only through a copy by George Perfect Harding (1781–1853) kept at the National Portrait Gallery in London (fig. 10a). De Heere may have painted the original during his period at the French court (1559–1561), which coincided with Mary's brief reign as Queen Consort of France (1559–1560). Although the girl pictured in the present portrait actually bears a slight facial resemblance to the Scottish Queen, such an identification can be excluded, primarily because the sitter is too young. She appears to be around twelve or thirteen years old, whereas Mary would have been in her twenties at the time this painting was executed – around 1565 to judge from the costume.<sup>1</sup> Also, it is unlikely that a portrait of Mary would be missing a coat-of-arms or a specific royal reference. The absence of any reference of this kind in fact makes it impossible to identify the sitter more closely. The embroidery pattern on her dress incorporates a mortar and pestle motif, but this does not appear to be of any heraldic significance.

There is also little evidence to support the traditional attribution of this painting to Lucas de Heere. Born in Ghent in 1634, into a dynasty of painters and craftsmen, this artist likely trained with his father, Jan de Heere, before completing his studies in the workshop of the illustrious portrait and history painter Frans Floris (1519/20–1570), which he entered around 1555.<sup>2</sup> De Heere soon began earning commissions, and he painted in Ghent for several years before going to Paris to work for the French court. He then returned to Ghent for six more productive years of painting, also gaining a considerable reputation as a poet.<sup>3</sup> Likely drawn

to the Protestant cause through his marriage, he fled the troubles in Flanders for England in 1567. He remained there – chiefly occupied with portraiture – until 1576, returning home only after the Pacification of Ghent. Unfortunately, very few works of art can be firmly attributed to De Heere.<sup>4</sup> From the evidence of his *Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba*, in Ghent (fig. 10b),<sup>5</sup> he practiced a weaker, softer version of Floris's style. The present painting, too, lacks a decisive and accurate rendering of form, but until a comparable work by De Heere's hand surfaces it can only be generally ascribed to a Flemish artist active around 1565.

1. Compare the costume depicted in a painting attributed to Adriaen Thomasz. Key, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1564, oil on panel, 75 × 57 cm, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Koninklijk Museum voor Oude Kunst, inv. 2609; see collection cat. Brussels 1984, p. 164 (ill.).
2. On the biography of Lucas de Heere, see Van Mander, fols. 255r–255v (Van Mander/Miedema, vol. 1, pp. 278–285, vol. 4, pp. 143–154); Cust 1894; and Carl van de Velde, "d'Heere, Lucas," *Grove Art Online*, <http://www.groveart.com/> (consulted 18 May 2006).
3. His most illustrious student, Karel van Mander (1548–1606), also combined the pursuit of poetry and painting. See Jochen Becker, "Zur niederländische Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Lucas de Heere," *Simiolus* 6 (1972–1973), pp. 113–127.
4. Many portraits of nobility in English collections were formerly attributed to Lucas de Heere because they bore the monogram *HE*, which was later connected, correctly, to Hans Eworth. One of the few works given to De Heere with any confidence is *The Family of Henry VIII: An Allegory of the Tudor Succession*, around 1572, oil on panel, 131.2 × 184 cm, Cardiff, National Museum and Gallery (on loan to Sudely Castle, Gloucestershire); see Karin Hearn, *Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1550–1650*, exhib. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1995–1996), pp. 81–82, no. 35 (ill.).
5. See Godelieve Denhaene, *Lambert Lombard : Renaissance et humanisme à Liège* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1990), pp. 121, 122 (fig. 120). ◆





11.  
Circle of Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn (1572-1657)

*Self-portrait with a Square Palette*

Around 1600

Oil on panel, 76.2 × 50.8 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

New York, with Otto Naumann, from whom purchased by Alfred Bader in 1998

A YOUNG ARTIST, who has depicted himself at work, looks out at the viewer as he reaches with his right hand to take one of the brushes clasped, with his palette, in the left. Instead of working clothes, he wears formal dress: a large millstone ruff and a jacket of fine black cloth with long sleeves from which straight cuffs of gauzy white fabric emerge. His hair is trimmed short, and his skin shows the ravages of smallpox. The age of the subject is difficult to read; the clear-cut features and rather scanty moustache and beard appear to betray extreme youth, but the wrinkles around the eyes suggest more advanced years. He is likely in his early twenties.

No convincing identification has yet been proposed, and the sitter's likeness cannot be related to any known portrait of an artist. The work first resurfaced on the art market under the name of Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn. Born in 1572, Van Ravesteyn entered the St. Luke's Guild in The Hague in 1598 and remained a member until his death in 1657, after an



Fig. 11a. Jan Anthonisz. van Ravesteyn, *Portrait of Hugo de Groot at the Age of Sixteen*, 1599, oil on panel, 30.5 cm (diam.). Paris, Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia, inv. 175.

extremely successful career as a portraitist. Although very few early works by this artist are known, his famous 1599 portrait of Hugo de Groot, now in Paris (fig. 11a), does offer some points of comparison to the present painting, notably the smooth modelling, strong light, clear handling of the features and emphasis on tonal contrasts.<sup>1</sup> The Paris work appears to display a more direct touch than Van Ravesteyn's later portraits. However, this elegant and dynamic image, clearly influenced by Mannerism, contrasts with the static, matter-of-fact approach evident here. Furthermore, if our estimate of the sitter's age is accurate, Van Ravesteyn would have been rather too old – about twenty-eight at the time of this portrait, which according to Marieke de Winkel's assessment of the costume was painted around 1600 or later.<sup>2</sup> Although the attribution to Van Ravesteyn cannot be entirely excluded, it seems most unlikely.

Otto Naumann has pointed out that the small palette shown in the image belongs to 16th- and 17th-century painting practice, when artists set their palettes only with those colours being used in the section of the painting on which they were working.<sup>3</sup> The free arrangement of the pigments appears to reflect practice prior to 1600 or thereabouts, when (as Ernst van de Wetering has indicated in his study of artistic practice of the period)<sup>4</sup> artists began to set their palettes more systematically. The square shape reflects an earlier palette tradition, in use during the 15th century; by the time this painting was executed, many artists had already begun to use the round form that eventually came to dominate artistic practice.<sup>5</sup>

1. See exhib. cat. The Hague 2002, pp. 146-149, no. 26 (colour ill.).

2. Reported in an undated note from Otto Naumann, of Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York; Bader Collection work files.

3. Oral communication with Otto Naumann.

4. Ernst van de Wetering, "Reflections on the Relation between Technique and Style: The Use of the Palette by the Seventeenth-century Painter," in *Historic Painting Techniques: Materials and Studio Practice*, preprints of a symposium held at the University of Leiden, A. Wallert, E. Hermens and M. Peek, eds. (Leiden and Malibu, 1995), pp. 198-200; and Van de Wetering 2000, pp. 136-148.

5. See J. R. Gettens and C. Stout, *Painting Materials* (New York: Dover, 1966), p. 302. The Leiden painter Isaac van Swanenburg portrayed himself holding a round palette as early as 1568: oil on panel, 1568, 94 × 71.5 cm, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, inv. S 1738; see exhib. cat. Leiden 1998, pp. 61-64, no. 3 (fig. 38). ♦





12.

Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

*David Presenting the Head of Goliath to Saul*

After 1639

Oil on panel, 27.2 × 39.6 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Paris, with Hevesy; Paris, with Lennart Lundh, by 1988; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1995

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Athens 1999, unpaginated (colour ill., as possibly by Rembrandt)

THIS DYNAMIC PANEL depicts the biblical story of David and Goliath, as told in chapter 17 of the First Book of Samuel. David is shown presenting the severed head of Goliath to King Saul and his retinue, following the famous battlefield triumph over the Philistine champion (17:57). Saul stands imposingly in the centre, his train held up by two young pages. The balding, bearded man wearing an opulent robe and bending down to examine David's trophy appears to be Samuel, while the turbaned figure to the right of him, carrying Goliath's sword, is likely the general, Abner. These characters are surrounded by a crowd of armed onlookers, including a towering figure on horseback who almost fills the space at the left-hand side of the painting. This is probably Jonathan, whose devotion to David was sparked at this moment. In the foreground, an excited dog lunges, barking, at Goliath's head.

Rather than marking the painting as a sketch, the rough, unfinished handling echoes the style of the work on which it is based. The composition replicates that of a painting on the theme





Fig. 12a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *David Presenting the Head of Goliath to Saul*, 1627, oil on panel, 27.2 × 39.6 cm, signed. Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. G 1958.37.

by Rembrandt, now in Basel (fig. 12a),<sup>1</sup> although it is missing an entire section at the right edge; from the evidence of the machine-bevelled surface on the back of the panel, this section was there originally but was later trimmed off. Even at the outset, however, this copy was incomplete, for several figures and many details of Rembrandt's painting are absent. There is no sentry in the tower to the right of centre, for example, nor are there any spears and bows in the background, behind the rider on the left. Some elements are articulated only in a brownish underlayer, including the second face to the right of Saul's head, which was possibly a self-portrait in the original.<sup>2</sup> The curved silhouette of Saul's grand campaign tent, left in reserve, has not been completely filled in. In the original, moreover, it was painted over the background sky – a technical difference that suggests that the present painting was not produced in Rembrandt's immediate circle. A dendrochronological analysis by Peter Klein of the work's wooden support indicates that it would have been ready for painting by 1639 at the earliest, fully twelve years after the date Rembrandt recorded on the painting in Basel.<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence to support the notion that Rembrandt revisited his own earlier style or that he assigned such a task to his students. The authorship of his early associate Jan Lievens can also be dismissed, as the painting lacks this artist's characteristic hatching technique.

The Basel painting is executed in a surprisingly loose and sketchy manner for this period in Rembrandt's career, and, as the members of the Rembrandt Research Project have commented, it likely functioned as a *modello* for a larger finished painting.<sup>4</sup> Rembrandt based his own composition on that of a 1625 painting by his teacher, Pieter Lastman, entitled *Coriolanus and the Roman Women*, and was likely intending to produce a finished painting on the same large scale.<sup>5</sup> He adapted the figure of Saul from a print after an altarpiece by Rubens.<sup>6</sup> The fact that Rembrandt

signed and dated his small sketch attests both to his appreciation of the artistic value of this category of work and to his awareness of the market for such manifestations of artistic imagination and bravura. With its many direct, thick strokes and daubs of paint, the present panel offers a careful imitation of Rembrandt's painterly execution. In a few areas, such as the earring worn by the page on the right, the artist has elaborated on the original, and he has also reproduced the refinement in some critical areas of the original composition, smoothly modelling the faces and carefully describing the costumes of the central figures. The fact that this perceptive and skilful copy was left incomplete and unfinished suggests that it was made by a mature artist as a study or *aide-mémoire*, simply out of interest in Rembrandt's work.

1. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 129–136, no. Ag (ill.).

2. Ibid., p. 131.

3. Letter of 24 July 1989 from Peter Klein to Lennart Lundh; Bader Collection work files.

4. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 130–131.

5. Pieter Lastman, *Coriolanus and the Roman Women*, oil on panel, 1625, 81 × 132 cm, signed, Dublin, Trustees of Trinity College; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 134–135 (fig. 6).

6. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 134, 136 (fig. 7). ◆





13.

Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

*Head of an Old Woman*

Around 1630

Oil on panel, 24.8 × 19 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, with Clovis Whitfield in 1994; purchased by Alfred Bader in November 1994; stolen 12 November 1994;<sup>1</sup> recovered by Amsterdam police around 1995; not returned but placed in sale, Amsterdam (De Eland), 25 June 1998, lot 1420; Utrecht, collection of M.M.B. Schilder; repurchased by Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Leiden 2005-2006, pp. 126-127, no. 24 (colour ill.)

THIS SMALL PANEL presents a bust-length view of an old woman. Her body faces the left-hand edge of the painting, but she turns her head to the side, not looking out toward the viewer but tilting her head slightly downward and gazing off to the lower left. With her powerful nose and toothless underbite, she resembles the model portrayed in several paintings by Rembrandt, including the small oil on copper in Salzburg, from around 1630 (fig. 13a),<sup>2</sup> where she appears with a shawl covering her head. In a well-known painting from the same year kept in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam she poses as the prophetess Hannah,<sup>3</sup> and her features are again recognizable in the visage of this same personality in a *Presentation in the Temple* in Hamburg, painted around 1627-1628 (see fig. 115c).<sup>4</sup> The costume she



Fig. 13a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of an Old Woman (Rembrandt's Mother?)*, around 1630, oil on copper, 15.5 × 12.2 cm. Salzburg, Residenzgalerie, inv. 549.

wears here, consisting of a richly embroidered head scarf, a fur mantle and a plain white blouse, is consistent with the fantasy evocations of Middle Eastern dress that appear in Rembrandt's biblical history paintings.<sup>5</sup> Given its connection to history painting, the present picture clearly falls into the category of the *tronie*, or anonymous character head. Rembrandt and his contemporary Jan Lievens began producing such head studies as finished paintings during the 1620s. Rembrandt's lost model for this composition relates closely to the painting in Salzburg, and can likewise be dated to around 1630.

The present panel is one of fourteen recorded copies of the same lost painting, the best-known of which is at the Mauritshuis, in The Hague.<sup>6</sup> Abraham Bredius included the Mauritshuis work in his 1936 Rembrandt monograph as being authentic, but this opinion has been disputed by many scholars, including Cornelius Hofstede de Groot and Horst Gerson.<sup>7</sup> Later, the work was actually singled out for discussion by the Rembrandt Research Project and formally rejected,<sup>8</sup> although as the Project members pointed out their choice was somewhat arbitrary since the Mauritshuis painting is no closer to Rembrandt than several of the other copies. The large number of versions, they postulate, makes it likely that there was an original by Rembrandt that was copied regularly. The master may have kept the original in his workshop, for students to replicate as part of their training. The present painting was not known to the Project, so it adds a fourteenth example to the thirteen they cite. With its highly refined finish and attention to detail it is reminiscent of the style of Rembrandt's pupil Gerrit Dou. The Mauritshuis version, which shows more painterly effects and a heavier impasto, may be a later interpretation.

Until recently, the sitter for these depictions was generally identified as "Rembrandt's Mother,"<sup>9</sup> but there is no evidence to support this view as no portrait of Neeltgen Willemsdr. van Zuytbrouck has come down to us. Significantly, the pose does not reflect any known portrait formula. The traditional identification has its roots in the early 19th century: in 1811 a painting of an old



woman, attributed to Rembrandt, appeared at a sale accompanied by the suggestion that the sitter was the artist's mother.<sup>10</sup> This may have been the painting now at the Mauritshuis, which has the same dimensions, and it seems also to have been the work that had appeared at an earlier sale, in 1763, which, though of the same theme and format, was presented under the simple title "Portrait of an Old Woman" and not identified as Rembrandt's mother.<sup>11</sup> The subsequent familial identification was linked to the early 19th-century notion that Dutch artists painted only what they saw around them, never resorting to studio artifice or idealization.<sup>12</sup> Despite the fact that his own work drew heavily from the imagination, Rembrandt began to be contrasted with artists who relied on the academic idealization of figures and setting. The interpretation of the present picture as a portrait of his mother glosses over the fantastic character of the costume, which bears no relation to contemporary dress or the clothes a sitter would have worn for a portrait. Moreover, it takes no account of Rembrandt's serious and professional approach to history painting, which required the production of numerous studies of heads and expressions. The present copy, after a lost *tronie* by him, was no doubt part of his preparation for a depiction of an elderly prophetess, such as the Hannah in the Rijksmuseum. The sitter, likely an amateur model, actually posed for Lievens too, appearing in a riveting profile depiction by him in the Bader Collection (cat. 114).

1. On the theft, see Alfred Bader, "Double Theft, Triple Trouble," *Queen's Alumni Review* 77, no. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 12-15.
2. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 272-275, no. 272 (ill.).
3. Rembrandt van Rijn, *An Old Woman Reading (The Prophetess Hannah?)*, 1631, oil on panel, 59.8 × 47.7 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3066; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 351-357, no. A37 (ill.).
4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Presentation in the Temple*, around 1627-1628, oil on panel, 55.4 × 43.7 cm, Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 88; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 150-158, no. A12 (ill.).
5. See Volker Manuth and Marieke de Winkel, "The Artist's Mother: Tradition, Reality and Image," in exhib. cat. Leiden 2005-2006, pp. 68-69.
6. Follower of Rembrandt, *Bust of an Old Woman*, oil on panel, 18.2 × 14 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 556.
7. Bredius 1936, p. 4, no. 67 (ill.); Hofstede, de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, pp. 325-326, no. 686; Gerson 1968, pp. 552-553, no. 67.
8. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 662-666, no. C41 (ill., as not by Rembrandt).
9. On the emergence of this identification, see Gerbrand Korevaar, "Rembrandt's Mother: Rise and Fall of a Myth," in exhib. cat. Leiden 2005-2006, pp. 33-52.
10. F.J.O. Boymans sale, Utrecht, 31 August 1811, lot 79 (as "Rembrandt [*sic*]. Une tête de femme à moitié éclairée, d'une touche hardie et vigoureuse, on la prend pour la mère de cet auteur célèbre" [A head of a woman, half-lit, in a bold and vigorous brushstroke, thought to be the mother of the celebrated artist]).
11. De Angelis sale, Brussels, 15 September 1763 (Lugt 1317), lot 10 (as "Le portrait d'une vieille Femme, par le même [Rembrandt van Rhein]" [the portrait of an old woman, by the same]).
12. See Fromentin 1948, pp. 108-116. ♦



14.

Circle of Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

*Head of a Man with Curly Hair and Beard*

Around 1645-1650

Oil on panel, 19 × 16 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

St. Petersburg, Semenov Collection; St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; New York, with Van Diemen & Co.; their sale, Berlin (Paul Graupe), 25-26 January 1935, lot 47 (pl. 19, as by Rembrandt); sale, London (Christie's), 18 May 1994, lot 214 (as manner of Rembrandt); London, with Johnny van Haeften; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1994; stolen in 1994;<sup>1</sup> immediately recovered by Bert Vos and returned

#### LITERATURE

Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 232, with no. 444 (as a replica of the painting in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia); Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner, "Rediscovered Paintings by Rembrandt," *Burlington Magazine* 57 (1930), p. 265 (as by Rembrandt, with pl. IV-B incorrectly illustrating the Philadelphia version); Valentiner 1931, p. 85 (ill.); Bredius 1936, p. 10, no. 226 (fig. 226, as by Rembrandt); Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 538 (ill., as not by Rembrandt), p. 566, no. 226; Rembrandt Research Project, "Missing Rembrandts," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), p. 239

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

*Études sur les peintures des écoles hollandaise, flamande et néerlandaise qu'on trouve dans la collection Semenov* (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. XC, no. 446; *Rembrandt (State Hermitage, Picture Gallery)*, M. B. Dobroklonsky, ed. (St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Picture Gallery, 1926), p. 36

#### OTHER VERSIONS

Oil on panel, 19.8 × 15.7 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art, The John G. Johnson Collection, inv. J477; see Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 232, no. 444, and collection cat. Philadelphia 1994, p. 90 (ill.)

Oil on panel, 21 × 16 cm, falsely signed and dated 1643, sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 July 1986, lot 154 (colour ill., as attributed to Rembrandt); see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 538 (ill., as not by Rembrandt), p. 566, no. 225





Fig. 14a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, around 1645, oil on panel, 25.8 cm x 21.3 cm. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. 347.



Fig. 14b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of a Laughing Soldier*, around 1629-1630, oil on copper, 15.4 x 12.2 cm. The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, inv. 598.

THIS SMALL, nearly square panel portrays a middle-aged man, shown in a close-up bust view and set against a muted, light brown background. The head, with its dark curly hair and beard, is turned slightly toward the right edge of the painting, while the subject's eyes are fixed on the beholder. The right half of his face and neck, illuminated from above by a light source outside the picture frame, is rendered with broad strokes of yellowish white paint. Thick strokes define the chest and shoulders, which are clothed in a simple shirt and a loosely draped scarf in tones of brown. The underpainting is visible in several areas.

This painting belongs to the genre of the *tronie*, a Dutch term meaning "head" or "facial expression."<sup>2</sup> Although developed in the late 1620s by Rembrandt and his associate Jan Lievens into an independent form, the *tronie* traditionally had another function: it was used in an artist's studio to train students and assistants in imitating the style of the master and in painting the most challenging part of the human body – the face.<sup>3</sup> The present painting is most likely a product of this second use. A very close copy of lesser quality but the same meas-

urements is kept at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. There also exists another version, featuring a black beret and a golden chain, that is inscribed with a false Rembrandt signature and the date 1643.<sup>4</sup> We may reasonably conclude that, like other examples produced in Rembrandt's studio, all three of these *tronies* were made after a prototype executed by Rembrandt himself. The floppy black beret of the version that appeared at a sale in 1986 was adapted from a model seen in a frontal self-portrait by Rembrandt from around 1645 (fig. 14a).<sup>5</sup> The gold chain, too, is a well-known component of several *tronies* by Rembrandt and his students, including the *Bust of an Old Man* recently assigned to Rembrandt but probably by Govert Flinck.<sup>6</sup> While the present painting and the picture in Philadelphia undoubtedly served as exercises, the version with the added costume elements and false inscription was probably intended to be sold on the open market as an authentic Rembrandt portrayal of an anonymous, historical figure.<sup>7</sup>

The rough handling and unfinished sections of the present work are further indications that it was an exercise produced in the Rembrandt studio. In the 1629-1630 period Rembrandt painted three *tronies* on gilded copper supports, of identical format but in different styles, which have been interpreted by Peter Schatborn as a demonstration of variations in handling according to theme.<sup>8</sup> They may well have been intended as examples of three different modes of painting, used in the instruction of Rembrandt's pupils. Of the three, the *Head of a Laughing Soldier* (fig. 14b)<sup>9</sup> – a freely-painted bust of a middle-aged man with dark curly hair and a beard – is most similar to the present picture. The unrefined facture corresponds to the coarseness of the soldier type, which played a role in genre and history painting.<sup>10</sup> But the loose manner of Rembrandt's later oeuvre was not connected exclusively to low-life themes. The present depiction of a curly haired man seems to be an imitation of the style Rembrandt used for his sketch-like portrait from the late 1640s of a *Young Jew*, now in Berlin.<sup>11</sup> In both works the faces have been modelled with visible brushstrokes in thick brownish red and yellow paint, and in both cases the chest and clothes are just barely sketched in. Given the stylistic similarities between the two, this *Man with Curly Hair and Beard* should also be dated to the second half of the 1640s.

Franziska Gottwald

1. On the theft, see Alfred Bader, "Double Theft, Triple Trouble," *Queen's Alumni Review* 77, no. 3 (Summer 2003), pp. 12-15.
2. For further discussion of the *tronie*, see cat. 8.
3. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 45-90.
4. See "Other Versions" at the head of this entry.
5. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 378-384, no. IV 4 (ill.).
6. Unknown artist (Govert Flinck?), *Bust of an Old Man*, oil on panel, 58 x 46.5 cm, Kassel, Gemäldegalerie; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 646-653, no. C 53 (ill.).
7. On this practice, see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 615-626.
8. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 166-170 (figs. 128-130).
9. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 427-430, no. B6 (ill.), and vol. 4, p. 168 (fig. 128).
10. For example Rembrandt van Rijn, *Unknown History Painting*, 1626, oil on panel, 90.1 x 121.3 cm, signed, Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, inv. 814, see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 104-113, no. A6 (ill.).
11. Rembrandt, *Portrait of a Young Jew*, late 1640s, oil on panel, 24.5 x 20.5 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 811C; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 197 (ill., as by Rembrandt), p. 568, no. 250. ♦





15.

Follower of Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

*Portrait of a Woman (Hendrickje Stoffels?)*

Around 1653

Oil on canvas, 65.5 × 54 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly inherited by Magdalena van Loo (?-1669), Rembrandt's daughter-in-law; Amsterdam and Paris, collection of Louis van Loo (around 1656-1712); Paris, Jean-Baptiste Vanloo (1684-1745); Paris, Louis-Michel Vanloo (1707-1771); his sale, Paris (Pierre-François Basan), November 1772, lot 28 (as "Un Portrait de femme en demie figure & de grandeur naturelle; elle se montre de face, n'a sur la tête aucune coiffure, sa gorge est couverte d'une chemise plissée, & le corps d'une espèce de mantille; le ton de couleur en est chaud & vigoureux" [Portrait of a woman in half length and life-size; she appears directly facing the viewer, with undressed hair, her upper chest is covered with a pleated chemise, and her body by a type of cape; the tone of the colour is warm and vigorous], "2 pieds 8 pouces × 2 pieds 2 pouces" [86.4 × 70.2 cm]);<sup>1</sup> Dresden, collection of August Joseph Pechwell (around 1757-1811), curator of the Royal Dresden



Picture Gallery; Leipzig, collection of the consul general Heinrich Wilhelm Campe, in 1827; his sale, Leipzig (Boerner), 24 September 1827 (Lugt 11539), lot 245, purchased by Von Feilitzsch, Dresden; Dresden, von Geldern collection; sale, Berlin (Lepke), 18 May 1897 (Lugt 55408), lot 129 (ill., as undoubtedly by Rembrandt); Berlin, collection of Oscar Huldshinsky; his sale, Berlin (Cassirer und Helbing), 10 May 1928, lot 24 (pl. 21); New York, with Joseph Duveen; Melchet Court, Romsey, Hampshire, collection of Alfred Moritz Mond, Baron Melchett, by 1929; by descent to his son Henry Ludwig, Baron Melchett, in 1930; New York, with Joseph Duveen, in 1932; Los Angeles, collection of Norton and Lucille Ellis Simon, in 1957; collection of Lucille Ellis Simon, after 1970; sale, New York (Christie's), 7 June 2002, lot 24 (colour ill., as by Studio of Rembrandt); New York, with Salomon Lilian and others; purchased by Alfred Bader, in 2003

#### LITERATURE

Alfredo Venturi, "Notizie da Berlino e da Vienna," *L'Arte*, November 1907, p. 312 (with Huldshinsky, as by Rembrandt); Wilhelm von Bode, "A Portrait of a Young Woman by Rembrandt," *Starye Gode*, Moscow, November 1907, pp. 541-542 (ill., as by Rembrandt); Bode 1908, p. 179 (ill.), p. 180; Valentiner 1908, p. 328 (ill., as around 1652), pp. 560, 576; Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, "Œuvres de Rembrandt nouvellement découvertes," *L'art Flamand et Hollandois*, December 1909, p. 163; Hofstede de Groot 1909, p. 176, no. 328; Bode 1910, p. 8 (fig. 3, as around 1654); Dacier 1911, vol. 5, p. 29; Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 5, p. 338, no. 717; letter from August L. Mayer, *Burlington Magazine* 47 (September 1925), p. 160; Max J. Friedländer, "Die Sammlung Huldshinsky," *Der Cicerone* 20 (1928), p. 6; Oscar Bie, "Letter from Berlin," *Apollo*, July 1928, p. 36; "A Rembrandt Masterpiece," *Apollo*, November 1928, p. 316 (ill.); Bredius 1936, p. 6, no. 112 (ill., as *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels*); George Isarlov, "Rembrandt et son entourage," *La Renaissance*, July-September 1938, p. 23 (ill.), p. 26; R. Langton Douglas, "The Dutch Exhibition in New York," *Burlington Magazine* 81 (December 1942), p. 305 (pl. 1); R. Langton Douglas, "Three Pictures by Rembrandt from the van Loo Collection," *Art in America* 33 (April 1948), p. 72 (ill. fig. 2); Thomas Craven, *The Rainbow Book of Art* (Cleveland and New York, 1956), p. 140 (ill.); Bauch 1966, p. 26, no. 513 (ill., as by Rembrandt, *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels*, around 1654); Gerson 1968, p. 392, no. 318 (ill., as by Rembrandt); Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 100 (ill.), p. 557, no. 112; Schwartz 1985, p. 308 (fig. 347, as possibly not by Rembrandt); Slatkes 1992, p. 445, no. 294 (colour ill., as by Rembrandt, around 1665); Tümpel 1993, p. 272 (ill., as by Rembrandt's Workshop), p. 431, no. A76 (ill.); Suzanne Muchnic, *Odd Man In: Norton Simon and the Pursuit of Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), p. 190

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Berlin 1909, p. 18, no. 108 (ill.); London 1929, p. 57, no. 104; Amsterdam 1935, p. 53, no. 18 (ill.); Toronto 1936, p. 7, no. 13; *Artists Unappreciated in Their Day*, (Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art, 1939), unpaginated, no. 1 (ill.); George Henry McCall, *Paintings by the Great Dutch Masters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Duveen Galleries, 1942), p. 65, no. 45, p. 137 (ill.); (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1942), p. 48, no. 28 (ill.); *Seventeenth Century Dutch Masterpieces* (Milwaukee: Art Institute, 1943), no. 26; *Loan Exhibition of Great Paintings in Aid of Allied Merchant Seamen* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1944), p. 35, no. 51; Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1945; *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Frans Hals, Rembrandt* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1947), pp. 58, 71, no. 22 (ill.); Chicago, Minneapolis and Detroit 1969-1970, p. 37, no. 10 (ill., inside cover); Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, on loan from 1983-2001

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Wilhelm von Bode, *Die Sammlung Oskar Huldshinsky* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 15, 34, no. 21, pl. 9

A NUMBER OF striking genre-like portraits from Rembrandt's later career depict a young, dark-eyed woman with rounded features who is traditionally identified as Hendrickje Stoffels, the artist's common-law wife. Stoffels likely joined the household as a maid in the second half of the 1640s, eventually entering into a more intimate relationship with Rembrandt and bearing him a child.<sup>2</sup> Probably for legal reasons, the two never married, and this resulted in disciplinary action against Hendrickje by the Reformed Church, of which she was a member.<sup>3</sup> Although there is no



Fig. 15a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels with a Velvet Beret*, around 1649, oil on canvas, 74 × 61 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1751.

securely documented portrait of Hendrickje, the young woman who appears repeatedly in Rembrandt's work from this period can almost certainly be identified as her. The images begin around 1649, with the *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels with a Velvet Beret*, in the Louvre (fig. 15a),<sup>4</sup> and continue until the start of the 1660s, with a canvas in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 15b).<sup>5</sup> Many of the distinctive features of this woman's face also appear in the present painting, which has led to its traditional identification with Hendrickje: the large almond-shaped eyes, fleshy lips, rounded cheekbones and plump cheeks. But there are also several differences, notably the longer face and larger, more square-cut chin, which create a more vigorous, less delicate look. Nonetheless, the work should be considered an interpretive portrait of the same sitter.

This painting enjoyed a long history of being regarded as an important autograph work by Rembrandt and was even selected for the inside cover of the catalogue of the 1969 Rembrandt exhibition shown in Chicago, Minneapolis and Detroit. Not until 1976 did the members of the Rembrandt Research Project first register a negative judgement against the painting, citing both the brushwork and the colour scheme, and pointing in particular to "violet" tints in the shadow area of the face.<sup>6</sup> Although no such cast is visible today, the palette is clearly much more limited than Rembrandt's: it includes ochre and umber tones and some red accents, as well as considerable amounts of pure white and black, which is not consistent with Rembrandt's dynamic approach to colour. His usual range of bluish and greenish tints is altogether absent. Equally significantly, the forms of the face are modelled in fine strokes of methodical hatching. The transitions of tone and surface are abrupt, resulting in a patchy effect and endowing the woman's features with a generally abstract quality. The artist has





Fig. 15b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels*, 1660, oil on canvas, 78.4 × 68.9 cm (date and signature appear to have been added by another hand). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 26.101.9.



Fig. 15c. Jacobus Leveck, *Portrait of a Young Man with a Hat*, 1654, oil on panel, 90 × 70 cm. Polseden Lacey, inv. 88590, National Trust, inv. 25.



Fig. 15d. Jacobus Leveck, *Portrait of a Man Holding a Book*, around 1655, oil on panel, 70 × 54.5 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 1472.

also dramatized differences of texture, dragging and daubing pigment to create highlights in the hair and in the pleats and neckband of the blouse. In an effort to evoke the soft fur of the mantle, the paint has been rubbed and scratched with the butt end of the brush, although not very successfully. Just as unconvincing is the broad stroke of thin ochre at the lower left, meant to suggest a fold over the forearm.

Until now, no scholar has proposed an attribution of this work to one of Rembrandt's pupils or followers. Because the sitter seems to represent the youthful Hendrickje, and because of the combination of smooth and rough textures, it has been consistently assigned a date of around 1653. There is no link to the style of such better-known pupils of this period as Nicolaes Maes, Willem Drost or Abraham van Dijck. However, the flattening, abstractifying transitions between juxtaposed areas, the use of fine hatching and the simple palette of warm tones do accord with the limited oeuvre of the lesser-known Dordrecht portraitist Jacobus Leveck, whose presence in Rembrandt's atelier in 1653 is strongly suggested in a surviving document.<sup>7</sup> These traits characterize both his *Portrait of a Young Man with a Hat* of 1654, kept at Polseden Lacey (fig. 15c),<sup>8</sup> and the *Portrait of an Old Woman*, of the same year, in Brussels.<sup>9</sup> As in the present work, a *Portrait of a Man Holding a Book* in Rotterdam (fig. 15d), attributed to Leveck, shows a thin, dry handling of greyish tones in the shadow area of the face, with a similarly flattening effect.<sup>10</sup> Both pictures also show sudden transitions of tone in the modelling of the features, especially the nose and eyelids. The most striking effect of the present painting – the empathy created by its direct rapport with the viewer, which results from the steady gaze and emphasis on the eyes – is a characteristic that marks much of Leveck's early Rembrandtesque work (from before 1660), including the *Portrait*

*of a Man in a Hat* in the Bader Collection (cat. 110). Both portraits were long considered to be works by Rembrandt. Houbraken reported that Leveck kept an early painting in his studio that imitated his master's style so closely it could have passed for a work by him.<sup>11</sup> The present canvas possibly represents a work executed by Leveck toward the end of his study with Rembrandt or at the start of his independent practice, around 1653. The use of a fabric support also follows Rembrandt's practice of the period, contrasting with the panel that Leveck adopted by choice in the works he produced after returning to Dordrecht.

1. This tentative identification is based on the small illustration added by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin to his copy of the sale catalogue; see Dacier 1911, pp. 29 (ill.). However, Saint-Aubin's sketch shows a painting with a rounded top. The rectangular format and smaller dimensions of the present painting may be the result of trimming.
2. See Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 321, no. 1654/18.
3. Ibid., pp. 318–319, nos. 1654/11, 1654/12, 1654/14, 1654/15.
4. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 100 (ill., as around 1649), p. 556, no. 111, and collection cat. Paris 1982, pp. 63–65 (colour ill.).
5. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 106 (ill.), p. 557, no. 118; and exhib. cat. New York 1995, pp. 78–80, no. 16 (colour ill., as around 1654–1660).
6. Letter of 9 November 1976 from Josua Bruyn, of the Rembrandt Research Project, to Norton Simon; Bader Collection work files.
7. Leveck served as witness to Rembrandt's confirmation of the attribution of a painting to Paulus Brill; see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 305, no. 1653/16.
8. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1746, no. 1163, p. 1749 (ill.).
9. Jacobus Leveck, *Portrait of an Old Woman*, 1654, oil on panel, 90 × 71 cm, signed, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 2991; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1746, no. 1165, p. 1751 (ill.).
10. See *ibid.*, p. 1747, no. 1170, p. 1756 (colour ill.).
11. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 153. I am grateful to Franziska Gottwald for pointing out this reference. ♦





16.

Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

*Portrait of Rembrandt, Drawing in a Sketchbook*

Oil on canvas, 76.2 × 63.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

A MAN, CLEARLY identifiable as Rembrandt, looks out at the viewer while sketching in a book cradled in his left arm. He is drawing in ink, and holds a pen in his right hand and an inkwell lodged between the thumb and index finger of his left. Dressed in a buttoned jacket and sporting a cap-like beret, the figure is consistent with the image of an artist at work. Curiously, Rembrandt is shown looking out of a window – presumably one in his studio – with his hand and the sketchbook resting on the windowsill. The painting's function can be related to that of Rembrandt's many other self-portraits, which supplied a demand for images of the famous artist. This picture alludes to his activity as a draughtsman, however, and in this differs from the rest, which generally picture only the activity of painting. Axel Rüger and Volker Manuth have interpreted the representation of the act of drawing in this portrait as a reference to the regular practice necessary to acquire and maintain skill, recommended both

#### PROVENANCE

Ireland, collection of William Mulready (1786-1863), British painter; Willesden (London), with Christenssen; London, with Neville Orgel; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1977

#### LITERATURE

Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, p. 103 (colour ill., fig. 33), p. 104 (colour detail, fig. 38), p. 107 (colour detail, fig. 43), pp. 108, 438, no. IV 10, Version 5 (fig. 8, as not by Circle of Rembrandt); Mullin 1995

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 18 (ill., colour ill. on cover); Kingston 1984, pp. 20-21, no. 9 (ill.); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 8-9, no. 1 (colour ill.); West Lafayette 1992, pp. 20-21; Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 52-53, no. 15 (ill.)

#### OTHER VERSIONS

Oil on canvas, 1657, 85.5 × 65 cm, falsely signed, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 1569; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 436-438, no. IV 10, Version 4 (ill. fig. 6)

Oil on canvas, 74.5 × 61 cm, San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, inv. 75.2.7; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 431-432, no. IV 10, Version 2 (colour ill. fig. 2)

Oil on canvas, 75 × 63 cm, private collection, formerly Rousham, Oxfordshire, collection of T. Cotterell Dormer; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 431-436, no. IV 10, Version 3 (fig. 4)

Oil on canvas, 81 × 64.2 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 859; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, p. 439, no. IV 10, Version 7 (fig. 10)

Oil on canvas, 72 × 59 cm, Netherlands, private collection; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 438-439, no. IV 10, Version 6 (fig. 9)

in humanist and artistic theory, and depicted in an emblem by Crispijn van de Passe and a print by Hendrick Goltzius.<sup>1</sup>

The present painting is one of six known copies after a lost painting by Rembrandt – further evidence of the demand for images of the master. Abraham Bredius and Horst Gerson have published examples kept in museums in San Francisco and Dresden (fig. 16a), and in the collection of Cotterell Dormer, in Rousham, Oxfordshire.<sup>2</sup> Two other examples have surfaced more recently, one in the museum in Budapest and another in a private collection in the Netherlands. The present painting can be aligned with the one in Rousham as representing a high level of execution and providing a strong sense of Rembrandt's original image. The most reliable record of the lost work, however, is a mezzotint by Jacob Cole (1660-1724), which shows the somewhat longer face and narrower lips we are accustomed to seeing in securely attributed self-portraits by Rembrandt (fig. 16b).<sup>3</sup> While giving Rembrandt a rather squatter head than he actually had, the present painting does show the furrowed brow (seen also in the print and in the painting in Rousham) evocative of the artist's concentration while at work.

It has generally been assumed that Rembrandt's original painting was executed around 1657, as suggested by the date accompanying the false signature on the Dresden painting. Alfred



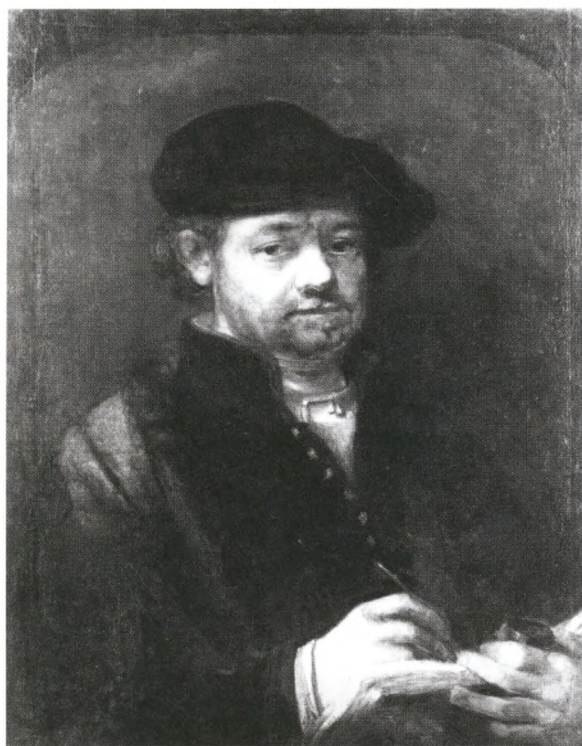


Fig. 16a. Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt, *Rembrandt with Sketchbook*, oil on canvas, 85.5 × 65 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 1569.



Fig. 16b. Jacob Gole, after Rembrandt, *Portrait of Rembrandt with a Sketchbook*, mezzotint, 32.2 × 23.6 cm.

Bader has pointed to a connection with Rembrandt's painting of *A Woman at a Window* (*Hendrickje Stoffels?*), which also dates from the late 1650s, suggesting that the two may have been pendants (see fig. 62c).<sup>4</sup> However, the painted versions of Rembrandt drawing in a sketchbook all render his features as relatively smooth, lacking many of the prominent wrinkles that had already begun to appear in the artist's self-portraits of the early 1650s – notably the deep folds running from the nostrils to the corners of the mouth.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the quite youthful facial features seen here are strikingly similar to those in Rembrandt's *Self-portrait* of around 1642, kept at Windsor Castle.<sup>6</sup> So the possibility that Rembrandt's original depiction of himself with a sketchbook dates to this earlier decade cannot be definitively excluded.

The materials and technique of this painting have been analyzed in order to determine whether or not it was produced in Rembrandt's immediate circle. In a 1973 study Joyce Plesters observed the presence of large particles in the ground layer, which were later identified by Karin Groen as charcoal.<sup>7</sup> This material was applied in a single layer, whereas Rembrandt was accustomed to painting over a double ground layer.<sup>8</sup> Inconsistencies in the composition of this underlayer suggest that it was not prepared in his workshop.<sup>9</sup> Groen also pointed to the presence of lead in the yellow pigment used in the area of the hand as evidence against execution in Rembrandt's atelier, for he typically used this pigment only for decorative features like jewellery.<sup>10</sup> Again inconsistent with the master's practice, as Groen noted, are the lines of underdrawing in the hand, areas of underpainting in the face and the relatively even coverage throughout.<sup>11</sup> The thin,

smooth application, even in the more loosely painted area of the hand, actually follows the development of Dutch painting practice in the 1660s and 1670s, when classicism came to dominate artistic taste. The possibility that the work was painted by Nicolaes Maes has been dismissed by William Robinson.<sup>12</sup>

1. In Crispijn van de Passe, *Van 't Light der teken en schilder konst* (Amsterdam, 1643); see exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 52-53.
2. These three examples were surveyed in Cornelius Müller Hofstede, "Rembrandts Selbstbildnis mit Skizzenbuch," *Pantheon* 26 (1968), pp. 375-390.
3. See exhib. cat. London and The Hague 1999-2000, p. 197 (ill.).
4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Woman at a Window* (*Hendrickje Stoffels?*), late 1650s, oil on canvas, 86 × 65 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 828B; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 104 (ill.), p. 557, no. 116; collection cat. Berlin 1996, p. 377, no. 1540 (ill.), and Alfred Bader, in exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1989, p. 8.
5. Compare for example Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, 1652, oil on canvas, 112 × 81.5 cm, signed, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 411-1652; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, p. 105.
6. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, around 1642, oil on panel, 67.5 × 57.5 cm, Windsor Castle, collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 375-381, no. A139 (ill.).
7. See *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 438.
8. Groen's comments were published in Mullen 1995, p. 66.
9. As reported in Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, p. 438.
10. Mullen 1995.
11. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, p. 438.
12. As reported in a letter of 27 November 1979 from Konrad Oberhuber to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files. ♦





17.

Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

*Venus and Cupid*

Around 1661

Oil on canvas, 97.8 × 82.6 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 557, with no. 117; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3527 note 10; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 25, no. 2 (1992), p. 29 (fig. 1, colour ill. on cover); Bader 1995, pp. 236-237, no. 14 (pl. 29); Michael Eissenhauer in exhib. cat. Kassel 2006, pp. 79-80 (ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1989, pp. 78-79, no. 34 (ill.)

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Amsterdam, collection of Harmen Becker, between 1662 and 1678;<sup>1</sup> Otto Traun sale, Berlin (Lepke), 16-17 May 1933, lot 301 (ill., as by Ferdinand Bol, signed, 122 × 100 cm); sale, Berlin (Lepke), 21 November 1933, lot 120; Mrs. Henri Cabot Lodge and others sale (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's) 14 January 1988, lot 91 (ill., as by Follower of Rembrandt, after the painting in the Louvre, oil on canvas, 110 × 88 cm), purchased by Alfred Bader

VENUS, SEATED and gazing directly at the viewer, affectionately embraces Cupid, who stands on her lap and nestles his head against hers, reaching out to lay one hand on her breast. The goddess wears a dress with an elaborate fichu neckline of chiffon and ribbon that puffs out at the shoulders. This fantasy costume detail, which recalls the off-the-shoulder satin dresses fashionable among young Dutch women around 1660, also functions here as a





Fig. 17a. Quentin Massijs, *Madonna and Child*, around 1523-1524, oil on panel, 135 × 90 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 561.



Fig. 17b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, 1659, oil on canvas, 137 × 116 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 828.



Fig. 17c. Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt, *Venus and Cupid*, around 1661, oil on canvas, 110 × 88 cm., Paris, Louvre, inv. 1743.

kind of shawl, hanging down at the back and partly covering the glittering dress of solid fabric worn underneath. The dress itself is caught in at the waist by a girdle of metal and stones. Venus's undershirt opens to a deep décolleté at the front, and the neck and sleeves are finished with a delicate frill. A string of large pearls traverses her neck and chest to disappear under the gown. Her hair, wound around her head in several strands, is held in place by a red and gold headband set with pearls, and she also wears large pendant pearl earrings. Beside her, Cupid is dressed in a simple, rather skimpy gold dress with a red skirt. His wings stand out behind him, and his face is framed by rough golden locks.

The sensuality and idealization of this image, together with the fantasy costume *all'antica*, confirm its mythological theme. Venus's features appear to be loosely based on those of Hendrickje Stoffels, with whom Rembrandt lived during the 1650s and early 1660s, and Emil Kieser sought to identify the figures as Hendrickje and her daughter by Rembrandt, Cornelia, represented as an angel.<sup>2</sup> However, the figures' poses and costumes are not typical of portraiture, and the robust young figure on the right is clearly not a girl but an idealized boy. Depictions of the goddess of love and her young companion were common in 17th-century European art, having been popularized by a number of monumental and highly sensual depictions by Titian. Here, as Kieser pointed out, the compact grouping and modest presentation also owe a debt to the longstanding Flemish tradition of portraying the Madonna and Child, of which the picture in Berlin by Quentin Massijs (1456-1530) (fig. 17a) is an example.<sup>3</sup> There are unmistakable echoes in the present painting of the traditional Christian iconography associated with images of the

young Jesus and his mother, and it thus reflects the humanist interest in linking the pagan and Christian traditions.

The tender, restrained affection connecting the two figures relates this composition to Rembrandt's work of the late 1650s and the 1660s. His effort to render subtle indications of inner emotion through static poses and gentle expressions is already evident in the famous *Bathsheba*, of 1654, in the Louvre.<sup>4</sup> But the monumental presentation of the figures seen here, with their rounded, abstracted forms emphasized by contour, is characteristic of his later work, of around 1660. The slightly unstable presentation, with most of the figures' weight placed in the top half of the composition, evokes a discreetly unconventional aspect of Rembrandt's work from this period that is also evident in his 1659 painting *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, also in Berlin – likely an unfinished work (fig. 17b).<sup>5</sup>

The existence of an original depiction by Rembrandt on which this *Venus and Cupid* was modelled finds supporting evidence in the inventory of the estate of one of the master's creditors during his last years: such a painting was listed as being among the possessions of wealthy merchant and collector Harmen Becker at his death in 1678.<sup>6</sup> The same inventory also includes a painting described as a Venus and Cupid copied after Rembrandt, and it is very probable that Becker received both works from Rembrandt in 1662, as part of a group of nine given as security against a loan.<sup>7</sup> The works had likely been recently executed by Rembrandt and an assistant for the open market.

The present painting might possibly be the copy listed in the inventory as "after Rembrandt." This canvas shows a smoother, thinner, more liquid application of paint than is usual with



Rembrandt, and there is a marked simplification of surface and texture. The vigour typical of the Rembrandtesque brushstroke has been reduced to a softer, more elegant facture. In several details of fabric – the cuffs of Venus's sleeves, for example, and the upper part of Cupid's garment – thick, flowing strokes of pigment replace the rough impasto typical of the master. In several passages, such as Cupid's legs, the artist's efficient yet thin handling has left a soft, rather weak impression of form and anatomical structure. The simple technique employed in several illuminated areas of flesh, where a light ochre has been applied over a thin brownish underlayer, is a significant departure from Rembrandt's work and may even reflect a somewhat later date and production of the copy outside his studio.

This work's crowded composition may not be original, but rather the product of trimming. When it first resurfaced on the art market in Berlin in the 1930s, the painting was listed as larger, in both height and width. It is not clear whether the canvas was originally larger and subsequently cropped, or whether it had been expanded at some point and the additions later removed. The present state of the composition approximates that of a painting in the Louvre (fig. 17c),<sup>8</sup> but the Paris painting may also have been reduced from its original size: it has been connected to one appearing in a sale in that city in 1767 that was also much larger.<sup>9</sup> Because there is no exact match in dimensions, however, it is not possible to link the 18th-century reference conclusively to either the painting seen here or the one in the Louvre. The attribution of the Bader work (at the 1933 sale) to Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680) is clearly incorrect, as the style most closely reflects Rembrandt's work from around 1660, by which time Bol was no longer imitating his master; in fact, no comparison can be drawn with any of Bol's works. Another possible author is Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), who studied first in Bol's workshop and completed his training with Rembrandt in the early 1660s. Unfortunately, no work by Kneller from this earliest period can be identified that might provide evidence to support such an attribution. Nor can it be determined with any certainty that this *Venus and Cupid* was the one owned by Harmen Becker.

1. See the inventory of the Harmen Becker estate, Amsterdam, 23 November 1678, in Bredius 1910, p. 197: "in't achterportael ... een Venus en Cupido na Rembrandt" (in the back foyer ... a Venus and Cupid after Rembrandt).
2. See Kieser 1941, p. 140, in reference to the Paris version, which is cited in note 8, below.
3. Kieser 1941, p. 140; see collection cat. Berlin 1996, p. 248, no. 736 (ill.).
4. Rembrandt, *Bathsheba with King David's Letter*, 1654, oil on canvas, 142 × 142 cm, Paris, Louvre, inv. M. I. 975; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 430 (ill.), p. 601, no. 521, and collection cat. Paris 1982, pp. 54–62 (colour ill.).
5. See collection cat. Berlin 1996, p. 378, no. 1542 (ill.); and Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 439 (ill.), p. 602, no. 528.
6. Inventory of the estate of Harmen Becker, Amsterdam, 23 November 1678, in Bredius 1910, p. 200: "op de Voorcamer ... een Venus en Cupido van deselve" (in the front hall ... a Venus and Cupid by the same [Rembrandt]).
7. On the other "Venus and Cupid," see note 1, above. On the paintings given as security, see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 509, no. 1662/13, dated 7 December 1662.
8. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 105 (ill., as not by Rembrandt), p. 557, no. 117; and collection cat. Paris 1982, pp. 46–52, 94 (ill.).
9. Collection cat. Paris 1982, p. 94. ♦

18.

Circle of Hercules Seghers (1590–1640)

*Mountain Landscape with a View of a Walled Town*

Oil on panel, 22 × 34 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of H. C. Erhardt; sale, London (Christie's), 19/22 June 1931, lot 107 (as by Rembrandt), purchased by Koetser; Amsterdam, with W. Paech; Van Gelder Collection; P. S. van Gelder sale, Geneva (Moos), 7 October 1933, lot 150 (pl. XLIV, as by Seghers, with certificate from Abraham Bredius); sale, London (Sotheby's), 16 December 1999, lot 382 (ill., as attributed to Jacob de Villeers), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Alfred George Temple, *Catalogue of the Loan Collection of Pictures* (London: Art Gallery of the Corporation of London at the Guildhall, 1895), p. 93, no. 129 (as by Rembrandt)

THIS SMALL BUT intense composition showing an Italian landscape with a walled town adheres closely to the model set by the legendary painter and printmaker Hercules Seghers. Areas of light and shade are set off against each other dramatically, an effect typified most famously in Seghers's painting at the Uffizi



Fig. 18a. Hercules Seghers, with additions by Rembrandt, *Mountain Landscape*, oil on canvas, mounted on panel, 55 × 100 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 77.254.



Fig. 18b. Hercules Seghers, *Maas River Valley Landscape with Houses*, oil on canvas, 70 × 86.6 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 2525.





(fig. 18a).<sup>1</sup> The present scene depicts the mountain setting Seghers preferred, although in a less imposing version than the Florence work. The inclusion of a village or small town can be related to several other works by Seghers, most notably a painting in Rotterdam, where the artist has introduced buildings from his own Haarlem neighbourhood into a fantastical Alpine setting (fig. 18b).<sup>2</sup> This approach to landscape, which renewed the Flemish tradition of fantasy views by instilling it with the clarity and organization characteristic of the rising Haarlem realism, was to profoundly influence a subsequent generation of artists, including Rembrandt, his pupils Philips Koninck and Jacob de Villeers, and Jacob van Ruisdael.



Fig. 18c. Hercules Seghers, *River Valley*, oil on panel, 30 × 53.5 cm, signed. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3120.

This tiny scene stands out among Dutch landscapes for an unusual device: the placing of two vertical features at either end of a horizontal composition – on the left a pair of figures and on the right a statue, positioned prominently at the crest of a rocky hill. This conspicuous use of small vertical forms as accents appears in Seghers's early Amsterdam panel (fig. 18c), where they establish a more dynamic rhythm.<sup>3</sup> Nearly as unusual is the dark band of shaded foreground that fills the lower third of the composition. These elements seem to be aimed at achieving a simpler and more tranquil adaptation of Seghers's landscape. In solid areas the pigment has been applied all in the same direction, reducing the complexity and liveliness created by Seghers's experimental – and more painterly – semi-transparent layering of brushstrokes. Comparable to a landscape kept at the Norton Simon Museum, in Pasadena, given by Sumowski to De Villeers,<sup>4</sup> the present landscape is actually closer to Seghers's work in its restrained handling and the fine tension of its composition. Although the painting stands at one remove from the core body of signed works by the artist, there is at present too little known about the extent of his oeuvre and its stylistic variations to altogether exclude an attribution to the master himself.

1. See collection cat. Florence 1989, pp. 524–525 (colour ill.).

2. See collection cat. Rotterdam 2000, p. 189 (ill.).

3. See collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, p. 513 (ill.).

4. Attributed to Jacob de Villeers, *Panoramic Landscape with City*, oil on panel, 1640, 38.7 × 49.5 cm, Pasadena, Norton Simon Foundation, F.42.2.P (as by Lievens); see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, pp. 2879, 2887 note 75, 2925 (colour ill.). ♦



19.

Anonymous artist, after Jacob de Wit  
(1695-1754)

*Satyress with Infant Satyr*

Oil on canvas, 63.6 cm (diam.)

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of  
Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1987, acc. no. 30-082

PROVENANCE

London, with Neville Orgel; purchased by Alfred Bader;  
Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

OTHER COPIES

Circle of Piat Joseph Sauvage (Tournai 1744-1818),  
oil on panel, 37.5 × 33.7 cm; sale, London (Christie's  
South Kensington), 10 December 2004, lot 114  
(colour ill.)



SITTING ON A ROCK, a female satyr holds an infant of the species between her knees, with one hand encircling its back. On the child's forehead are two lumps, the buds of the horns it is starting to grow. Lying on the ground at the lower right is a thyrsus – the pine-cone tipped rod of Dionysus often carried by maenads and satyrs – along with what appears to be a framed painting of grapes. These objects are partially covered by a swath of drapery that twists around behind the satyress and bunches up in her lap. In the upper right-hand section of the circular support, the foliage of a forest setting has been summarily sketched in. Both mother and child gaze intently down to the lower left, indicating that this painting was likely designed to be placed in the upper right-hand corner of a wall or of a larger decorative ensemble.

Such architectural decorations were the specialty of the 18th-century Amsterdam painter Jacob de Wit. Born to an impoverished branch of the family in the Jordaan, a modest neighbourhood of Amsterdam peopled by craftsmen and artists, he enjoyed the support of a wealthy uncle in Antwerp<sup>1</sup> and trained first with the well-known ceiling painter Albert van Spiers (1665-1718).<sup>2</sup> Owing to his master's ill health, De Wit proceeded around 1709 to Antwerp, where he studied for two years under Jacob van Hal (1672- 750)<sup>3</sup> and then spent a further two years drawing from the model at the Antwerp Academy.<sup>4</sup> Returning to Amsterdam, he quickly rose to prominence as an

artist in the city, specializing in decorative scenes, especially ceiling paintings on historical themes. A staunch Catholic, he also produced many religious paintings for his fellow believers and the city's hidden churches.<sup>5</sup> One of his innovations was a type of *trompe l'œil* imitation of sculpture, rendered in a strikingly illusionistic grisaille, that was usually placed high on the wall in a larger ensemble. Such paintings quickly came to be called *wijjes* in his honour and were widely imitated. With its spare composition and subtle modulations of tone, the present painting is highly characteristic of this genre. However, the heavy impasto handling in some passages and the sometimes confused rendering of form and detail (especially in the lower right) fall short of De Wit's celebrated mastery. The textural effects in the background passage also contrast with his typically cool, smooth application of paint. It is possible that the artist followed a now lost painting by De Wit, although he may also have adapted the style to a theme of his own choosing. No related painting by De Wit survives.

1. See Van Gool, vol. 2, pp. 219-221, and S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Jacob de Wit, een schilder uit de Amsterdamse Jordaan," in *Putti en cherubijntjes. Het religieuze werk van Jacob de Witt (1695-1754)*, exhib. cat., Guus van den Hout and Robert Schillemans, eds. (Amsterdam: Museum Amstelkring, 1995), p. 17.

2. Van Gool, vol. 2, p. 219.

3. Thieme-Becker, vol. 15, p. 493.

4. Van Gool, vol. 2, p. 220.

5. See *Putti en Cherubijntjes. Het religieuze werk van Jacob de Witt (1695-1754)*, exhib. cat. (Amsterdam: Museum het Amstelkring, 1995). ♦





20.

Follower of Jan Wijnants  
(1631/32-1684)

*Fortuna Regum*

Mid-1660s

Oil on panel, 60 × 81.4 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1984, acc. no. 30-079

PROVENANCE

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

LITERATURE

Ross Kilpatrick, "Fortuna Regum: A 17th-century Allegorical Landscape at Queen's University," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3, no. 1 (1996), pp. 65-76

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 36-39, no. 9 (ill., as by Anonymous)

THE MEANING OF this picture came to light only relatively recently. The elderly but robust male nude with wings in the centre of the painting is a rare allegorical depiction of Fortune (almost always represented as female) in the guise of the pagan deity Zeus. As Ross Kilpatrick has pointed out, the figure corresponds to a description by the Latin writer Horace.<sup>1</sup> The painting also evokes Horace's views on the risks and rewards associated with the active life, here represented by two travellers. The one on the right is being beaten, stripped and robbed, while in the left foreground another is on the brink of success and fame, sym-

bolized by the laurel wreath that Fortuna Regum is holding out to him. By contrast, contented peasants can be seen in the left background enjoying the less tumultuous life of contemplation. As a painted depiction of Fortuna as Zeus this work is unique, and its little-known source in a classical text likely reflects the interest of a learned patron residing in Amsterdam or Haarlem. The commission may have been to evoke the ancient Greek worldview as recast in neo-Stoic philosophy of the 17th century, or perhaps simply to illustrate, allegorically, the great risks endured by the many Dutch citizens active in the sea trade.

The small-scale figures are set against a rugged landscape. With its lively variation and division of space, soft textures and glowing light, the picture recalls the work of the Dutch Italianate landscapist Jan Wijnants. The leaning trees, winding track and division of the image into high and low levels are also characteristic of this artist's approach. Moreover, a key connection can be made between the old traveller on the left and a man shown greeting travellers in the signed and dated work by Wijnants entitled *A Landscape with Riders and a Stone House* (1664), now in Leipzig (fig. 20a).<sup>2</sup> Their distinctive heads are nearly identical. However, the unsure handling seen here cannot compare to the refinement typical of Wijnants. No doubt executed by a follower, the present picture can be dated to around the same period as the work in Leipzig – the mid-1660s.



Fig. 20a. Jan Wijnants, *A Landscape with Riders and a Stone House*, 1664, oil on panel, 41 × 53 cm, signed. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste.

1. See Ross Kilpatrick, "Fortuna Regum: A 17th-century Allegorical Landscape at Queen's University," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3, no. 1 (1996), pp. 65-76.

2. See collection cat. Leipzig 1995, p. 212, cat. 827. ◆







21.

Attributed to Denis van Alsloot

(Mechelen around 1568? – Brussels 1625/26)

*Winter Landscape*

Oil on canvas, 101.6 × 91.4 cm

Inscribed lower right in a later hand: *R.F. 164*<sup>1</sup>

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Schloss Rohrau, Austria, Harrach collection, inv. 164; Vienna, Wancura collection; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 30 May 1967, lot 78 (as by Gijsbrecht Leytens or the Master of the Winter Landscapes; certificate by Walther Bernt, as by Alsloot), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Possibly Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 1, p. 13 (as *Sumpflandschaft* [Marsh Landscape]), signed: *D. ab Alsloot S. AR. Pic.* and dated); Thieme-Becker, vol. 1, p. 338 (as *Sumpflandschaft* in the Harrach Collection, Vienna)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kalamazoo 1967, p. 5 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 1 (ill.)

LITTLE IS KNOWN about Denis van Alsloot's career prior to 1599, when he entered the service of the archducal couple Albert and Isabella, in Brussels.<sup>2</sup> He was likely the son of a tapestry weaver of the same name, and his own work includes several designs for tapestry projects. His courtly patrons commissioned a number of painted depictions of ceremonial processions from him, but his specialty was the forest landscape. In his paintings of this type Van Alsloot followed the Flemish tradition that had first emerged in the 16th century, generally picturing a dense forest set against the dramatic vista of a sweeping landscape often punctuated by mountains. In some of his paintings, however, Van Alsloot used this framework of Mannerist artifice to present topographical views of identifiable sites.<sup>3</sup>

In this scene, the decorative, calligraphically curving branches, strikingly accentuated by a layer of winter snow, can definitely be related to the work of Van Alsloot – as Walther Bernt and Marijke de Kinkelder have both noted.<sup>4</sup> They compare the handling of the trees seen here to that in several signed winter landscapes by him, notably a painting in Mosigkau dated 1614 (fig. 21a), which also features a similar composition, with a mass of trees positioned to the left of centre and a vista on the right-hand side.<sup>5</sup> However, neither the heavy impasto of this picture nor the compositional dominance of the trees in the foreground accords with the artist's style, and this casts a certain doubt on the attribution.<sup>6</sup> It is perhaps the work of a pupil or follower. Alternatively, it may have been executed a few years later than the painting in Mosigkau. The pattern created by the tree branches shows a less regular rhythm and longer, more sweeping lines than in that work, linking the picture more closely to a 1621 landscape last recorded in Maastricht.<sup>7</sup> It is also possible that the figures are the work of another hand – Hendrick de Clerck (1560/70-1630) is known to have occasionally collaborated with Van Alsloot in this way.<sup>8</sup>

1. The letters of this inscription stand for the motto of the Harrach collection, "Rohrau Fides Canum"; the figures are an inventory number. Unfortunately, the Harrach inventories were destroyed by fire during the Russian occupation of Vienna in 1945.
2. See Saur, vol. 2, p. 649.
3. For instance, *Winter Landscape with Travellers, and a View of the Estate of Terouren*, 1618, oil on panel, 39.1 × 71.8 cm, signed, London, with Richard Green, in 2001.
4. Marijke de Kinkelder's judgement was communicated to Alfred Bader in a letter of 5 August 1999 from Jan Kosten of the RKD; Bader Collection work files. For the attribution by Bernt, see under Provenance at the head of this entry.
5. See Horst Dauer, *Staatliches Museum Schloss Mosigkau. Katalog der Gemälde Alter Bestand* (Mosigkau: Staatliches Museum Schloss Mosigkau, 1988), pp. 12-13, no. 3 (colour ill.).
6. This was pointed out to me by Sabina van Sprang, curator at the Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten; e-mail correspondence with the author, 22 February 2005.
7. Denis van Alsloot, *Winter Landscape with a View of the Abbey of Groenendaal*, 1621, oil on panel, 45.2 × 85.7 cm, signed, in Maastricht with Robert Noortman in 1993.
8. For example, Denis van Alsloot, with figures by Hendrick de Clerck, *Landscape with Tobias and the Angel*, 1610, oil on panel, 101 × 135 cm, signed, Antwerp, Museum van Schone Kunsten, inv. 865; see collection cat. Antwerp 1988, p. 18 (ill.). ♦



Fig. 21a. Denis van Alsloot, *Winter Landscape*, 1614, oil on panel, 52 × 85.5 cm, signed. Mosigkau, Staatliches Museum Schloss Mosigkau.





22.

Attributed to Jan Asselijn (Dieppe around 1615 – Amsterdam 1652)

*Shepherds Fording Cattle and Sheep through a Stream*

Around 1644

Oil on panel, 17.8 × 20.3 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

The Hague, with Han Jüngeling; purchased by Alfred Bader

THIS TINY COMPOSITION is dominated by the craggy outcropping of rock on the left and the large cumulus cloud that fills the sky to the right. Two shepherds can be discerned in the centre foreground, one mounted and the other standing to the left of him. Beside the pair is a group of cattle and sheep, waiting patiently at the edge of a stream. Men and animals are set against the dark forms of distant hills, which give way on the right to a vista of plains and mountains. Both cliff and figures are in deep shadow, but the cloud is brightly illuminated by the hidden sun, making it the main motif of the scene.

Although shepherds in a mountain landscape were a favourite motif among the Bamboccianti – the group of predominantly Dutch and Flemish artists working in 17th-century Rome, who were influenced by the work of Pieter van Laer and who specialized in landscape and low-life subjects – scholars have only recently been able to suggest a plausible author of this work. Its most distinctive feature, the compositional prominence of the cloud, points to the hand of Jan Asselijn. Asselijn belonged to the second generation of Bamboccianti, who came under Van Laer's indirect influence. Originally from Dieppe, Asselijn had settled in Amsterdam with his family around 1621.<sup>1</sup> His brother Thomas became a well-known playwright. Jan apparently trained under the little-known battle painter Jan Martszen the Younger, a pupil of Esaias van de Velde,<sup>2</sup> and his earliest works are battle scenes in the style of his master. Once in Rome, where he arrived sometime after 1635,<sup>3</sup> he is said to have sparked the illustrious career of Jacques Courtois,



Fig. 22a. Jan Asselijn, *Italianate Landscape with Travellers*, around 1647, oil on canvas, 94.5 × 125 cm, monogrammed. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. 2745.

called Il Borgognone, who went on to specialize in this same genre.<sup>4</sup> Asselijn joined the Schildersbent (the association of northern artists working in Rome) and acquired the Bentname of *Crabbeje* (Little Crab) – a reference to his deformed hand.<sup>5</sup> On his journey back to the Netherlands in 1644, he stopped in Lyons and married Antoinette Houwaart, the daughter of a Flemish merchant in that city.<sup>6</sup> The couple proceeded by way of Paris to Amsterdam, arriving there in 1646.<sup>7</sup> Rembrandt etched his portrait in 1648.<sup>8</sup> Asselijn acquired citizenship of Amsterdam in 1652 but fell ill and died in that same year.<sup>9</sup> Already, however, his work had spawned another generation of Italianate landscapists, including Karel du Jardin and Nicolaes Berchem.

A cloud as imposing as the one seen here can be seen in a small signed work by Asselijn entitled *Italianate Landscape with a Tower*, which figured several years ago on the art market in Vienna.<sup>10</sup> The combination of billowing cumulus clouds, cliff side and distant villa also appears in several larger compositions, including an *Italianate Landscape with Travellers* in Brussels, of around 1647 (fig. 22a),<sup>11</sup> and an *Italianate Landscape with a Bridge, near Tivoli*, of around the same period, that surfaced recently on the art market.<sup>12</sup> In its loose handling and sense of structure, small figure scale and sharp highlights (in the cattle and figures, for example), the present picture relates to the artist's earlier work, from the first half of the 1640s. All these traits are evident in an early landscape in Karlsruhe from around 1644,<sup>13</sup> which allows for a dating to approximately this period.

1. See Steland-Stief 1971, p. 15.

2. Ibid.

3. Anne Charlotte Steland-Stief, in Saur, vol. 5, p. 458.

4. Courtois is thought to be have been Asselijn's pupil; see Steland-Stief 1971, p. 16.

5. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 64.

6. Ibid.

7. Asselijn's departure for Amsterdam from Paris is recorded in the journal of Willem Schellinks; see Steland-Stief 1971, pp. 17–18.

8. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Jan Asselijn*, 1648, etching, drypoint and burin, 3 states, 21.6 × 17 cm, signed; see Hollstein, vol. 18, pp. 129–130, no. B277, and vol. 19, p. 226 (ill.).

9. Steland-Stief 1971, p. 19.

10. Jan Asselijn, *Italianate Landscape with a Tower*, oil on panel, 23 × 24.5 cm, signed, sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 10 July 1998, lot 31 (colour ill.).

11. See Steland-Stief 1971, pp. 143, 124 (pl. XLVII).

12. Jan Asselijn, *Italianate Landscape with a Bridge, near Tivoli*, around 1649, oil on canvas, 113 × 158 cm, monogrammed, private collection; see exhib. cat. The Hague 1991, pp. 48–49, no. 1 (colour ill.).

13. Jan Asselijn, *Italian Mountain Landscape, with a Stream, Rocks and Shepherds*, around 1644, oil on panel, 42.5 × 54 cm, Karlsruhe, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 317; see Steland-Stief 1971, p. 144, no. 130 (pl. XX), and collection cat. Karlsruhe 1966, vol. 1, p. 33; vol. 2, p. 314 (ill.). ♦





23.

Jacob Adriaensz. Backer (Harlingen 1608 – Amsterdam 1651)

*Democritus and Hippocrates in Abdera*

Around 1632

Oil on canvas, 94 × 66 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Leeuwarden, with Lambert Jacobsz., in 1633;<sup>1</sup> Oldenburg, Grossherzogliche Galerie Oldenburg (as by Pieter de Grebber, acquired before 1770); collection of J.H.W. Tischbein; returned to the Grossherzogliche Galerie Oldenburg in 1804; their sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 25 June 1924 (Lugt 87140), lot 128 (as by De Grebber, *Heraclitus and Democritus*); Amsterdam, with Hoogendijk & Co., in 1936; Amsterdam, collection of O. Garschagen; sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 10 May 1971, lot 8 (as *Een Kluizenaar* [A Hermit]); The Hague, with Han Jüngeling; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1971

#### LITERATURE

H. L. Straat, "Lambert Jacobsz., Schilder," *De Vrije Fries* 28 (1925), p. 75; Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, "Hippocrates op bezoek bij Democritus," *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* 69 (1925), p. 35 (as sold at auction as Pieter de Grebber, *Hippocrates Visiting Democritus*); Bauch 1926, pp. 11 (ill., as by Jacob Adriaensz. Backer), 21, 81, no. 57; J.B.F. Van Gils, "Hippocrates op bezoek bij Democritus," *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, 69 (1925), pp. 542-543 (fig. 1, as by Jacob Adriaensz. Backer); J.B.F. van Gils, "Letter: Some Early Compositions by Rembrandt," *Burlington Magazine* 68 (1936), p. 248; Pont 1958, p. 159; Robert Oertel, "Die Vergänglichkeit der Künste," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 14 (1963), p. 120; Blankert 1967, p. 41 note 22; Richard Wallace, "Salvator Rosa's 'Democritus' and 'L'Umana Fragilità,'" *Art Bulletin* 50, no. 1 (March 1968), p. 24, note 32; Murdžerška 1970, p. 104; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 16, no. 2 (1983), p. 1 (cover ill. in colour); Tümpel 1974, p. 269, with no. 19; Sumowski 1979ff, vol. 1, p. 18; Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 281; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, pp. 134, 193, 206 (colour ill.), no. 3; vol. 2, p. 1019 with no. 614; Van den Brink 1997, pp. 180, 182; Stephanie Jacobs and Thomas Rütten, "Democritus ridens – ein weinender Philosoph? Zur Tradition des Democritus melancholicus in der bildenden Kunst," *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 11 (1998), pp. 117-119 (fig. 11)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Leeuwarden 1936, p. 20, no. 25; South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 1 (ill.); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 7 (ill.); *A Focus on Images – Sense and Form*, Milwaukee: Haggerty Museum, Marquette University, 1984-1985 (exhibition without catalogue); Braunschweig 1993-1994, pp. 156-158, no. 36 (colour ill.); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 58-59, no. 20 (ill.); London and Amsterdam 2006, pp. 178, 180 (colour ill., fig. 131)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, cat. 2 (ill.)

JACOB ADRIAENSZ. BACKER was born the son of a Mennonite baker, Adriaen Tjerksz., in the northern province of Friesland. When he was a small child the family moved to Amsterdam,<sup>2</sup> but at the start of his artistic training Jacob returned to Friesland, entering the studio of the Lambert Jacobsz. This history painter and art dealer also served as the preacher and leader of the Waterland Mennonites in the Frisian capital of Leeuwarden, centre of the Mennonite faith at the time.<sup>3</sup> Around 1632 Backer and fellow Mennonite Govert Flinck, who had also been studying under Lambert Jacobsz., returned to Amsterdam. Once there Backer set up his practice, while the somewhat younger Flinck entered the workshop of Lambert Jacobsz.'s associate Hendrick Uylenburgh, completing his study under the tutelage of Rembrandt. Both artists focused on portraits and history paintings, and during these years Backer followed the current fashion by adopting a strongly Rembrandtesque style.



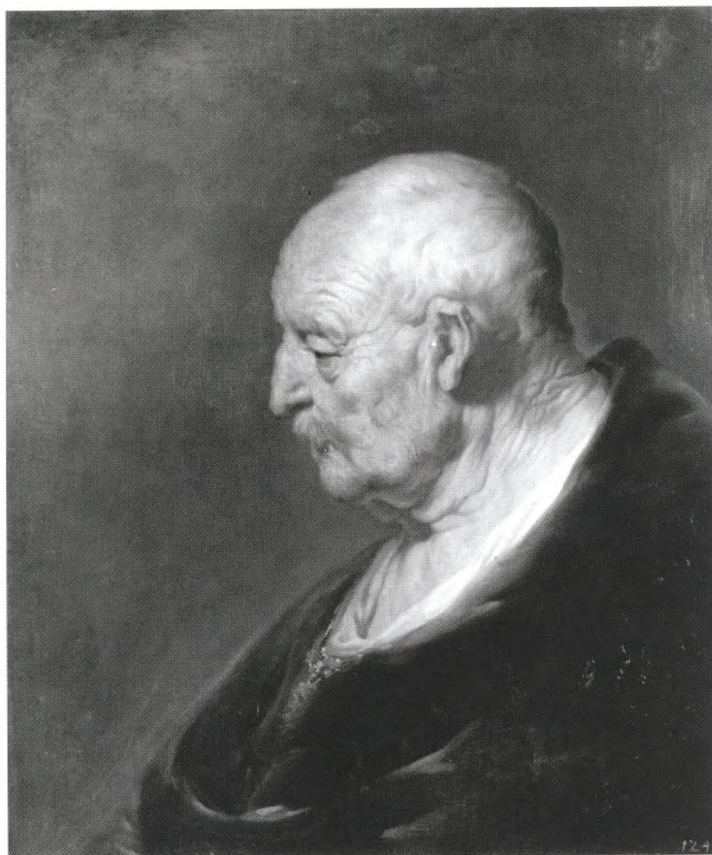


Fig. 23a. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Profile Head of a Man*, around 1630, oil on canvas, 63.5 × 53 cm. Dresden, Gemaldegalerie, inv. 1585.

He and other members of his family apparently changed their religious denomination, switching to the Remonstrant Church, and in 1638 he painted a portrait of the Remonstrant preacher Johannes Wtenbogaert<sup>4</sup> in a manner close to that of Rembrandt's famous portrait of the same sitter.<sup>5</sup> By the 1640s, however, Backer had assimilated the smooth facture and light tonality of the prominent Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens, and he was likely responsible for the ensuing shift of artistic fashion that seems to have weakened Rembrandt's market position in Amsterdam. Backer became extremely successful, even attracting the patronage of the House of Orange,<sup>6</sup> but this stellar career was cut short in 1651 when the artist died at the age of only forty-three. His position in the market was taken over by Govert Flinck, who had meanwhile also adopted a similarly Flemish-influenced style.

In 1926 Kurt Bauch correctly revised the attribution of the present painting from Pieter de Grebber to Jacob Adriaensz. Backer.<sup>7</sup> It belongs to the period of Backer's earliest known work, probably dating to just after his return to Amsterdam. The figures show the robust monumentality and broad handling of his teacher Lambert Jacobsz., together with that artist's distinctive palette of bright colours, dominated by reds and yellows. As further evidence of Backer's youth (and inexperience), Bauch incisively pointed out how the strong line of the rock face weakens the composition by dividing it – an error the artist would not repeat. Josua Bruyn later observed that the compositional framework was likely derived from a depiction of saints Peter and Paul

by Guido Reni, now in Milan, which may also have influenced Rembrandt.<sup>8</sup> This early work already shows Backer's powerful rendering of the human form. The impressive head of Hippocrates (the figure standing on the right) was apparently derived from the study of a model who appears in a painting in Dresden (fig. 23a)<sup>9</sup> and a black chalk drawing.<sup>10</sup> Backer would later re-use this head in an anonymous profile *tronie*<sup>11</sup> and a depiction of St. Peter,<sup>12</sup> both in St. Petersburg.

Cornelius Hofstede de Groot first published this painting as an example of the iconographical tradition that shows the Greek physician Hippocrates (around 460-around 377 BCE) visiting the philosopher Democritus (around 460-around 370 BCE).<sup>13</sup> Democritus, who devoted himself to study of the natural sciences, is best known for having developed and refined his teacher Leucippus's theory of atoms. He also adhered to an ethic of *euthumia* ("cheerfulness"), believing that the purpose of life is happiness achieved through balance and moderation. He was noted for his derision of human ignorance, and Cicero (106-43 BCE) provides the earliest reference to his penchant for laughter.<sup>14</sup> Seneca's teacher Sotion was the first to contrast him with Heraclitus of Ephesus (around 540-around 480 BCE), famous for weeping at the folly of men.<sup>15</sup>

The almost certainly fictitious episode in Democritus's life represented in Backer's painting is described in one of the apocryphal letters from Hippocrates to the townsfolk of Abdera. These texts recount that the people of this town in Thrace (on today's Cape Balustra) had appealed for a visit from the great physician after observing that their native son Democritus was spending all his time outdoors engrossed in study, engaging in various unusual and even grotesque methods of research (including the dissection of animals) and frequently breaking into laughter as he worked. According to the account, Hippocrates, after asking Democritus some questions, concluded that his laughter was the result of great thought and insight. The relevant letter, of which a 14th-century manuscript is kept at France's Bibliothèque nationale, was first published in a French translation in Paris in 1530.<sup>16</sup> A 1573 Dutch translation made this text accessible to Netherlands.<sup>17</sup>

Hippocrates's legendary visit to Abdera had been established as a pictorial theme by Jan Pynas in 1614, and was taken up by Pieter Lastman and his circle in the 1620s.<sup>18</sup> Interest in the subject was stimulated by an adaptation of the episode as a play for performance by schoolboys, written by the minister and Latin instructor Adolphus Tectandor Venator (Adolph de Jager) and published in 1603.<sup>19</sup> Venator, a *predikant* (minister) in the town of Alkmaar, was embroiled in controversy with the local synod over his production of theatrical plays. His account of Democritus's wisdom was not flattering to the inhabitants of Abdera – of whom the philosopher was dismissive and critical, laughing constantly at their behaviour – and this judgement clearly reflected Venator's own relationship with his fellow-citizens of Alkmaar. It is fair to speculate that depictions of the theme by Dutch artists carried the same critical undertone, directed in their case against the



fundamentalist Calvinist party that had risen to political dominance in the country. The subject was especially popular among non-Calvinist artists like Lastman and Moeyaert. As a Mennonite-turned-Remonstrant, Backer also fell outside the religious mainstream.

1. Leeuwarden Stadsarchief, inventory book 1638, entry dated 3 October 1637, under "Schilderijen alsoch onvercoft in het sterfhuijs (paintings still unsold in the house of the deceased)," no. 42: "Een bruinne Rotses daer door een sterck licht valt op demokritum daer insittende te studeren raect de Hippocratis in een root lakens cleet besoeckt. L.J. (a brown rocky outcrop through which a strong light falls upon Democritus, who, as he sits studying within, is visited by Hippocrates draped in red cloth. L.J. [as by Lambert Jacobsz]);" see Straat 1925 under Literature at the head of this entry. The author of the inventory clearly mistook this work to be by the deceased Lambert Jacobsz.
2. Dudok van Heel 1994, pp. 139-140.
3. H. F. Wijnman, "De afkomst van Jacob en Adriaen Backer," *Oud Holland* 43 (1926), pp. 289-292.
4. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Portrait of Johannes Wtenbogaert*, 1638, oil on canvas, 122.5 × 98 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1474; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 201, no. 62, p. 265 (colour ill.).
5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Johannes Wtenbogaert*, oil on canvas, 123 × 105 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4885; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 392-397, no. A80 (ill.).
6. For Frederik Hendrik, Backer painted an *Allegory of Freedom* for the overmantel of the Castle at Buren (oil on canvas, 162.5 × 115.8 cm, Berlin, Jagdschloss Grunewald, inv. GK 1 3073); see C. Willemijn Fock, "The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century," *Apollo* 110 (December 1979), p. 474 (fig. 21), and Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Drie Brieven van de architect Pieter Post over zijn werk voor Constantijn Huygens en Stadhouder Frederick Hendrik in de Fondation Custodia te Parijs," in *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm: facetten van Constantijn Huygens's leven en werk* (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1987), pp. 44-46 (ill.), p. 49.
7. See Bauch 1926, pp. 11 (ill., as by Jacob Adriaensz. Backer), 21, 81, no. 57.
8. Guido Reni, *Sts. Peter and Paul*, oil on canvas, 197 × 140 cm, Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera; see Gian Carlo Cavalli and Cesare Gnudi, *Guido Reni* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1955), pp. 56, no. 9 (pl. 9). For Bruyn's observation, see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 281.
9. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 195, no. 18, p. 221 (ill.).
10. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Profile Head of a Man*, black and white chalk on blue paper, 27.7 × 18.6 cm, formerly Munich, Gruner Collection; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 1, p. 18, no. 2 (ill.).
11. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Profile Bust of an Old Man*, oil on canvas, 72 × 60 cm, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 775; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 195, no. 17, p. 220 (ill.).
12. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *St. Peter*, around 1630, oil on canvas, 72 × 60 cm, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 774; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 195, no. 17, p. 220 (ill.).
13. See Hofstede de Groot 1925 under Literature at the head of this entry.
14. Cicero, *On the Orator*, II, 235; see Cicero, *Brutus, Orator*, trans. Harry Mortimer Hubbell, "Loeb Classical Library" 342 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 372-373.
15. Sotion, in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 3.20.53. This trait is later noted by Seneca (*De ira*, 2.10.5).
16. *Lettre d'Hippocrate sur la folie de Démocrite*, trans. Tardy (Paris, 1530); see Littré 1839-1861, vol. 9, pp. 349-381, no. 17.
17. "Eenē brief van Hippocrates aen Demagetum wt den Griecxschen tonge in der duytschen overgheset," trans. Adrianus Junius Hornanus, in Antonio de Guevara, *Misprysinghe ende miserie des hoefs ende der hoocheyt, met log van cleynen ende leeghen state*, trans. Henricus Suberts van Dungen (Antwerp: Bekerus, 1573), fols. 78v-95v.
18. Jan Pynas, *Hippocrates Visiting Democritus in Abdera*, 1614, oil on canvas, 110.5 × 139 cm, Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis, on loan from a private collection. Pieter Lastman, *Hippocrates Visiting Democritus in Abdera*, 1622, oil on panel, 111 × 114.5 cm, signed, Lille, Palais des beaux-arts, inv. P2055; see exhib. cat. 1991, pp. 110-111, no. 13 (colour ill.). On the paintings by Pynas, Lastman, Moeyaert and other Amsterdam artists of that generation and their literary sources see Broos 1991.
19. See Jacob Adolph Worp, "Jacob de Mol's Spel van Aeneas en Dido (1552); een Comedia ofte spel van Suzanna (1582); Venator's Redenvreugden der wijzen (1603)," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde* 20 (1901), pp. 32-37; and J.B.F. van Gils, "Hippocrates op bezoek bij Democritus," *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* 69, pp. 1132-1140. ♦



24.

Jacob Adriaensz. Backer (Harlingen 1608 – Amsterdam 1651)

### *Granida and Daifilo*

Around 1640

Oil on canvas, 132 × 163 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1992, acc. no. 35-008

#### PROVENANCE

Chicago, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Burton A. Kolman; Chicago, collection of Anita Kolman; sale, New York (Christie's), 31 May 1989, lot 63 (ill., unsold); purchased from the owner by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, pp. 991, 1006 note 4, 1008 (ill.); vol. 6, p. 3604; McNeil Kettering 1983, p. 190; exhib. cat. Utrecht and Luxembourg 1993, pp. 92, 241 (fig. 46.1)

IN CHOOSING A THEME from Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft's play *Granida*,<sup>1</sup> Backer took his cue from several significant commissions for pictorial interpretations of this text. In 1623 Dirck van Baburen made a painting based on a scene from the play (apparently the earliest), which was likely commissioned as a *portrait historié* by the Utrecht nobleman Jonkheer Peter van Hardenbroek, who was closely tied to the stadholder's court.<sup>2</sup> In 1625, possibly prompted by this choice, Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange, commissioned Gerrit van Honthorst to paint a picture of a different scene from *Granida*.<sup>3</sup> Thematically speaking, in both his earliest known interpretation of the play – a painting of around 1638 now in St. Petersburg (fig. 24a)<sup>4</sup> – and the present work, Backer followed Baburen. Both artists depicted the scene at the beginning of the play when the shepherd Daifilo, in the company of his shepherdess companion Dorilea, first meets the Persian princess Granida, who is wandering in the woods after becoming separated from her hunting party. When, suffering from the heat of the midday sun, she complains of being thirsty, Daifilo hastily obliges by presenting her with a shell full of water. He has fallen in love, fulfilling the prediction





Fig. 24a. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Granida and Daifilo*, around 1638, oil on canvas, 125 × 165.5 cm. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. GE 787.

of Dorilea's opening monologue, which laments the fickleness of men in matters of the heart. In the Kingston picture Granida stands to the right, accompanied by a greyhound and armed with a quiver and bow – a reference to the interrupted hunt. Her intense gaze and slight smile reveal her pleasure at Daifilo's gesture. He, kneeling on the left, looks up at her as she raises the shell. Between the two appears Dorilea, apparently a little perplexed at the sudden and rather discouraging turn of events.

The light, romantic tone of this chance meeting in the wild was well suited to Backer's work after the mid-1630s. Around 1635 he began to develop a more Rubenesque style, moving quickly away from the warm, dark palette that he had adopted soon after his arrival in Amsterdam and that later earned him the reputation of being a pupil of Rembrandt. Along with a newly sensuous, smooth facture, Backer also began to explore themes that were less weighty than the Old Testament scenes he had depicted under the influence first of his master, Lambert Jacobsz., and later of Rembrandt. One of the earliest paintings by Backer where the Flemish model is employed for an amorous subject is the *Cimon and Ifigenia* in Braunschweig, of around 1638.<sup>5</sup> Backer probably first turned to the scene from Hooft's play around the same time, and not earlier, as Sumowski suggests.<sup>6</sup> With the present painting, as with his portrayals of *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *Venus, Adonis and Cupid* and *Vertumnus and Pomona*, all set in the countryside, Backer participated in the remarkable fashion for the pastoral then sweeping through the world of painting.<sup>7</sup> As Peter van den Brink has pointed out, this trend embraced a wide variety of image types besides the depiction of scenes from pastoral literature – a growing genre that had been sparked late in the previous century by Battista Guarini's dramatic work *Il Pastor Fido*.<sup>8</sup>

A recent conservation treatment of the Kingston painting has revealed considerable overcleaning in the darker areas, as well as a number of pentimenti. Backer had originally positioned Daifilo's crook and Granida's bow slightly lower. His

readjustment aligns the two objects more closely, creating a simple visual connection across the pictorial space that mirrors the emotional confrontation taking place. Backer has also moved away from the static triangular figural grouping of the St. Petersburg picture toward a more dynamic arrangement. The strap running over Granida's right shoulder, painted in lighter, more opaque colours and clearly not original, did not yield to solvents and must be an early addition. It joins the strap over her left shoulder to form a necklace holding a pendant, also an addition. The early restorer evidently failed to grasp the function of the original single strap, which was to hold the quiver slung across Granida's back. It seems that not long into the 18th century the theme from Hooft's play had become less well known, and the painting's owner did not consider the significance of the regal figure's hunting accoutrements.

1. Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, *Granida*, manuscript completed in 1605 (Amsterdam, 1615). For an overview of this theme in Dutch painting, see Cudlaugsson 1948a, 1948b and 1949.
2. Dirck van Baburen, *Granida and Daifilo*, 1623, oil on canvas, 165.7 × 211.5 cm, signed, New York, private collection; see exhib. cat. Utrecht and Luxembourg 1993, pp. 87–91, no. 4 (colour ill.).
3. Gerrit van Honthorst, *Granida and Daifilo Discovered by the Solders of Artibanus*, 1625, oil on canvas, signed, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 5571; see exhib. cat. Utrecht and Luxembourg 1993, pp. 172–176, no. 27 (colour ill.).
4. See exhib. cat. Dijon 2004, pp. 108–110, no. 9 (colour ill., as around 1633–1635).
5. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Cimon and Ifigenia*, around 1638, oil on canvas, 150 × 230 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 670; see Sumowski 1983–1994, p. 194, no. 7, p. 210 (colour ill., as late 1630s).
6. Sumowski connects the Hermitage picture to the *St. John the Baptist Accusing Herodias* of 1633, which shows a related composition but is painted more dryly and thinly, and must date from at least a few years earlier (oil on canvas, 136.5 × 172 cm, signed, Amsterdam, with John H. Schlichte Bergen, in 1983; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 193, no. 6, p. 209 [ill.]). The larger figure scale of the Hermitage picture also connects it more closely to the *Cimon and Ifigenia* in Braunschweig.
7. Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1643, oil on canvas, 85.1 × 153.7 cm, signed, sale, London (Christie's), 20 July 1973, lot 237 (see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 94, no. 11, p. 214 [ill.]); *Venus, Adonis and Cupid*, oil on canvas, 200 × 237 cm, Fulda, Schloss Fasanerie, Kurhessische Hausstiftung (see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 195, no. 14, p. 217 [ill.], as around 1650); *Vertumnus and Pomona*, oil on canvas, 132 × 107 cm, formerly in The Hague, with Sanct Lucas (see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 194, no. 12, p. 215 [ill.], as around 1643).
8. See Peter van den Brink, "Het gedroomde land: inleiding," in exhib. cat. Utrecht and Luxembourg 1993, pp. 9–11. ◆





25.

David Bailly (Leiden 1584 – Leiden 1657)

*Vanitas Still Life with a Violin, Skull, Celestial Globe, Hourglass, Shell, Book, Incense Ball and Other Objects on a Table*

1640s

Oil on panel, 37.8 × 48.9 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Berlin, collection of Carl Bechstein, in 1920; his sale, Berlin (Wertheim), 7-11 December 1930, lot 48 (pl. XX, as by Pieter Symonsz. Potter, expertise by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, July 1920); New York, with Mortimer Brandt Gallery; New York, with Otto Naumann Fine Art; purchased by Alfred Bader in 2002

LITERATURE

Boström 1950, pp. 101 (fig. 2; as by David Bailly, around 1640), 104, 105; Bruyn 1951, pp. 219-220 (as by Bailly, sometime before 1650)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*New Masters from Old Holland: Less Known Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Mortimer Brandt Gallery; and Boston: Doll and Richards, 1941), unpaginated, no. 20 (ill., as by Pieter Potter)

LIKE MANY PEOPLE living in Leiden toward the end of the 16th century, David Bailly was born to parents who had fled the violence and repression that swept Flanders in the aftermath of the Reformation. His father, Pieter Bailly, was a writing master who also provided martial instruction at the school of Ludolph van Ceulen.<sup>1</sup> When restricted by the city of Leiden from teaching outside of his appointment, however, he left and moved to Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> In Leiden, David Bailly first studied under his father and then took up engraving after being inspired by Jacques de Cheyn II (according to Jan Orlers, his earliest biographer).<sup>3</sup> He completed his training in Amsterdam under the Flemish émigré portraitist Cornelis Pietersz. van der Voort.<sup>4</sup> Bruyn has pointed out that this master's taste for still life, reflected in his personal collection, likely attracted Bailly to this specialty.<sup>5</sup> After a lengthy journey to Italy by way of Germany, Bailly returned to his native city in 1613 to establish himself as a portraitist.<sup>6</sup> Although his career suffered an early setback after he was convicted of violent assault,<sup>7</sup> he managed to recover his position and rise in prominence, painting many portraits in Leiden and counting a number of ministers, theologians and scholars among his clients. His





Fig. 25a. David Bailly, *Vanitas Still Life with Two Self-portraits*, 1651, oil on panel, 89.5 × 122 cm, signed. Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, inv. 1351.

most famous work in the genre is a complex and unconventional *Vanitas Still Life with Two Self-portraits* (fig. 25a), now in Leiden, in which the artist has placed a youthful portrait of himself in the pictorial space and included miniature contemporary portraits of himself and his wife in the still-life arrangement.<sup>8</sup> A related painting in Ithaca also includes a miniature self-portrait.<sup>9</sup> The still-life passage in the Leiden panel, together with a small number of other paintings and drawings, has earned Bailly a reputation as a master of the genre that completely overshadows his achievements in portraiture.

The present picture first resurfaced at a sale in Berlin in 1930, with an attribution to Pieter Symonsz. Potter by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot. In a 1950 article Kjell Boström pointed out its link to Bailly's famous *vanitas* self-portrait, which was confirmed the following year in a monographic article by Josua Bruyn.<sup>10</sup> As Boström initially indicated, about half the objects in this still life, including the pipe, rose, hourglass, flute, skull and incense ball, correspond (with minor variations) to items in that painting. Bailly appears to have taken the warning of the *vanitas* as a personal motto, for it is illustrated not only in the Leiden painting of 1651 but also in a much earlier drawing he contributed to an *album amicorum* in 1624.<sup>11</sup> There, the skull, hourglass and pipe are accompanied by a related inscription on a roll of paper. Bailly applied the device again in the present painting, enriching it with other traditional references to earthly transience, such as the violin, tobacco and empty shell. The medallion seen on the right may well be commemorative, issued on the death of the person whose likeness it bears, and the sculpted head of a child with closed eyes is possibly another allusion to mortality. The book and the terrestrial globe are more ambiguous as references to worldliness and transience, but they possibly symbolize study and contemplation as ways of achieving permanence or immortality in this life.

This painting appears to precede both the grander composition in Leiden and the similarly sumptuous *Vanitas* in Ithaca. While it cannot be much earlier, its spare composition and concise, methodical description relate to the artist's earlier still-life drawings, and it can thus be tentatively dated to sometime during the 1640s.

1. See Orlers, p. 371.
2. Bruyn 1951, p. 151.
3. Orlers, p. 371. Bruyn points out that Bailly did not necessarily study with De Cheyn, as is often presumed. Orlers only states that he was inspired to practise engraving for a year after a visit to De Cheyn's atelier; see Bruyn 1951, p. 151.
4. Orlers, p. 371.
5. Bruyn 1951, p. 151.
6. Orlers, p. 372.
7. Bruyn 1951, p. 153.
8. See collection cat. Leiden 1983, pp. 51-52 (ill.).
9. David Bailly, *Vanitas Still Life with Self-portrait*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 95 × 116 cm, Ithaca, New York, The Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Louis V. Keeler, Class of 1911, by exchange, inv. 86.6.
10. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
11. The drawing, featured in the *album amicorum* of Cornelis de Clarges in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, shows the hourglass, skull and pipe, accompanied by the phrase "*Quis evadet?*" (Who will escape?); see Boström 1950, p. 105 (fig. 7). ◆





26.

Abraham Janz. Begeyn

(Leiden 1637/38 – Berlin 1697)

*Goats in an Italian Landscape*

Around 1665

Oil on canvas, 45 × 55.3 cm

Signed lower right, on rock: *A Beg...*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991 acc. no. 29-125

#### PROVENANCE

New York, with Christophe Janet Ltd., in 1984; purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

New York 1984, unpaginated, no. 17 (ill.)

UNKNOWN TO EARLY biographers of Dutch artists, Abraham Begeyn is now recognized as the author of a number of drawings and paintings from the second half of the 17th century featuring animal and human figures in Italianate landscape settings. Begeyn was born in Leiden in 1637 to Flemish émigré parents and married in that city in 1658.<sup>1</sup> The details of his training are not known, but he is documented as having been a member of the local St. Luke's Guild in 1655, and he was still living in the city in 1667.<sup>2</sup> The style of his works from this period is modelled closely on that of Nicholas Berchem (1620-1683).<sup>3</sup> Begeyn's drawn and painted landscapes indicate that he likely travelled to Naples, Rome and Paris. In 1672 he moved to Amsterdam, and he also visited London in the years that followed. Between 1681 and 1685 he lived in The Hague, joining the artist's confraternity *Pictura* in 1683. Five years later, he moved to Berlin to take up an appointment as court painter to the Elector of Brandenburg.<sup>4</sup> Once there, he appears to have begun producing the type of detailed nature studies painted by his compatriot Otto Marseus van Schrieck (1614/20-1678).

This composition focuses on the goat standing in the centre foreground. Along with its companion, curled up on the ground to the right, the goat is lit from the left and set against the shaded form of a sloping hillside. This opens onto the vista of an Italian landscape with rocky hills and a walled town. The composition is framed on the left by a large thistle plant and on the right by the twisted root of a tree winding down an embankment. In a hollow beside the root sits a shepherd couple, engrossed in con-

versation. The strong contrasts, elegant forms and rural Italianate subject matter are all reminiscent of the work of Nicholas Berchem, Begeyn's most important early influence. Unlike Berchem, however, Begeyn often drew more attention to the animals in his country views than to their human keepers, and goats were a favourite motif. Some were portrayed on the large scale seen here,<sup>5</sup> although not those in the dated painting that most closely compares to the present composition – a scene of peasants and animals fording a river last documented in a 1956 sale.<sup>6</sup> This work is dated to 1665, which can be taken as the approximate date of the present picture.

1. See Briels 1997, p. 299. Begeyn's middle name is often given incorrectly as Cornelisz.

2. See Fred Meijer, in Saur, vol. 8, p. 273.

3. See Ekkart Schaar, "Berchem und Begeijn," *Oud Holland* 69 (1954), pp. 241-245.

4. For Begeyn's travels and various cities of residence, see Fred Meijer, in Saur, vol. 8, p. 273.

5. For example, *Wooded Landscape with Thistles and a Goat under a Tree*, oil on canvas, 35.9 × 30 cm, signed, sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 October 1996, lot 169 (colour ill.).

6. Abraham Janz. Begeyn, *Peasants with Cattle, Goats and Sheep Fording a River*, 1665, oil on panel, 28 × 35.5 cm, signed, sale, London (Christie's), 12 October 1956, lot 5. ♦





27.

Willem van Bommel (Utrecht 1630 – Nürnberg-Wörth 1708)

*Italianate Landscape*

1692

Oil on canvas, 77.5 × 99 cm

Signed and dated lower centre: *WBommel A° 1692*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 23 February 1968, lot 54; purchased by Alfred Bader

WILLEM VAN BEMMEL, possibly descended from Brabantine nobility, was born in 1632 in Utrecht, the son of a military officer.<sup>1</sup> He first trained in that city under the genre and landscape painter and printmaker Herman van Saftleven,<sup>2</sup> whose Italianate mode he adopted. In the late 1640s he pursued his studies in Italy, visiting Venice and Rome.<sup>3</sup> The Italian landscapes and harbour scenes he executed during this early period reflect the influence of Claude Lorraine, Gaspard Dughet and Nicolaes Berchem. Van Bommel then travelled to England, and subsequently to Kassel. After six years in the service of Count Wilhelm VI he proceeded to Nuremberg, where he established his practice and founded a dynasty of at least fifteen painters, spanning several generations.<sup>4</sup> Joachim von Sandrart, a German painter who had also settled in that city, mentions Van Bommel's considerable fame in his writings.<sup>5</sup>

Here, Van Bommel has depicted an Italian coastal view in the tradition of his compatriots Jan Both and Nicolaes Berchem. To the left, a raised street curves along a crumbling harbourfront,

passing through an arched opening. It is punctuated by several groups of figures, including two men in the foreground wearing Oriental-style robes and turbans and accompanied by a hunting hound. The street overlooks the sea, and the opposite coastline recedes into the far distance, densely constructed in the fore- and mid-ground, and culminating in a cluster of blue-tinted mountain peaks. Along this jagged shore we can make out both ruins and modern Italian buildings, including a large palazzo on a hill-top and a walled town served by several small harbours. A number of boats are visible, and to the lower right a lone angler stands on the ruins of a bridge. This fantasy combination of modern and classical elements in a dynamic and detailed composition is typical of Van Bommel's late work, as is the asymmetrical arrangement. The artist's mastery of the Italianate landscape is confirmed in the subtle rendering of light and atmosphere. The *Italian Landscape with Ruins and Horsemen* of 1693 last in Cologne<sup>6</sup> and the 1696 *Italian Landscape with Riders and a Bridge* that appeared at a sale in 1993 are both closely related works.<sup>7</sup>

1. See Wolf Eiermann, "Der Urvater. Willem van Bommel (1630-1708)," *Die Weltkunst*, October 2002, p. 1581.

2. See Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 343.

3. See K. Pilz, in Saur, vol. 8, p. 580.

4. Ibid., pp. 579-581.

5. Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 216.

6. Willem van Bommel, *An Italian Landscape with Ruins and Horsemen*, 1693, oil on canvas, 81 × 97 cm, signed, sale, Cologne (Kunsthhaus am Museum), 17/20 October 1979, lot 1210 (ill.).

7. Willem van Bommel, *Italian Landscape with Riders and a Bridge*, 1696, oil on canvas, 65 × 90 cm, signed, sale, Vienna (Dorotheum) to June 1993, lot 167 (colour ill.). ♦





28.

Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde (Haarlem 1638 – Haarlem 1698)

*Riders Gathering in front of a Walled Estate*

Around 1685

Oil on canvas, 46.3 × 55 cm

Indistinctly signed, lower centre: *Berckheyde*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1985, acc. no. 28-273

#### PROVENANCE

Glasgow, collection of Sir William Burrell (1861-1958); Paris, collection of Alfred Picart; collection of Mr. and Mrs. Fielding Lewis Marshall; their sale, London (Bonhams), 28 March 1974, lot 107 (ill., as by Job Adriaensz. Berckheyde, signed and dated 1669); sale, London (Bonhams), 30 October 1975, lot 120 (ill., as signed and dated 1669); private collection; New York, with Christophe Janet; purchased by Alfred Bader, in 1985; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

New York 1984, unpaginated, no. 15 (ill.); Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 118-121, no. 29 (ill.)

GERRIT ADRIAENSZ. BERCKHEYDE is known primarily for his highly detailed depictions of recognizable urban settings and monuments, which mark him as a pioneer in the genre of the cityscape. He was born in 1638 to the Haarlem butcher Adriaen Joppen Berckheyde and his wife, Cornelia Gerrets,<sup>1</sup> and according to Houbraken he trained with his older brother, Job.<sup>2</sup>

However, Houbraken's claim that the two brothers collaborated, with Job executing the figures in Gerrit's paintings, appears to be unfounded.<sup>3</sup> They did share a house in Haarlem for the duration of their careers, both remaining unmarried and childless.<sup>4</sup> Around 1652 the Berckheydes embarked on a journey through the Rhineland, likely in the company of other Haarlem artists, including Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne (1629-1702), who kept a famous daybook of his trip. Houbraken tells the story of their travels and their success at the residence of the former Elector of the Palatinate, Frederick V, in Rhenen.<sup>5</sup> Although the brothers appear to have returned to Haarlem by 1653,<sup>6</sup> Gerrit did not become a member of the St. Luke's Guild until 1660,<sup>7</sup> and he began signing his paintings the following year. Much like his contemporary Jan van der Heyden (1637-1712), he specialized in views of prominent city buildings and monuments. In 1666, once again with his brother Job, he joined De Wijngaardranken, a Haarlem society of rhetoricians (whose name translates as "branches from the vineyard").<sup>8</sup> Between 1691 and 1695, Gerrit served as *vinder* (commissioner) of the St. Luke's Guild, although he had a reputation for missing meetings or arriving late.<sup>9</sup> According to Houbraken, on 10 June 1698 Gerrit fell into the canal and drowned while making his way home after a festive evening.<sup>10</sup>

In the present painting, Berckheyde has depicted a riding





Fig. 28a. Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde, *Hunters Resting near a Country Estate*, oil on canvas, 38.7 × 45.7 cm, signed. Location unknown.

lesson or training exercise taking place outside the walls of a country estate set in an Italianate landscape. The sculptures and vases that adorn the wall and the balustrade of the house's facade also point to Italy. In the centre foreground, a young man performs a *passade* on a white horse tethered to a pole, while a riding master standing behind them raises his crop to strike the animal's hindquarters. To the right a young page addresses a lady and gentleman, both mounted. In front of the wall on the left two gentlemen stand conversing, with a horse behind them. Further to the left is a large fountain at which several women are drawing water. In the left foreground a young man is harnessing a group of hounds, suggesting that the whole company may be preparing for a hunt. The work is an example of the fantasy Italianate landscapes, often inhabited by horses, riders and rural types, that Berckheyde also depicted along with his city views. The motif of the riding display appears again in a painting by him in Dresden,<sup>11</sup> and another in Moscow portrays a hunting scene.<sup>12</sup> A painting recently on the market in New York features a walled estate similar to the one shown here (fig. 28a).<sup>13</sup> The present painting likely dates to around 1685, when the type of lace cravat worn by the men pictured was in fashion.

1. See Lawrence 1991, p. 17.
2. Houbraken, vol. 3, pp. 189-190.
3. See Lawrence 1991, pp. 18-20.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 191-195. For further discussion of this trip, see Lawrence 1991, p. 22.
6. Lawrence 1991, p. 22.
7. Miedema 1980, vol. 1, p. 660.
8. See Lawrence 1991, pp. 25-26.
9. See Miedema 1980, pp. 695-699, 739-747; Lawrence 1991, p. 27.
10. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 197.
11. Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde, *Village Horse Market*, oil on canvas, 53 × 62.5 cm, signed, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister; see Lawrence 1991, p. 88 (pl. 97).
12. Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde, *Hunting Scene with a Castle*, oil on canvas, 54 × 63 cm, signed, Moscow, Pushkin Museum; see Lawrence 1991, pp. 88-89 (pl. 98).
13. Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 19 May 1995, lot 89 (colour ill.). ♦



29.

Workshop of Joachim Beuckelaer  
(Antwerp around 1534 – around 1574)

*The Poultry Vendors*

Around 1565

Oil on canvas, 193 × 109.2 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1971, acc. no. 14-034

PROVENANCE

Everingham Park, Yorkshire, collection of the Duke of Norfolk; sale, London (Christie's), 25 November 1966, lot 48 (ill.); sale, London (Sotheby's), 24 June 1970, lot 79; sale, London (Christie's), 26 March 1971, lot 26 (ill.)



TOGETHER WITH his uncle Pieter Aertsen (around 1508–1575), Joachim Beuckelaer pioneered the development of still-life and animal painting in Flemish art during the second half of the 16th century. Following his training (likely with Aertsen),<sup>1</sup> Beuckelaer entered the St. Luke's Guild of Antwerp in 1560.<sup>2</sup> Over his brief career he produced numerous market scenes and still lifes, as well as a number of history paintings. Van Mander maintains that Beuckelaer became the victim of his practice of charging clients by the hour, for it earned him far less money than his reputation would have justified.<sup>3</sup>

The composition of the present painting is dominated by the robust figures of two young women displaying a variety of poultry. One of them, standing, looks out over her left shoulder at the viewer. She holds four dead chickens – a pair, aloft, in her right hand and two others lower down in her left, next to the basket that hangs over her forearm. Her seated companion, whose body also faces the left edge of the painting, looks down at two ducks, on one of which she places a proprietary hand. In the foreground is a wicker cage holding a live rooster, with another dead duck draped over its top. The display of victuals is completed by the basket of eggs in the mid-ground on the left and what seem to be two cheeses in the bottom left corner. In the upper right-hand corner, immediately behind the standing woman, is a man in a cap carrying a bushel on his head and a basket over his arm. To the left of the two standing figures, an arched opening in a stone wall offers a view onto fields and trees, with a domed tower and a wall just visible in the far distance. A monogrammed painting by Beuckelaer in the Palazzo Bianco, in Genoa,<sup>4</sup> shows an identical composition but greater detail and more subtlety in the expressions of the figures. It must therefore be regarded as the original. The high quality of the present painting nevertheless suggests that it is a version produced in Beuckelaer's atelier.

Beuckelaer often incorporated a moralizing element into his bountiful displays of food.<sup>5</sup> Here, the figures of the two women, youthful and attractive, establish a mood of sensuality. In this context, the birds – especially the rooster, which is also seen in two other variations on the theme by Beuckelaer, one in Toledo and (fig. 29a)<sup>6</sup> and the other in Brussels<sup>7</sup> – are allusions to eroticism. The presence of the man, so close to the women and lost in reverie, seems to underscore what was probably a warning against the perils of liberty and pleasure. Unfortunately it is not clear whether the tower in the distance, which is articulated in much greater detail in the Genoa painting, is meant to depict a particular church and thus to provide a specific geographic reference.

1. Van Mander, fol. 238r; Van Mander/Miedema, vol. 1, pp. 210–211.

2. See Henri Hymans, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 3, p. 550.

3. Van Mander, fol. 238v; Van Mander/Miedema, vol. 1, pp. 212–213, vol. 4, p. 19.

4. Joachim Beuckelaer, *The Poultry Vendors*, around 1565, oil on panel, 203 × 103 cm, monogrammed, Genoa, Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, inv. PB 171; see collection cat. Liguria 1998, p. 70, no. 9 (ill.).

5. See Jan Ameling Emmens, “‘Eins aber ist nötig’ – zu Inhalt und Bedeutung von Markt- und Küchenstücken des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in *Kunsthistorische Opstellungen*, Peter Hecht and Eddy de Jongh, eds. (Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 1981), vol. 2, pp. 189–222.

6. See Burr Wallen, “Joachim Beuckelaer's *Poultry Sellers*,” in *Museum News: The Toledo Museum of Art* 21, no. 2 (1979), pp. 33–39 (fig. 2).

7. Joachim Beuckelaer, *The Poultry Vendors*, 1564, oil on panel, 113 × 163 cm, monogrammed, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 3935; see collection cat. Brussels 1984, p. 21 (ill.). ♦



Fig. 29a. Joachim Beuckelaer, *The Poultry Sellers*, 1564, oil on panel, 139.7 × 109.7 cm. Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art, inv. 78.57.





30.

Cornelis Bisschop (Dordrecht 1630 – Dordrecht 1674)

*A Scholar in His Study*

Around 1655

Oil on canvas, 137.5 × 103.5 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1978, acc. no. 22-007

#### PROVENANCE

Lord Belper sale, London (Christie's), 9 July 1976, lot 77, purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1961, 1965 note 69, 1980 (ill.); vol. 5, p. 3080, with no. 2001; Bruyn 1988, p. 323; Von Moltke et al. 1994, p. 184, no. R64 (fig. 95)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 48-51, no. 13 (ill.)

CORNELIS BISSCHOP was one of the many pupils and followers of Rembrandt who hailed from the city of Dordrecht. Born in that city to affluent parents, Jacob Dionys Bisschop and Anneke van Beveren,<sup>1</sup> he absorbed aspects of the Rembrandt style at one remove, for he trained as a painter in Amsterdam (likely in the late 1640s)<sup>2</sup> under Rembrandt's pupil Ferdinand Bol.<sup>3</sup> By 1653 he had returned to Dordrecht, where he married that same year.<sup>4</sup> It was also in 1653 that the Rembrandt pupil Nicolaes Maes returned to Dordrecht, and his work exercised a profound influence on Bisschop.<sup>5</sup> Besides history paintings and portraits,



Fig. 30a. Ferdinand Bol, *A Scholar, Seated next to a Table with Books and Globes*, pen and brown ink, 15.5 × 12.2 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 4313.

Bisschop painted many genre scenes, often – following the Maes model – with moralizing overtones. Only a few examples remain of the illusionistic figurines and *trompe l'œil* exercises mentioned by Houbraken.<sup>6</sup> Bisschop enjoyed considerable success, gaining commissions for group portraits of Dordrecht regents and regentesses (trustees of charitable institutions),<sup>7</sup> and receiving a visit from the French savant Balthasar de Monconys,<sup>8</sup> who purchased one of his works for the collection of Louis XIV.<sup>9</sup> King Christian V of Denmark sought to attract the artist to his court, but was prevented by Bisschop's early death in 1674.<sup>10</sup>

In this work, Bisschop offers a version of the traditional pictorial theme of a scholar seated in his study. A stern-looking bearded man of mature years faces the viewer, while on the table to the left is propped the large folio volume he has been studying. Behind this are other scholarly trappings, including a shelf of books (their spines facing inward, according to the prevailing custom) and two globes. The man wears a heavy robe and a tall cap, possibly of middle-European origin. Rather than being absorbed in study, he seems to be addressing the viewer, raising and tilting his left hand in a rhetorical gesture reminiscent of the one seen both in Rembrandt's painted<sup>11</sup> and printed<sup>12</sup> depictions of the Mennonite preacher Cornelis Claesz. Anslor and in his portrayal of Frans Banning Cocq in the *Night Watch*.<sup>13</sup> Here, Bisschop probably intended to convey a message of *vanitas*,<sup>14</sup> reminding the viewer of the brevity of human life and the vanity of worldly pursuits in the face of the eternal and the divine. But his message is ambiguous: the man's scholarly activity has been interrupted, possibly recalling a biblical admonishment: "Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh" (Ecclesiastes 12:12). Moreover, the inclusion of the pieces of armour lying on the floor on the right connects the *vanitas* message to worldly military pursuits. Generally, study and military activity were recommended as the two possible paths to virtue – the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa*<sup>15</sup> – or one was advocated over the other (see cat. 177). Here, however, both are apparently being rejected. Several other depictions of scholars attributed to Bisschop also show a reflective figure turning away from his books, apparently imparting the same critical, moralizing



message.<sup>16</sup> By contrast, the scholars depicted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, another of Bol's pupils, are unequivocally absorbed in their studies (see cat. 99).

The present picture was formerly attributed to Karel van der Pluym (1625-1672) but accords more closely with the smooth, broad handling characteristic of Bisschop. The attribution is further supported by several connections to the work of Bisschop's teacher, Ferdinand Bol. Sumowski has pointed to a drawing by Bol in Berlin that supplies the complete composition, including most of the still-life elements and the figure's pose (fig. 30a).<sup>17</sup> The arrangement of the two globes and the prominent folio placed at an angle on the table are taken directly from Bol's 1652 picture of an astronomer, now in the National Gallery, London,<sup>18</sup> (executed the year Bol himself returned to Dordrecht), in which the scholar also takes a pause from his study. In addition, Bol supplies precedents for the rhetorical gesture incorporated by Bisschop – both in the Berlin drawing and in one of his prints of scholars.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the *gravitas* expressed in this painting also reflects Bol's influence.

1. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 220; Brière-Misme 1950, p. 25.
2. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1961.
3. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 220.
4. Brière-Misme 1950, p. 27.
5. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1961.
6. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 220. One example is *Child Sleeping in a Chair, with a Cat*, oil on panel, 95.7 × 66.5 cm, Ivrlington, New York, collection of Heidi Shafranek; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3692, no. 2192, p. 3776 (colour ill.).
7. For example, Cornelis Bisschop, *The Regents and Regentesses of the Gasthuis, or Hospital, of Dordrecht*, 1671, oil on canvas, 108 × 182 cm, signed, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, on loan from the Gast- of Ziekenhuis Dordrecht; see Brière-Misme 1950, p. 104 (fig. 5).
8. Balthasar de Monconys, Sieur de Liergues, *Journal des voyages de monsieur de Monconys...* (Lyons: Horace Boissat, 1665-1666), p. 128.
9. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 221. Nonetheless, Bisschop's financial fortunes declined steadily; see Brière-Misme 1950, p. 29.
10. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 222.
11. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of the Menonite Preacher Cornelis Claesz. Anso and His Wife Aeltje Gerritsdr. Schouten*, 1641, oil on canvas, 173.7 × 207.6 cm, signed, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 828 L; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 403-415, no. A 143 (ill.).
12. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anso*, 1641, etching and drypoint, 2 states, 18.8 × 15.8 cm, signed; see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 124, no. B 271; vol. 19, p. 214 (ill.).
13. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem van Ruytenburch, known as the "Night Watch"*, 1642, oil on canvas, 363 × 438 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan from the City of Amsterdam, inv. C5; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 430-485, no. A146 (ill.).
14. See Volker Manuth's entry on this painting, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 85.
15. The tradition of these paired expressions began in the 1st century CE with Philo of Alexandria: *About the Contemplative Life*, trans. Frederick Conybeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895); see Ann Toms Engram, "Renaissance Humanism and the Decline of the Medieval Contemplative Ideal: An Intellectual History of the Vita Contemplativa/Vita Activa Debate," dissertation, Florida State University, 1984.
16. For example, Cornelis Bisschop (attributed to), *A Scholar Reflecting in His Studio*, oil on canvas, 75 × 82, falsely signed, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, inv. 186420; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, p. 3080, no. 2002, pp. 3131 (ill.).
17. See Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 1, pp. 498-499, no. 237<sup>a</sup> (ill., as by Ferdinand Bol) and vol. 3, p. 1965 note 69. See also Bruyn 1988, p. 323, who speculates that the drawing might be by Bisschop. It does not differ significantly in style from comparable drawings by Bol, however.
18. Ferdinand Bol, *The Astronomer in His Study*, 1652, oil on canvas, 127 × 135 cm, signed, London, National Gallery, inv. 679; see Blankert 1982, p. 122, no. 70 (pl. 78), and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 303, no. 127, p. 366 (ill.).
19. Ferdinand Bol, *Old Man Seated, with Velvet Cap*, etching, 2 states, 19.1 × 12.9 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 3, p. 21, no. 7 (ill.). ♦



### 31.

Cornelis Bisschop (Dordrecht 1630 – Dordrecht 1674)

#### *The Contest between Apollo and Pan*

Around 1657-1660?

Oil on panel, 38 × 46.5 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.01

#### PROVENANCE

Paris, with Jean Schmit, in 1938; Amsterdam, with N. Beets, in 1938; sale, Amsterdam (Mensing), 9 April 1940, lot 336 (ill., as by School of Rembrandt, *Apollo and Marsyas*); Amsterdam, with J. Dik, in 1941; Amsterdam, collection of A.C.J.A. Stoecker, 1942-1953; London, with Matthiesen, in 1953; London, collection of Efim Schapiro; sale, London (Christie's), 28 October 1982, lot 163 (as by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Collection cat. Amsterdam 1943, p. 81 (as by Barent Fabritius); Pont 1958, p. 131, no. 13 (as not by Barent Fabritius); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1962, 1965 note 76, 1988 (colour ill., as by Cornelis Bisschop, *Apollo and Marsyas*, early 1660s)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

London 1953, no. 51 (ill., as by Maes); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 70-71, cat. 31B (ill.)

THE MOST EXTENSIVE account of the musical contest between Apollo and the demi-god Pan appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XI:146-171). According to this version, King Midas, renouncing the lavish court he had built through his own greed, flees to the forest, where he becomes a follower of Pan and an enthusiast of his music. Pan himself instigates the contest by one day claiming his music to be superior to Apollo's in the presence of the mountain god Tmolus. Tmolus, who serves as the contest judge, declares Apollo the winner, and Pan concedes. However, Midas interjects in support of Pan, provoking Apollo to endow him with the ears of a donkey. This attribute was intended to symbolize both his stupidity and his lack of musicality, since the donkey was deemed the least musical of all the animals because of its



braying.<sup>1</sup> The theme of the Apollo-Pan contest epitomized the comparison between two established musical modes: the Phrygian, represented by Pan, and the Dorian, represented by Apollo.<sup>2</sup> In visual art, it could also allude to the superiority of the elevated category of history painting over such humbler categories as genre and still life. Ironically, in his biography of Bisschop, Houbraken casts aspersions on the artist for concerning himself with trifling subject matter.<sup>3</sup>

This theme from Ovid recurs repeatedly in Flemish art of the late 16th century, giving rise to many scenes of figures in a lush woodland setting. It subsequently became a favourite with Peter Paul Rubens and Jacob Jordaens, who reinterpreted it in monumental figure compositions.<sup>4</sup> In the northern Netherlands it was popular during the first decades of the 17th century, chiefly among the so-called pre-Rembrandtists, and there are known examples by Pieter Lastman,<sup>5</sup> Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert<sup>6</sup> and Moyses van Wtenbrouck.<sup>7</sup> However, these artists did not inspire Rembrandt and his circle to take up the theme, and their influence is not discernible in this depiction by Cornelis Bisschop, a pupil of Ferdinand Bol. Bisschop has concentrated on the four principal figures, arranging them across the pictorial space in a horizontal frieze, while a crowd of summarily rendered onlookers can just be seen at the lower left. The two main figures on the left are Midas and Pan. Pan has stopped playing and turns in surprise, while beside him Midas leans forward and raises his arms dramatically. It is the moment just after Tmolus has pronounced his judgement, and Midas is evidently jumping in to protest. On the far right Apollo is seen from the back, turning away from his opponent after securing victory, but looking back at Midas's intervention. Behind him is a broad, ill-defined grey form out of which emerges the face of a young man with a stern expression. This has to be Tmolus – depicted in an entirely original way – reacting in anger to Midas's folly. Although Tmolus is usually shown as a majestic old man, Ovid's description of him is quite vague, and the poet's suggestion of a human form somehow fused with the surrounding trees may have prompted Bisschop's conception of him as a cloud with a human face. The exaggerated expressions and gestures lend the scene a comic flavour consistent with Ovid's text and with the pictorial tradition. The unusual motif of the halo around Apollo's head appears to have been prompted by the Lastman painting in St. Petersburg,<sup>8</sup> which is otherwise entirely different.

Until now, this painting has been consistently but erroneously identified with the theme of Apollo and Marsyas, which does not involve King Midas. It was attributed to various artists (including Nicolas Maes, Barent Fabritius and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout) before being linked by Sumowski to the work of Cornelis Bisschop.<sup>9</sup> It displays Bisschop's broad surfaces, facility with emotional expression and peculiar penchant for patches of red. Sumowski dates it to the early 1660s, but its large forms and hesitant handling may point to a slightly earlier period, perhaps around 1657-1660.

1. Pauly, vol. 15, col. 1532, 17-22.

2. Ibid., col. 1532, 30-41.

3. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 220-221.

4. See A. P. de Mirimonde, "À propos de l'iconographie du « Duel musical d'Apollon et de Pan » de P.-P. Rubens," *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin* 20 (1971), pp. 55-64.

5. Pieter Lastman, *The Competition between Apollo and Pan*, oil on canvas, 56 × 101 cm, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 3491; see collection cat. St. Petersburg 1981, vol. 2, p. 141, no. 3491.

6. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *The Competition between Apollo and Pan*, oil on panel, 34 × 49 cm, signed, London, art trade, in 1960.

7. Moyses van Wtenbrouck, *The Competition between Apollo and Pan*, 1625, oil on panel, dimensions not known, signed, Germany, private collection; see Weissner 1964, p. 221, no. 19 (ill.).

8. See note 5.

9. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, p. 1962. ♦





32.

Cornelis Bisschop (Dordrecht 1630 –  
Dordrecht 1674)

*Self-portrait Study*

Around 1668

Oil on canvas, 37 × 31.2 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, Vienna (Kinsky), 5 October 2006, lot 422 (as by  
Circle of Craesbeeck), purchased by Alfred Bader



Fig. 32a. Cornelis Bisschop, *Self-portrait*, 1668,  
oil on canvas, 114 × 97 cm. Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum,  
inv. DM/87/308.

THIS HITHERTO unrecognized picture of a striking male head with thick curly hair relates directly to the three-quarter length *Self-portrait* of 1668 by Cornelis Bisschop, now in the museum in Dordrecht (fig. 32a).<sup>1</sup> The artist's face is recognizable in the distinctively small, almond-shaped eyes, powerful nose and fleshy lips. His mass of curly golden locks also features prominently in both images. The looser, sketchier handling evident in this small canvas strongly suggests that it was produced as an initial study for the larger portrait. Here, the head is shown in three-quarter profile, facing right, while in the Dordrecht painting the artist's head is turned more toward the viewer. Bisschop appears to have planned initially on an over-the-shoulder glance – very common in self-portraits – which he modified in the final work to establish a more direct confrontation with the viewer. The sheeny orange garment worn in the study (possibly the type of informal gown known as a *Japonsche rock*) was ultimately exchanged for a plainer smock, caught in at the waist with a sash. The somewhat stern yet charming expression, with furrowed brow and lips parted in a

faint smile, is reminiscent of the assertively masculine portraits of Ferdinand Bol, Bisschop's teacher.

Cornelis Bisschop mustered a number of application techniques for this lively study, ranging from thin, smooth strokes of translucent colour to decisive daubs of impasto in the face and hair passages. In his evident quest for depth and structure, Bisschop clearly intended it to function as an independent, finished work, likely aimed at an inner circle of connoisseurs less concerned with finish than with vibrancy and expression.

1. See exhib. cat. Dordrecht 1992, pp. 90–92, no. 6 (colour ill.). ♦





33.

Abraham Bloemaert (Corinchem 1566 – Utrecht 1651)

*Jacob's Dream*

Around 1600-1605

Oil on canvas, 116.3 × 96 cm (111.1 × 87.6 cm before conservation treatment)

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Possibly sale, The Hague, 13 April 1771 (Lugt 1917), lot 45; possibly sale, Amsterdam, 29 January 1787 (Lugt 4131), lot 70 (as *Jacobs Droom, kragtig op doek, door A. Bloemaert* [Jacob's Dream, powerfully painted on canvas, by A. Bloemaert]); possibly Casino sale, Amsterdam, 26 July 1810 (Lugt 7837), lot 7 (as by A. Bloemaert, *Jacob slapende onder een Boom, terwijl de Engelen op een Ladder op en neder klimmen. Goed geschilderd* [Jacob asleep under a tree, while the angels ascend and descend a ladder. Well painted], oil on canvas, 43 × 32 duim [111 × 83 cm]); sale, London (Christie's South Kensington), 7 December 1995, lot 81 (colour ill., as after Bloemaert); purchased by Alfred Bader (with Marcel Roethlisberger the underbidder)

LITERATURE

Roethlisberger 2000, pp. 159-160 (ill.)

COPIES

Oil on canvas, 100 × 65 cm, private collection; see Roethlisberger 1993, p. 111 (colour pl. VIII and fig. 113)

Oil on canvas, 117.5 × 85.5 cm, sale, London (Sotheby's Olympia), 28 October 2004, lot 48 (colour ill., as by Bloemaert and Studio)

ABRAHAM BLOEMAERT was the dominant figure in Dutch painting for several decades, partly on account of his prodigious output but also because of his studio, which produced numerous printed and painted copies of his work, and the many artists among his pupils who went on to forge important careers. The most prominent of these were Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629), Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), and Lambert Jacobsz. (around 1598-1636). Born in the provincial coastal town of





Fig. 33a. Raphael Sadeler, after Maerten de Vos, *Jacob's Dream*, around 1597, engraving, 25 × 20.2 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Corinchem, Bloemaert spent some time in Paris studying under two now unknown masters before following his family to Amsterdam, where he began his career.<sup>1</sup> He settled subsequently in Utrecht and quickly gained great renown, attracting the patronage of the House of Orange and receiving a visit from Peter Paul Rubens in 1627.<sup>2</sup> Like many Dutch artists, he crossed religious divides with ease, working for numerous Protestant patrons while remaining a very active member of Utrecht's Catholic community.<sup>3</sup> He also devoted considerable energy to the education of young artists, taking on a large number of pupils, establishing an academy with fellow-artist Paulus Moreelse in 1612<sup>4</sup> and publishing a drawing book for use in artistic instruction.<sup>5</sup> He developed a smooth, solid style, with a brash palette, based on that of such Haarlem Mannerists as Cornelis van Haarlem and Hendrick Goltzius. In the early 1620s he adopted a fashionably Caravaggesque approach, which he derived from the work of his pupils (in particular Honthorst), having never undertaken the journey to Italy himself. His long career ended with his death in 1651, at the unusually advanced age of eighty-five.

The theme taken up by Bloemaert here is the well-established one of Jacob's Dream. The Book of Genesis tells how Isaac sent his younger son Jacob to Padan-aram to escape from his brother Esau. At night's fall Jacob fell asleep, "and he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it" (28:12). Yahweh then appears at the top of the ladder and promises to make a great nation out of Jacob's offspring. Together with the similar revelation made to Abraham, Jacob's Dream is theologically one of the most important moments in the Old Testament, for it establishes the covenant between Yahweh and the nation of Israel. For the present picture Abraham Bloemaert drew inspiration from a print after a work on the theme by Maerten de Vos (fig. 33a).<sup>6</sup> Jacob reclines at the foot of a tree in the lower right-hand section of the painting, while two angels appear – one on the ladder that disappears into the clouds and

the other directing proceedings from the ground. As was typical of the Netherlandish tradition for this scene, Bloemaert has avoided showing Yahweh at the top of the ladder, likely aware of Protestant objections to representing the Almighty. Jacob adopts a complicated, sinuous sleeping posture that recalls the work of Bloemaert's Mannerist forebears, Bartholomeus Spranger and Hendrick Goltzius.

In the typological interpretation of the late Middle Ages, Jacob's Dream was seen as foreshadowing both the Annunciation to the Virgin and the Last Supper.<sup>7</sup> It is possible, however, that this picture embodies a significance peculiar to the Dutch context. Christian tradition had interpreted the Yahweh-Jacob covenant as an agreement between God and his Church. In the Netherlands and elsewhere, the Protestant Reformers of the 16th century took much the same attitude, following the teachings of John Calvin. But the Dutch tended to identify their entire nation with the biblical nation of Israel, comparing their own struggle with Spain to the flight of the Israelites from Egypt.<sup>8</sup> This analogy was in fact expressed commonly by Protestant Dutch painters, including the Rembrandt pupil Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (see cat. 70). For Anabaptists, the scene could also allude to their emphasis on direct revelation from God. Bloemaert, although a devout Catholic, evidently chose a theme with multiple significances, accessible to a wider market than one limited to a specifically Catholic interpretation.

Bloemaert painted a number of scenes with similar compositions in the early years of the 17th century. Marcel Roethlisberger points to several important precedents, including the artist's depictions of the Annunciation to the Shepherds.<sup>9</sup> Roethlisberger has also underlined the significance of a drawing of St. Roch, in New York, as being the closest precedent for the positioning of the figure and the tree.<sup>10</sup> The present composition was only restored to its full size after a cleaning showed that it had been folded at the edges over a smaller stretcher.

1. Roethlisberger 1993, p. 17.
2. Ibid., pp. 35 (patronage of the House of Orange) and 46 (Rubens's visit), with reference to Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 146.
3. Roethlisberger 1993, p. 27.
4. Ibid., pp. 571-572, with reference to Marten Jan Bok, "'Nulla dies sine linea,' De opleiding van schilders in Utrecht in de 17de eeuw," *De zeventiende eeuw* 6 (1990), pp. 58-68.
5. Roethlisberger 1993, p. 34.
6. See Hollstein, vol. 44, p. 52, no. 195, and vol. 45, p. 90 (fig. 195).
7. LCI, vol. 2, col. 374-375, s.v. *Jakob's Traum, d) Neuzeit*.
8. See Schama 1987, pp. 51-125.
9. See Roethlisberger 2000, p. 159. One painting is known only from a print by Crispijn van de Passe, after Abraham Bloemaert, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, around 1600, engraving, 39.5 × 28.8 cm; see Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, pp. 95-96, no. 50; vol. 2 (fig. 90). Another is known only from a print by Jan Saenredam, after Abraham Bloemaert, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, engraving, 50 × 39.7 cm, 1599; see Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, pp. 96-97, no. 51, and vol. 2 (fig. 91).
10. Abraham Bloemaert, *St. Roch*, around 1605, chalk underdrawing, red and white body colour, 29 × 21.5 cm, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. I 229b; see Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, p. 422, no. D8; vol. 2 (fig. 114). ♦





34.

Abraham Bloemaert (Gorinchem 1566 – Utrecht 1651)

*St. Jerome Reading by Candlelight*

Around 1622

Oil on canvas, 64.4 × 52.7 cm

Signed to the right of centre, under the book: *A. Bloemaert fe.*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

The Hague, Han Jüngeling; from whom purchased by Alfred Bader in 1975

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 9, no. 1 (1976), p. 1 (cover ill.); Rüdiger Klessmann, *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland* (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1987), p. 20; Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 64; vol. 3 (fig. 1102); exhib. cat. The Hague and San Francisco 1990-1991, p. 207 (fig. 3); Roethlisberger 1993, pp. 223-224, no. 286, p. 471, with no. H63; vol. 2 (fig. 419); Bader 1995, p. 219 (pl. 17); exhib. cat. Raleigh, Milwaukee and Dayton 1998-1999, p. 102-103 (fig. 2); Neumeister 2003, pp. 199, 408-409 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Eau Clair 1987, pp. 7-8 (ill.); West Lafayette 1992, pp. 26-27 (ill.); Braunschweig 1993-1994, pp. 146-147, no. 31 (colour ill.); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 66-67, no. 24 (ill.); San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, pp. 170-173, no. 14 (colour ill.)

AN OLD MAN WITH a long flowing beard is shown sitting in darkness, reading by the only source of light – a candle. He supports his book in one hand and grasps the base of the candlestick with the other. The candle's flame is hidden behind the large red hat that hangs at the upper right, its flat, be-tasselled form closing off that edge of the composition. This attribute, a



Fig. 34a. Cornelis Bloemaert, after Abraham Bloemaert, *St. Jerome*, around 1625-1630, engraving, 17 × 13.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 34b. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *An Old Man Reading*, around 1626-1628, oil on canvas, 65.8 × 52.7 cm, signed. Northampton, Massachusetts, Smith College Museum of Art, inv. 1957:10.

cardinal's hat, allows us to identify the subject as the 4th-century Latin Church Father St. Jerome. A literary scholar, who devoted himself to religious texts after undergoing a spiritual crisis, Jerome revised the Latin translations of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Bible under Imperial patronage, producing what became known as the Vulgate. His philological and theological efforts attracted opposition, however, and in his later years he retreated to the Syrian desert, where he continued to work.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent legend anachronistically appointed him cardinal and told the tale of his removal of a thorn from a lion's paw, resulting in the attributes with which he is traditionally portrayed: a cardinal's hat and a lion. His status as a great scholar made him the ideal patron saint of scholars and schools,<sup>2</sup> and the artistic tradition of Jerome in his study arose alongside the one of Jerome as a hermit in the desert.<sup>3</sup>

Here, Bloemaert seems to conflate these two traditions, showing Jerome studying in a dark cave. His surroundings are difficult to discern but can be interpreted through a print made after the painting by the artist's son Cornelis (fig. 34a).<sup>4</sup> There, the inscription



explains that “the great Jerome is sheltered in a dark cave. He spends the night seeking the sacred doctrines of God.”<sup>5</sup> The print also shows the book to be resting on a rock, a wilderness detail that is not clearly legible in the painting. To judge by Jerome’s advanced age in this image, Bloemaert was depicting the saint’s second desert retreat, which occurred toward the end of his life.

Bloemaert’s painting can be associated with the fashion in Dutch art for depictions of scholars in their studies. The fact that Jerome is reading, rather than meditating, seems to indicate that the picture was aimed at a broad audience of scholars and theologians from the various religious denominations that flourished at that time in the northern Netherlands. However, the inscription that Cornelis Bloemaert added to his print is a reference to Jerome’s role in formulating Church doctrine, which was an exclusively Catholic interpretation of his significance.<sup>6</sup>

With his depiction of Jerome, Abraham Bloemaert has created a simple heroic drama. A painting by Aertgen van Leyden, now in Amsterdam, offers an example of an earlier Netherlandish portrayal of Jerome studying at night.<sup>7</sup> The striking device of a hidden artificial light source in a dark setting was borrowed from the work of followers of the Italian painter Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio. Bloemaert’s students Gerrit van Honthorst and Hendrick ter Brugghen had assimilated this mode during their travels in Italy, allowing Bloemaert (who never visited that country) exposure to this fashion via their work. Also derived from Caravaggio is the half-length presentation of the figure, most strongly advocated by Ter Brugghen, whose own painting of an *Old Man Reading* (fig. 34b) was possibly inspired by the present work.<sup>8</sup> Ter Brugghen appears to have followed Bloemaert’s composition, but in its original format: Cornelis Bloemaert’s print indicates that this painting originally extended further on all sides, and was later trimmed down. A similarly full, Caravaggesque composition by Bloemaert (this one depicting the secular theme of a *Flute Player*), which dates to 1621, provides a reference for the dating of the present picture to around 1622.<sup>9</sup>

1. See Eugene F. Rice Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 1–22.
2. LCI, vol. 6, col. 519.
3. See Jane Russell Corbett, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 13–14.
4. See Hollstein, vol. 2, p. 73, no. 51 (ill.), inscribed upper right: *A. Bloem. fec. C.B. sculp.*, and below: *Magnus in obscura latet hic HIERONYMUS antro / Lucubrat inquirens dogmata sacra Dei*. The existence of the present painting, which remained undiscovered for many years, was first signalled by A. v. Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederländer* (Marburg and Lahn: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1933), p. 54 (pl. 29). Benedict Nicolson was the first to confirm that this painting was the one represented by Cornelis, first verbally and subsequently in a letter of 20 February 1975 to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
5. See Seelig in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997–1998, p. 170. Despite citing the print, Seelig suggests that the painting shows “no trace of the ascetic.”
6. See *ibid.*, p. 172.
7. Aertgen van Leyden, *St. Jerome Studying by Candlelight*, oil on panel, 48 × 38 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1433; see exhib. cat. Raleigh, Milwaukee and Dayton 1998–1999, pp. 102–103 (fig. 1).
8. See exhib. cat. The Hague and San Francisco 1990–1991, pp. 204–207 (colour ill.).
9. Abraham Bloemaert, *Flute Player*, 1621, oil on canvas, 69 × 57.9 cm, signed, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 6083b; see Roethlisberger 1993, pp. 222–223, no. 285, and vol. 2 (fig. 418). ♦



35.

Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael (Amsterdam 1628 – Haarlem 1675)

*The Baptism of the Eunuch*

Around 1665

Oil on canvas, 104.1 × 118.1 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader in 1979

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, *Aldrichimica Acta* 14, no. 2 (1981), p. 21 (fig. 1, and colour ill. on cover, as by Jacob Adriaensz. Backer); Foucart 1983, p. 369, note 29 (as by Blommendael); Anne Hoyer, “Reyer van Blommendael,” thesis, Utrecht University, 1992, pp. 76–77, no. 12 (as not by Blommendael)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986–1987, p. 72 (colour ill., as by Backer), pp. 137, 155, no. 16; Milwaukee 1989, pp. 106–107, no. 48 (ill., as by Backer)

IN THE FOREGROUND to the left, a young black man dressed in a rich robe kneels on the ground and bows forward, clasping his hands together. Standing in the centre, an older bearded white man, wearing a simple cloak, raises his cupped hand over the kneeling figure’s head, while a small boy on the right holds a large bowl filled with water. The elderly man is the deacon Philip, and he is shown baptizing a eunuch from Ethiopia, an event recounted in the Acts of the Apostles (8:27–40). After encountering the eunuch reading the Book of Isaiah and offering to help in explaining the text’s meaning, Philip converts the man to Christianity. Initially a symbol of the mission to the Gentiles, the Baptism of the Eunuch theme was interpreted differently by the various denominations practiced in the northern Netherlands during the 17th century.<sup>1</sup>

Attributed until recently to Jacob Adriaensz. Backer, this painting was first given to the lesser-known artist Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael by Jacques Foucart.<sup>2</sup> The smooth handling, the





Fig. 35a. Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael, *Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane*, oil on canvas, 86.7 × 113.2 cm, signed. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 10749.

blackish background tones, the flat forms and space, and the setting of the scene as if on the crest of a hill, with more distant figures (cut off at the bottom) emerging from lower down the slope, all accord well with other paintings by this artist – for example his signed *Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane* (fig. 35a).<sup>3</sup> Most characteristic is the figure style, with its rounded, abstracted forms and curious tendency to thick, puffy eyelids. The misapplied perspective of the boy's tilted head also reappears in other paintings by Van Blommendael. Anne Hoyer's subsequent dismissal of this attribution on the grounds of the absence of details specified in the biblical text does not weigh heavily against the preponderant stylistic evidence.<sup>4</sup>

Although Van Blommendael is most closely associated with Haarlem, his origins were in Amsterdam. He was born there, to the bleacher Jacob Reijers and his wife Grietje Jans.<sup>5</sup> Van Blommendael's apprenticeship is not documented, however, and the earliest surviving record of his career as an artist is his registration with the St. Luke's Guild in Haarlem in 1662.<sup>6</sup> He lived for a time in the nearby village of Aelbersberg (now known as Bloemendaal)<sup>7</sup> and was buried in Haarlem in 1675.<sup>8</sup> He may have already been in the city for some time before he entered the painters' guild. The smooth abstraction and monumental presentation of figures and drapery in his paintings points to the influence of the Haarlem classicist Pieter Frasz. de Grebber. The present work also follows this artist in the scene's dark setting, which was unconventional for the theme and suggests contact with De Grebber in the years before his death, between 1645 and 1653. Other works by Van Blommendael – for example his signed depiction of *Paris and Oenone* (fig. 36a)<sup>9</sup> – follow even more clearly the classicizing approach of such Haarlem artists as Jan and Salomon de Bray, and Cesar van Everdingen.

1. See Odilia Bonebakker, "Denomination and Iconography: The Baptism of the Eunuch in Netherlandish Art from the Reformation to 1750," Master's thesis, Kingston, Queen's University, 1998.

2. See under Literature at the head of this entry.

3. See Bloch 1940, pp. 17, 18 (fig. 4), and Slatkes 1981-1982, p. 172.

4. See under Literature at the head of this entry.

5. See Nathalie Dufais in exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, p. 304.

6. Van der Willigen 1870, p. 83.

7. In a document of sale of 1676, the artist's mother testified that her son and husband had lived in a house in this village. See Nathalie Dufais, in exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, p. 304.

8. Ibid.

9. See exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, pp. 304-307, no. 60 (colour ill.). ♦

### 36.

Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael (Amsterdam 1628 – Haarlem 1675)

#### *The Good Samaritan*

Around 1665

Oil on canvas, 104.1 × 147.3 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel

Bader, 1988, acc. no. 31-001

#### PROVENANCE

Wiesbaden, art trade; purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader in *Aldrichimica Acta* 13, no. 13 (1980), p. 41 (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3717, with no. 2314 (as by Lambert Jacobsz.); Bader 1995, pp. 273-278 (pl. 34)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. xi, 48-51, no. 12 (colour ill.).

THIS PAINTING DEPICTS Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan, related in the Gospel of Luke (10:30-35). A traveller, stripped and beaten by robbers, and left languishing at the wayside by two privileged and pious passersby, is eventually rescued by a Samaritan. The story characterizes compassion as a fundamental virtue that transcends the more formal aspects of religious duty. It also underscores the moral obligation to help others in need, regardless of social and cultural differences. The theme of the Good Samaritan was widely popular in European art, and artists usually chose to depict one or other of two moments in the story: the point when the Samaritan initially helps the traveller or, later, when he takes the wounded man to an inn. This painting depicts the earlier episode and shows the traveller lying on the ground, nearly naked, his head bound with a bandage and a stab wound under his ribs. The bearded, turbaned Samaritan kneels behind him and grasps his right arm in an effort to lift him up. As the rescuer looks searchingly into the traveller's face, his



Fig. 36a. Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael, *Paris and Oenone*, oil on canvas, 123 × 110 cm. Lille, Palais des beaux-arts, inv. P.1988.





gaze is met by a grimace of relief, both expressions reflecting the powerful human emotions at the core of the parable. To the left stands the donkey that will carry the victim to the inn, and the trees on either side of the composition frame a landscape vista with rolling hills, one of which is surmounted by a fortress.

The previous attribution of this painting to Lambert Jacobsz. by Werner Sumowski has not met with support. The monumental composition, the smooth, soft handling, the rounded abstracted forms of the figures and the bulky drapery point rather to Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael, a later artist who worked in Haarlem and Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> This painting compares closely to Van Blommendael's signed depiction of *Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane*, now in Munich (see fig. 35a).<sup>2</sup> Both compositions feature a powerful diagonal movement that cuts across the foreground to the lower left. More specifically, the Samaritan's slightly bulging eyelids reflect a peculiar characteristic of Van Blommendael's work,<sup>3</sup> as does the summary handling of shaded areas.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the slightly awkward rendering of the traveller's face accords with this artist's imperfect command of anatomy. For the luminous rendering of drapery, comparison can be made with Van Blommendael's *Paris and Oenone* in Lille (fig. 36a).<sup>5</sup> The figure style of these works reveals the influence of

Cesar van Everdingen, who was active in Haarlem in the 1650s. Van Blommendael did not register with the Haarlem artists' guild until 1662, but he may have already been working there for some time; his native town of Amsterdam was not far away, and his family came from a nearby village. Since he did not date his works, the present painting can only generally be placed near the beginning of his active career, around 1665.

1. See Nathalie Dufais in exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, p. 304.
2. See cat. 35, note 3.
3. For example Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael, *The Amalekite Bringing the Crown of Saul to David*, oil on canvas, 215 × 265 cm, monogrammed; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 30 March 2000, lot 111 (colour ill.).
4. For example Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael, *Moses Striking Water from the Rock*, oil on canvas, 154 × 163 cm, signed, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 168; see collection cat. St. Petersburg 1982, vol. 2, p. 103, no. 9301, p. 105 (fig. 22).
5. See exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, pp. 304-307, no. 60 (colour ill.). ♦





37.

Leonard Bramer (Delft 1596 – Delft 1674)

*Herdsmen near a Campfire*

Around 1626

Oil on slate, 21 × 49 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

London, with Hazlitt Galleries; London, with Malcolm Waddingham; purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 96 (fig. 13a), pp. 302-303, no. S274.1

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Paintings*, London (Hazlitt Gallery), 1969, no. 6 (ill., as *Peasants in a Moonlit Landscape*)

LEONARD BRAMER enjoyed a highly successful career in the city of Delft, working in an idiosyncratic style that he developed during his long stay in Italy. In his "Description of the City of Delft," published in 1667,<sup>1</sup> civic historian Dirck van Bleyswijck, who almost certainly knew the artist, gave his date of birth as Christmas Day 1596. Bramer's training is not documented, and Wichmann's suggestion that he studied under Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne cannot be confirmed by the evidence of his early works.<sup>2</sup> In 1615 Bramer embarked on a journey to Italy in the company of the Frisian portraitist Wybrand de Geest.<sup>3</sup> He is documented as being in Rome between 1616 and 1628, when his departure from the city was likely hastened by involvement in a tavern brawl.<sup>4</sup> While there, he attracted wide patronage and established a considerable reputation, earning the nickname "Leonardo delle Notti" because of his predilection for nightpieces.<sup>5</sup> He was one of the founding members of the Schildersbent – a brotherhood of northern European painters working in Rome whose members called themselves *Bentvueghels* (birds of a feather).<sup>6</sup> It was during this Italian period that Bramer developed his distinctive style, and not earlier, as Christopher Brown has intimated. Bramer based his approach on the work of several Veronese artists working in the first few decades of the 17th century, including Marcantonio Bassetti, Allesandro Turchi and especially Pasquale Ottino, who regularly made use of slate as a support<sup>7</sup> (see fig. 37a).<sup>8</sup> In a number of his works from this period, including the present painting, Bramer followed them in exploiting the sombre tone of slate to suggest a dark setting. Upon his return to Delft, Bramer continued to practice his Italianate style, employing it for the rest of his career without substantial development.<sup>9</sup> Owing to its special allure he quickly established himself as a specialist of history and genre painting, attracting prominent patrons and eventually earning commissions from the municipal authorities and the House of Orange.<sup>10</sup> His most ambitious projects were





Fig. 37a. Pasquale Ottino, *Mars Chastising Cupid*, oil on slate, 35.9 × 28.6 cm. Location unknown.

large decorative schemes, some of which were in fresco. These latter have unfortunately all perished. Bramer served for several terms as head of the St. Luke's Guild.<sup>11</sup> He also played a part in the negotiations that led up to the marriage of his fellow townsman Johannes Vermeer, although he exercised no artistic influence over the younger painter.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, he cultivated no following (possibly in an effort to protect the market for his distinctive style) and left only one known pupil, Pieter Pietersz. Vromans (active in Delft 1635-1654).<sup>13</sup>

In this painting, executed during his stay in Italy, Bramer has portrayed a night scene. Painting directly onto the slate support, he has left some areas of ground and sky in reserve, thus making use of the slate's natural colour as a base tone. Several other paintings from his later years in Italy show the same technique, including *Soldiers Resting*, now in The Hague, from 1626.<sup>14</sup> In the present painting he has populated the dark outdoor setting with two groups of herdsmen and their charges. For such a potentially peaceful scene, the atmosphere is remarkably febrile: in the closer group, on the left, the man sitting on a rock points and earnestly addresses the woman carrying a shallow tub on her head. An animated conversation seems also to be taking place between the members of the other group, gathered near a campfire on the right. But while it is tempting to link the scene to a literary or biblical source – the Old Testament story about Jacob and Laban dividing the flock, for example – we are prevented by the lack of

specific attributes. A similar scene with herdsmen, last in Vienna, also defies a more explicit interpretation.<sup>15</sup>

The style that Bramer derived from the work of Ottino and the other Veronese artists mentioned above, with its painterly handling of figures and emphasis on gesture and facial expression, was employed by them in their practices as history painters specializing in religious subjects. Bramer adapted it to the low-life peasant genre. He may have been led in this thematic direction by Pieter van Laer, who succeeded him as a leading figure among the Dutch and Flemish artists in Rome. Van Laer, nicknamed "Bamboccio" for his odd physique, may have arrived in Rome as early as 1626 and is documented there in 1628, the year of Bramer's departure.<sup>16</sup> Among Van Laer's artistic companions was the French landscapist Claude Lorrain,<sup>17</sup> who has also been identified as one of Bramer's fellow brawlers in the altercation that led to his departure from the Eternal City.<sup>18</sup> While the dating of Van Laer's early work is unclear, it is possible that, with his specialty of bucolic scenes set against stark backgrounds, he influenced Bramer in the 1626-1628 period.

1. See Wichmann 1923, p. 1, note 4, citing Van Bleyswijck 1667, vol. 2, p. 566.
2. Wichmann 1923, p. 1, and exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 13.
3. *Album Amicorum Wijbrand de Geest*, Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, MS 506; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 14.
4. Exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 16.
5. In an inventory dated 1666, almost forty years after his departure from Rome, Bramer was still being given this title; *ibid.*, p. 51.
6. Hoogewerff 1952, p. 121.
7. Christopher Brown, review of the exhibition *Leonaert Bramer, 1596-1674: Ingenious Painter and Draughtsman in Rome and Delft*, at the Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, Delft, 1994, *Burlington Magazine* 136 (1994), p. 864, and "Leonaert Bramer in Italy," in *Festschrift Seymour Slive* 1995, p. 47.
8. Bramer's style can be closely compared to Pasquale Ottino's in an oil on slate that recently appeared on the art market (see fig. 37a): sale, London (Christie's), 8 December 2005, lot 40 (colour ill., as attributed by Giorgio Marini).
9. Exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 21.
10. For Bramer's work at the Palace of Nieuburchhuis in Rijswijk, see Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 164. For his work at Honselaersdijk, see Slothouwer 1946, p. 286.
11. See Obreen Archief, vol. 1, pp. 58, 59, 64, 70 and 71.
12. Montias 1989, p. 308, document no. 245.
13. See exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 30.
14. Leonard Bramer, *Soldiers Resting*, 1626, oil on slate, 21 × 14 cm, signed, The Hague, Museum Bredius, inv. 28-1946; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, pp. 90-91, no. 9 (ill.).
15. Leonard Bramer, *Herdsmen near a Campfire*, oil on slate, 22.4 × 32.5 cm, with Galerie Sanct Lucas and Otto Naumann Ltd., in 1994; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, pp. 96-97, no. 13 (ill.). For a slightly different identification of the theme, see Exhibition Catalogues at the head of this entry.
16. See Jane ten Brink Goldsmith and Michiel Plomp, in exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 51.
17. On the friendship between Van Laer and Claude, see Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 184.
18. Exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 16. ♦



38.

Leonard Bramer (Delft 1596 – Delft 1674)

*Joseph Cast into the Pit*

Oil on panel, oval, 20.3 × 30.2 cm (picture);  
28.6 × 38.1 cm (engaged Louis XIII frame)

*Abraham and His Family Departing for Canaan*

Oil on panel, oval, 20 × 29.8 cm (picture); 28.3 × 38.1 cm  
(engaged Louis XIII frame)

Around 1636

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Hamburg, collection of Kurt Bauch; sale, London (Sotheby's),  
9 July 1998 lot 131 (both paintings; as *Joseph Cast into the Pit*  
and *Jacob and Rachel* [colour ill.]), purchased by Alfred Bader



ONE OF THIS PAIR of pictures depicts the familiar biblical scene of *Joseph Cast into the Pit* (Genesis 37:24). Jacob has sent his youngest and favourite son, Joseph, to check on the welfare of his brothers, who are tending the family flocks some distance from home. Jealous and irritated, they conspire to kill him but are persuaded by one of their number, Reuben, to throw him into a pit instead. Another of the brothers, Judah, then suggests selling him to some Midianite traders who are passing by. The word “pit” was long understood to mean a well,<sup>1</sup> and in the painting seen here several of Joseph’s brothers hold him suspended by ropes over a narrow hole in the ground. The absence of any figures of traders with their goods excludes the possibility that he is being raised up and points rather to the moment when Joseph is put into the pit.

The other panel shows a group of mounted travellers led by a servant on foot. It was initially thought to represent the theme of Jacob Fleeing from Esau, likely because the figure of the old man on a piebald horse – who gazes heavenwards with hands clasped in a supplicant pose – suggests fear.<sup>2</sup> However, in representations of this episode Jacob is typically shown as younger and accompanied by a large retinue. Christian Tümpel correctly identified the theme as *Abraham and His Family Departing for Canaan*, pointing to a precedent in a print of the theme by Gerard de Jode.<sup>3</sup> In chapter 13 of the Book of Genesis, Abraham parts ways with Lot and settles with his household in the land of Canaan. Here, we clearly see Abraham’s wife Sarah (to the left of the servant) accompanied by several other men and women on horseback. The lush, rolling countryside on the right alludes to Abraham’s future





Fig. 38a. Leonard Bramer, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1636, oil on panel, 69 × 88.5 cm, signed. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. 1871.

in the new land. Abraham is distinguished by his voluminous red cloak. His gesture and glance – which denote not fear, but awe – mark the moment when he receives a revelation from God.

And the LORD said unto Abram, after that Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward. For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered. Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee. (Genesis 13:14-17.)

These two paintings are linked as pendants not only by their similar formats but also by the highly unusual technique of carving the pictorial support and the frame out of a single piece of wood. The thematic relationship between the two images seems to centre on faith in the promises of God delivered by revelation: Abraham is promised the land of Canaan, and Joseph is promised a position of great power, which (after following a path that begins with the abduction by his brothers) he eventually achieves in Egypt.

Although typical of Bramer's style in general, these two paintings do not relate directly to any of his signed and dated works. It is almost certain that they were painted sometime during the 1630s given the emphasis on landscape, which Bramer had mastered in Italy during the two previous decades. The receding diagonal line of landscape seen in both paintings also appears in his 1636 *Adoration of the Magi* in Leipzig (fig. 38a),<sup>4</sup> as does the calligraphic and mannered depiction of clouds.

1. The States Bible does not specify a well but gives the word *kuijl*, or pit. The tradition of a well likely stems from the Vulgate, which reads *cisterna*, or cistern.
2. Bauch's identification of the theme as Jacob and Rachel in a note on the back of the painting was accepted by the auction house; see under Provenance at the head of this entry.
3. Letter from Christian Tümpel to Alfred Bader of 9 March 1999; Bader Collection work files. The print by Gerard de Jode appears in his *Thesaurus Historiarum Sacrarum Veteris Testamenti* (Antwerp, 1579).
4. See exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 108, no. 20, p. 112 (fig. 20). ♦



39.

Leonard Bramer (Delft 1596 – Delft 1674)

*The Presentation in the Temple*

Early 1640s

Oil on panel, 68.5 × 34.5 cm

Signed lower right: *L. Bramer*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Twickenham, Strawberry Hill, collection of Horace Walpole (1717-1797), in 1771; London, collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds; his sale, London (Christie's), 13-14 March 1795 (Lugt 5284), lot 64 (as by Rembrandt, *Simeon Offering the Infant Christ in the Temple*); J. Bryan collection; New York, collection of J. Vollmering; New York, collection of Thomas Jefferson; by bequest to the New York Historical Society, in 1867; Th. J. Bryan Collection sale, New York (Sotheby's), 9 October 1980, lot 77 (ill., as by Bramer); London, with Johnny van Haeften, in 1981; London, with Neville Orgel, in 1982; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Smith 1829-1842, vol. 7, p. 27, no. 65 (as by Rembrandt, approx. 30 × 24 in. [76.2 × 61 cm]); Wilhelm Bode, "Alte Kunstwerke in den Sammlungen der Vereinigten Staaten," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge 6 (1895), p. 15 (as by Bramer); Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 458, note 25; Wichmann 1923, p. 112, no. 74 (as signed, around 1640); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 15, no. 3 (1982), p. 45 (cover ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1984, pp. 6-7, no. 3 (ill.); Delft 1994, pp. 152-153, no. 38 (ill., as mid-1630s), p. 285, no. S74

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

*Catalogue of the Museum and Gallery of Art of the New-York Historical Society* (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1903) p. 31, no. 273 (as by Bramer); New York 1915, p. 69, no. B-98 (as bought by J. Vollmering, from the Bryan collection)



# PRINTS

M. Ardell, mezzotint (as by Rembrandt); see Wichmann 1923, p. 112

Richard Earlom, engraving; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 152

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE (2:25-35) relates the story of the “just and devout” Simeon, an elderly citizen of Jerusalem who had received a revelation assuring him that he would see the Messiah before he died. Led by the Holy Spirit to the temple, he there encounters the infant Jesus, brought by his parents for presentation. Simeon takes the baby in his arms and prophesies his future role as the Messiah. Jesus’ visit to the temple is also noted by Anna, an old prophetess, who hails him as the longed-for Redeemer (2:36-38). She appears in this picture kneeling behind the central group.

In creating this image Bramer was taking up an established pictorial theme, also interpreted in the 1630s by Rembrandt (fig. 54a).<sup>1</sup> The carefully arranged composition connects the picture to Bramer’s work of the following decade.<sup>2</sup> The moderately large and strongly shaped figures establish a regular rhythm through the space, counterbalancing one another other in pose and movement. It is perhaps this achievement, combined with the painterly quality and the use of chiaroscuro, that led early owners (including Horace Walpole) to attribute the work to Rembrandt.<sup>3</sup> Yet, the large figure scale also links the picture to Flemish models, such as Rubens. Bramer would subsequently adopt a looser approach to composition, as seen in a later depiction of the same theme in Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the artist prepared the composition in a drawing now in Rotterdam.<sup>5</sup> However, although the disposition of the figures in the drawing is nearly identical, the figures are grouped more compactly, the background group is left out and the composition is reversed left to right. These differences actually suggest that the drawing was made after the painting, with the purpose of refining its composition and reversing the orientation for reproduction as a print.<sup>6</sup>

Simeon’s dress, which includes a bishop’s mitre, attests to Bramer’s free approach to costume. Although Mary and Joseph are more conventionally attired in simple draped garments *all’antica*, Simeon’s fur cloak and the costume of the man behind him, featuring a fur hat and stockings, seem to be fanciful adaptations of contemporary northern European dress.

1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Simeon’s Song of Praise*, around 1631, oil on panel, 60.9 × 47.8 cm, Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. 145; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 331-337, no. A34 (ill.).
2. Although Plomp dates this painting to the mid-1630s, it accords more closely to his description of Bramer’s style in the early 1640s; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 59.
3. See up to 1980 under Provenance at the head of this entry and the print by Richard Earlom (1742/3-1822) mentioned by Plomp in exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 152.
4. Leonard Bramer, *Presentation in the Temple*, 1650s, oil on panel, 54 × 73 cm, Philadelphia, The Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, no. 489. Plomp dates this work to the 1650s on the basis of its looser composition, divided into several groupings of figures; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 152.
5. Leonard Bramer, *Presentation in the Temple*, brush and black ink, heightened with white, with brown wash, 39.8 × 33.2 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. MB 168; see collection cat. Rotterdam 1969, p. 43 (pl. 76), and exhib. cat. Delft 1994, pp. 152-153 (fig. 38a).
6. See exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 152. ♦



40.

Leonard Bramer (Delft 1596 – Delft 1674)

*The Queen of Sheba’s Visit to King Solomon*

Early 1640s

Oil on panel, 72.4 × 55.9 cm

Signed lower right: *L. Bramer.*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

## PROVENANCE

London, collection of Eric Palmer; Lady Baird et al. sale (Eric Palmer section), London (Christie’s), 8 December 1972, lot 9 (as *Esther before Ahasuerus*, oil on panel, 71 × 56 cm), purchased by Alfred Bader

## LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 7, no. 1 (1974), inside cover (cover ill.); exhib. cat. Münster 1994, p. 20 (fig. 14); exhib. cat. Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999, p. 18 (ill., given in the text as a *Circumcision* but identified correctly in the caption)

## EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

London 1952-1953, p. 18, no. 46; Milwaukee 1976, pp. 102-103, no. 46 (ill., as *The Queen of Sheba*); Delft 1994, pp. 164-165, no. 44 (colour ill.), p. 279, no. S27.1

## COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 3 (ill., as *Esther before Ahasuerus*)



AT THE START OF King Solomon's reign, God appears to him in a dream and bids him choose a boon. Rather than power or riches, the monarch opts for wisdom. Pleased with this answer, God grants the wish (1 Kings 3:5-10). Solomon's sagacity aids him greatly in ruling Israel, and soon his fame spreads far and wide, prompting a personal visit from the Queen of Sheba. After testing Solomon with a series of difficult questions, which he answers successfully, the Queen praises him and presents him with all sorts of treasures (10:1-12). This is the episode depicted here. Because of the Queen's abject pose, kneeling on the stairs before Solomon, Bramer's painting was earlier thought to depict Queen Esther's nervous petition to King Ahasuerus (Esther 5:1-8).<sup>1</sup> However, as Kurt Bauch and Christian Tümpel have confirmed, the conspicuous trove of vessels and objects in the foreground clearly links the scene to the story of the Queen of Sheba.<sup>2</sup>

In the typological interpretation of the Bible, the Queen of Sheba was seen as a prefiguration of the Adoration of the Magi,<sup>3</sup> and Wichmann reports an old sale appearance of a pendant pair of works by Bramer on these two themes.<sup>4</sup> This artist also illustrated the Queen of Sheba episode as part of the life of Solomon (in a painting formerly in Dresden, now lost).<sup>5</sup> The present depiction is the only one out of the five Bramers on the theme reported by Wichmann whose current whereabouts are known.<sup>6</sup>

Both the monumentality of the scene and the Queen of Sheba's obeisance are underscored by the imposing motif of the staircase that leads up to Solomon's throne. Although expressively and freely handled in parts, the work reflects great care in the compositional arrangement and posing of the figures. The diagonals formed by the figure of the attendant standing at the lower right are mirrored in the forward-leaning pose of the Queen of Sheba. The space is strongly articulated in a series of planes receding from the figure in the foreground, to the staircase, to the building in the rear with pilasters and an arched opening. The interaction between Solomon and his guest is powerfully conveyed by their gestures and glances, which generate a sharp affective and visual tension. As with Bramer's *Presentation in the Temple*, also in the Bader Collection (cat. 39), the monumentality of the figures places this work in the early 1640s.

1. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.

2. Letter from Kurt Bauch to Alfred Bader, 16 July 1974, and letter from Christian and Astrid Tümpel to Alfred Bader, 1 August 1974; Bader Collection work files.

3. Hall 1984, p. 287.

4. See Wichmann 1923, p. 99, no. 25, and p. 115, no. 86a. The two paintings (oil on copper, 8.7 × 8.7 cm each), appeared as a pair in a sale, Amsterdam, 17 September 1766, lot 18.

5. For the lost Dresden painting, see Ebert 1963, p. 71 (ill.). It was formerly paired with *Solomon Praying in the Temple*, oil on panel, 73.5 × 109.5 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. 1324; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, pp. 168-169, no. 46 (ill.).

6. For the remaining two, see Wichmann 1923, p. 99, nos. 26-27: oil on panel, 48 × 62 cm, Ed. C. Smith sale, Amsterdam, 4 July 1882 (Lugt 42190), lot 34; oil on panel, 57 × 84 cm, sale, Amsterdam, 30 November 1909 (Lugt 68032), lot 68. ♦

41.

Attributed to Jan de Bray (Haarlem 1626/27 – Amsterdam 1697)

*Head of a Young Woman*

Early 1650s

Oil on panel, 53.7 × 36.8 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, Paris (Drouot), 13 May 1905 (Lugt 63367), lot 69 (ill., as by Nicolas Maes, for 1,520 francs); Paris, Gallery Kleinberger; Paris, collection of Sacha Guitry; London, with M. Knoedler; sale, London (Christie's), 24 November 1967, lot 30 (as by Fabritius, *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels*), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, pp. 83, 86 note 30, p. 105 (colour ill., as by Hendrik Heerschop); Bader 1995, pp. 214, 228-229, no. 1 (pl. 11)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Museo de Bellas Artes, Caracas, *Exposición de Antiguos Maestros*, 1947, p. 16, no. 15 (ill., as by Barent Fabritius, *Portrait of Hendrickje Stoffels*); Oshkosh 1968, unpaginated, no. 1 (colour ill. on cover); Kingston 1984, pp. 52-53, no. 23 (ill.)

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 22 (ill.)

A YOUNG WOMAN is shown here in three-quarter profile, her head tilted a little to one side and her gaze downcast. As she leans forward, her right shoulder somewhat lower than the left, she seems to be engaged in some kind of action, for although her face appears calm, her brows are slightly raised toward the middle, suggesting concentration or tension. Her costume consists of a red-brown cloak over a white blouse, and her hair is kept in place by a band wrapped with a cord of pearls. Dressed thus, *all'antica*, the figure undoubtedly constitutes a study for one of the characters in a classical or biblical history painting. The impression of action – even drama – conveyed by the expression and pose is heightened by the concentrated light shining down from above, which isolates the woman's features against the dark background. This use of lighting, extremely rare in portraiture, indicates that the subject is anonymous and that the work falls into the category of the *tronie*.

It was as a *Portrait of a Young Woman* by the Rembrandt pupil Nicolas Maes that this panel first resurfaced on the art market in 1905.<sup>1</sup> When it reappeared at auction in 1967, it was given to another pupil of the master, Barent Fabritius, and accompanied by the unlikely identification of the sitter as Rembrandt's common-law wife, Hendrickje Stoffels.<sup>2</sup> Sturla Gudlaugsson was the first scholar to point away from Rembrandt and toward the school of Haarlem by attributing it to the hand of Jan de Bray.<sup>3</sup> The assignment to this artist was not accepted by Joachim Wolfgang von Moltke,<sup>4</sup> author of an important monographic article on De Bray, and also met with opposition from Pieter van Thiel and Jeroen Giltaij.<sup>5</sup> However, support for Gudlaugsson's view has been expressed by both Wolfgang Stechow<sup>6</sup> and I. Q. van Regteren Altena.<sup>7</sup> Sumowski subsequently published the picture as by Hendrick Heerschop, although without supplying a convincing comparison.<sup>8</sup> It remains most likely that the author of the work is Jan de Bray. The smooth modelling and rounded forms





Fig. 41a. Jan de Bray, *Moses Discovered by Pharaoh's Daughter*, 1661, oil on canvas, 121 × 164 cm, signed. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 1086.



Fig. 41b. Jan de Bray, *Portrait of a Boy*, 1654, oil on panel, 59.5 × 47 cm, signed. The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, inv. 808.



Fig. 41c. Jan de Bray, *Portrait of Two Boys (The Artist's Brothers?)*, 1651, oil on panel, 27.7 × 36.4 cm, signed. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. 180

of the brightly lit head accord closely with his approach to history painting, which he adapted from the work of Pieter de Grebber, an important model for the De Bray studio in Haarlem. The liberal use of pure white in the highlights, notably along the ridge of the nose, in effect excludes the entire Rembrandt school from consideration and points again to Haarlem and Jan de Bray. The rather curious headdress serves to catch light at the back of the head, further articulating and modelling its rounded form – a strategy typical of the artist and fully in accordance with his classicizing style. Moreover, the facial type seen here, featuring a high, rounded forehead, prominent nose, fleshy lower lip, smoothly curved chin and straight jaw, relates closely to female figures that appear in many of Jan de Bray's paintings, including the 1661 *Moses Discovered by Pharaoh's Daughter* in Rotterdam (fig. 41a),<sup>9</sup> and *Paris and Oenone*, executed the same year and recorded around a decade ago in a London sale.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that here, as in the Rotterdam painting, De Bray was depicting a member of his family. Although the affective power of this expressive head strongly suggests Rembrandt and his followers, its restrained pathos is even more reminiscent of two portrayals of boys who have been identified as De Bray's brothers – pictures in The Hague<sup>11</sup> and Dublin (figs. 41b,



41c)<sup>12</sup> – which both also feature the same eloquent pose of the head, cocked slightly to one side.

The handling of the robe in the present painting, unusually loose for De Bray, nonetheless betrays his calm and deliberate hand. The range of technique and the strong light effect can be related specifically to the artist's earlier work, in particular the painting in Dublin, pointing to a date around the beginning of the 1650s. Although the tone recalls the artist's depictions of heroic women, such as his *Judith and Holofernes* in Amsterdam<sup>13</sup> and his *Jael and Sisera* in York,<sup>14</sup> this picture dates from several years earlier; showing no action, it may have served as a model for these later works only in a general sense, in keeping with the tradition of the *tronie*.

Jan de Bray was born around 1627, son of the prominent Haarlem painter, architect and poet Salomon de Bray.<sup>15</sup> After possibly training in his father's studio, he likely established his practice there as well. He specialized in portraits and history paintings, employing a classicizing style based on the work of his father as well as that of Pieter de Grebber. Jan did not join the local St. Luke's Guild until after Salomon's death in 1664, but between 1667 and 1684 he served for four terms as beadle and commissioner.<sup>16</sup> His three marriages, contracted in 1668, 1672 and 1678, were each cut short by the early death of his wife.<sup>17</sup> Legal conflicts concerning his spouses' estates may have precipitated his bankruptcy in 1689,<sup>18</sup> and this setback appears to have curtailed his creative activity in the years leading up to his death in 1697.<sup>19</sup> His works stand out among those of other artists of the Dutch Golden Age for their controlled and skilful execution, masterfully rendered light effects and convincingly solid forms. However, the engaging drama and emotion of his early work, discernible here, eventually gave way to a more facile charm.

1. See under Provenance at the head of this entry. The unlikelihood of this attribution was recently confirmed by William S. Robinson in a letter to Alfred Bader of 7 November 2000; Bader Collection work files.
2. Edouard Trautscholdt likewise rejected the attribution to Jan de Bray, in favour of Barent Fabritius or Gerbrand van den Eeckhout in a letter of 12 December 1967 to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
3. Note with the photograph of the painting at the RKD.
4. Letter of 28 May 1968 from Joachim Wolfgang von Moltke to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
5. Letter of May 1974 from Pieter van Thiel to Alfred Bader and letter of 21 October from Jeroen Giltaij to Alfred Bader 1997; *ibid.*
6. Letters of 20 December 1967, 17 March 1974 and 17 May 1974 from Wolfgang Stechow to Alfred Bader; *ibid.*
7. Letter of 28 January 1968 from I. Q. van Regteren Altena to Alfred Bader; *ibid.*
8. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
9. See exhib. cat. Frankfurt and Rotterdam 1999-2000, pp. 280-283; see also exhib. cat. Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1980-1981, p. 224, where Albert Blankert suggests that this painting is a *portrait historié*.
10. Jan de Bray, *Paris and Oenone*, 1661, oil on panel, 44.2 × 37.5, signed; sale, London (Sotheby's) 29 October 1998, lot 136 (colour ill.).
11. See collection cat. The Hague 1993, p. 39 (ill.).
12. See collection cat. Dublin 1986, pp. 19-20 (fig. 24).
13. Jan de Bray, *Judith and Holofernes*, 1659, oil on panel, 40 × 32.5 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-2353; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, p. 141 (ill.).
14. Jan de Bray, *Jael and Sisera*, 1659, oil on panel, 40 × 33 cm, signed, York, City Art Gallery; see the announcement of the museum's acquisition, *Burlington Magazine* 135 (1956), pp. 141, 178 (ill.).
15. Thieme-Becker, vol. 4, p. 555.
16. See Miedema 1980, vol. 1, pp. 293, 297, 300; vol. 2, pp. 673-675, 685-709, 933.
17. See Van der Willigen 1870, pp. 96-97.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
19. *Ibid.* and Jeroen Giltaij, in exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, p. 267. ◆



42.

Salomon de Bray (Amsterdam around 1597 – Haarlem 1664)

*Head of an Old Man*

Around 1635

Oil on panel, 17.25 cm (diam.)

Monogrammed lower right, beside the shoulder: SDB (interlaced)

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Althorp, collection of the Earl of Spencer; London, with Neville Orgel; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Von Moltke 1938-1939, p. 368 (fig. 59, as around 1647), p. 386, no. 76

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Possibly *Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp, the Seat of the Right Honourable The Earl Spencer*, K. G. (Northampton, 1823), p. 32 (as by Rembrandt, *Old Man's Head, a Sketch*) or p. 35 (as by Anonymous, *Old Man's Head*); possibly *Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp House, in the County of Northampton* (1831), p. 27, no. 388 (as by Anonymous, *Old Man's Head*); possibly *Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp House, in the County of Northampton, with Occasional Notices, Biographical or Historical* (1851), p. 57, no. 234 (as by A. de Gelder, *Old Man's Head*); K. Garlick, "A Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 46 (1974-1976), p. 9, no. 63 (as no. 257 in the 1746 list)

SALOMON DE BRAY stands out as one of the few universal talents among Dutch artists of his era. He was born in Amsterdam around 1597, but his family moved to the neighbouring city of Haarlem shortly thereafter.<sup>1</sup> In 1621 the poet-diplomat Theodoor Rodenburgh reported that he had studied with Haarlem masters Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem.<sup>2</sup> The artist married in Haarlem in 1625,<sup>3</sup> and in 1631 was active in the reorganization of its St. Luke's Guild.<sup>4</sup> Aside from pursuing a long and productive career as a painter, he also received commissions for architectural and decorative designs.<sup>5</sup> He published a treatise outlining his ideas on architecture in 1631<sup>6</sup> and late in life





Fig. 42a. Salomon de Bray, *Abraham's Sacrifice*, around 1635, oil on panel, 56 × 48 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM 1069.

presented a proposal for future planning of the city of Haarlem.<sup>7</sup> Salomon de Bray may also have been something of a musician, as witness his friendship with the composer Cornelis Padbrué and a madrigal published under his name.<sup>8</sup> The publisher Cornelis Danckerts (1561–1634) attested to his proficiency in French and Italian, as well as the classical languages of Greek and Latin.<sup>9</sup> In 1617, when he was barely twenty, De Bray was already participating in a society of rhetoricians,<sup>10</sup> and a book of love poems published in 1627 testifies to his poetical labours.<sup>11</sup> Painting was his primary activity, however, and he passed on his profession to three of his ten children, thereby establishing one of Haarlem's most prominent studios. Consonant with his considerable learning, De Bray specialized in history painting. After briefly following the fashion for Rembrandt during the 1630s, he revisited the classicizing mode already established in Haarlem in the previous decade by Pieter Fransz. de Grebber. Besides many commissions in Haarlem, some for altarpieces for the clandestine churches of his Catholic coreligionists, Salomon was also commissioned by the House of Orange to execute one of the scenes in the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch, in The Hague.<sup>12</sup> Salomon de Bray died in 1664, a victim – along with his wife and several other members of his family – of the plague.

In this small monogrammed panel, the artist has depicted the head of an elderly gentleman gazing anxiously upward.<sup>13</sup> The figure does not represent a sitter or a particular person, but belongs to the general category of character heads that first emerged in Leiden, in the work of Jan Lievens and Rembrandt, and quickly acquired the name of *tronie*. The genre developed from head studies for figures in history paintings, and this particular picture shows close links to several biblical scenes by De Bray. Von

Moltke was the first to point out the connection with the *Samuel in Prayer* of 1647, now in Paris.<sup>14</sup> A similar head also appears in the 1655 painting *Joseph Receiving His Family in Egypt*, in a private collection.<sup>15</sup> Even closer, though, is the head of Abraham in a depiction of *Abraham's Sacrifice* in Stockholm, also mentioned by Von Moltke, which can be dated to around 1635 (fig. 42a).<sup>16</sup> Although the loose and sketchy handling seen here cannot be compared directly to any of De Bray's dated works, the panel can be tentatively assigned to the same period as the Stockholm painting. The presence of the monogram is an indication that the artist produced it as a finished work, comparable to the *tronies* of Rembrandt and Lievens, by whom De Bray was influenced in these years.

1. E. W. Moes, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 4, p. 555.
2. See G. W. Kernkamp, "Memoriën van Ridder Theodorus Rodenburg betreffende het verplaatsen van verschillende industrieën uit Nederland naar Denemarken, met daarop genomen resolutiën van Koning Christian IV (1621)," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap (gevestigd te Utrecht)* 23 (1902), pp. 216–217.
3. Van der Willigen 1870, p. 90.
4. See E. Taverne, "Salomon de Bray and the Reorganization of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1631," *Simiolus* 6 (1972/73), pp. 50–69.
5. Von Moltke 1938–1939, p. 310.
6. *Architectura moderna ofte Bouwingen van onsen tyt...* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Danckerts, van Seevenhovn, 1631).
7. *Bedenkingen over het uytleggen en vergrooten der stad Haarlem* (Haarlem: A. Casteleyn, 1661).
8. This appears in the second edition of Padbrué's settings of texts by Joannes Nicolai Secundus, entitled *Kusies* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz., 1641). See Lammertse in exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999–2000, p. 86.
9. E. Taverne, *In 't land van belofte: in de nieuwe stad. Ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsuitleg in de republiek 1580–1680* (Maarsen: Gary Schwartz, 1980), p. 316.
10. Von Moltke (Von Moltke 1938–1939, p. 309) reports the name of the chamber as "Liefde boven al (Love above everything)," but more recently Friso Lammertse (in exhib. catalogue Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999–2000, p. 84) has identified it with the name "De Wijngaardranken (The Vine Tendrils)."
11. *Sa. D. Brays Minne-Zuchjes. Uyt-ghe-drukt in liederkens / klinck-vaersen / en andere rijmen* (Amsterdam: Jacob Aertsz. Colom, 1627); see exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999–2000, p. 84.
12. Exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999–2000, pp. 88–93, no. 7.
13. Another monogrammed painting is Salomon de Bray, *The Visitation*, oil on panel, 65 × 49.5 cm, Emden, Ostfriesisches Landesmuseum Emden; see Von Moltke 1938–1939, p. 381, no. 31.
14. Salomon de Bray, *Samuel in Prayer*, 1647, oil on panel, 64 × 50 cm, signed, Paris, collection of Adolphe Schloss (stolen in the Second World War by the Nazis); see Von Moltke 1938–1939, p. 326 (ill.), p. 380 no. 17, p. 386.
15. Salomon de Bray, *Joseph Receiving His Family in Egypt*, 1655, oil on canvas, 112 × 88 cm, signed, Boo, Sweden, collection of Baron Hugo von Hamilton; *ibid.*, p. 338 (fig. 26), p. 380 no. 9.
16. See Von Moltke 1938–1939, pp. 330 (fig. 18), 368, 379, no. 6, and collection cat. Stockholm 1990, p. 50 (ill.). ◆





43.

Salomon de Bray

(Amsterdam around 1597 – Haarlem 1664)

*Hagar Brought to Abraham by Sarah*

1650

Oil on panel, 31.2 × 23.5 cm

Signed and dated on the back of the chair: *S. Bray / 1650*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Amsterdam, Dr. Johan Pieter Wierman; his sale, Amsterdam (Philippus van der Land), 18 August 1762 (Lugt 1237), lot 10 (as by Samuel de Bray, "Een Stuk, verbeeldende daar Sara hare Dienstmaagd Hagar aan Abraham overleverd; zynde een extra uitvoerig Stukje, en zo Delicaat, als of het van den ouden Frans Mieris was. [A piece showing the moment when Sarah delivers her maidservant Hagar to Abraham; being an exceedingly fine little piece, and as delicate as if it had been by Frans van Mieris the Elder.]," 12 × 9 1/4 duim [31.1 × 24 cm], for f 215), to Odon;<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, collection of Gottfried Winkler (1731-1795); Lützschena, collection of Maximilian Freiherr Speck von Sternburg (1776-1866), thence by descent; Paris and London, collection of Valentin Count Zubow; London, collection of Efim Schapiro, by 1951; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Füssli 1806-1822, vol. 1, p. 102; Hoet and Terwesten 1770, p. 253; Gustav Parthey, *Deutsche Bildersaal* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1863-1864), vol. 1, p. 170, no. 1 (as by Jakob de Bray); Von Moltke 1938-1939, pp. 334 (fig. 21), 335-336, 379, no. 1; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 13, no. 1 (1980), p. 1 (cover ill.); Sellin 2006, pp. 80-81 (fig. 10)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 20-21, no. 5 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 38-39, no. 15 (ill.); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 50-51, no. 21 (ill.); Braunschweig 1993-1994, pp. 216-218, no. 67 (colour ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Friedrich Wilhelm Kreuchauf, *Historische Erklärungen der Gemälde, welche Herr Gottfried Winkler [sic] in Leipzig gesammelt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf 1768), p. 116, no. 289; Speck 1826, p. 8, no. 26 (as by Jakob de Bray); Speck 1889, p. 7, no. 268 (as by Jakob de Bray, 1650, oil on panel, signed, formerly in the Winkler collection, Leipzig)

SALOMON DE BRAY depicted numerous themes from the Old Testament, including some not otherwise represented by Dutch artists.<sup>2</sup> He was one of the first to portray the episode shown here, taken from the story of Hagar (Genesis 16:1-3).<sup>3</sup> Hagar was the servant of Sarah, wife of the patriarch Abraham. Infertile and advancing in years, Sarah has begun to doubt God's promise of a son, and presents Hagar to her husband in order that they conceive a child to be his heir. The story casts Hagar as the victim of Sarah's scheming, and De Bray has underscored her innocence through her pose. Her nude figure is actually based on the famous classical sculptural type of the *Venus pudica*, which originated with the Cnidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles, who modestly curves her body forward and reaches down with one hand to





Fig. 43a. Claes Cornelisz. Moyaert, *Mercury and Herse*, 1624, oil on panel, 53.8 x 84 cm, signed. The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, inv. 394.

cover her pubic area.<sup>4</sup> De Bray was probably not familiar with any of the antique copies of this statue but likely appropriated the figure from the work of Claes Cornelisz. Moyaert, who had included it in two paintings executed in 1624 – the *Mercury and Herse* now in The Hague (fig. 43a)<sup>5</sup> and the *Allegory of Spring* in Nuremburg.<sup>6</sup> Moyaert himself may have taken the pose from a painting by Jacob Jordaens dating from a couple of years earlier (fig. 124b).<sup>7</sup> Hagar's shame is further emphasized here by the cloth she clutches in front of her and her downcast visage. The figure of the servant forms a sharp contrast with Abraham's eager, smiling face and reassuring hand. Sarah also urges Hagar on, placing one hand on her arm and raising the other in a gesture of explanation to Abraham. De Bray has clothed the two older figures in exotic Eastern dress but set the scene in a contemporary Dutch interior, complete with a curtained cabinet bed, a table and water jug on the left, and a Spanish chair in the right foreground.

The panel is dated 1650, by which time De Bray had adopted a classicizing style, leaving behind the Rembrandtesque figures and compositions of the 1630s. This development is demonstrated here in the predominance of the classical nude figure, as well as the high level of finish in surface and detail. The artist has nevertheless retained the distinctive striated hatching seen in his early work, together with an emphasis on curved lines and rounded forms.

1. Hoet and Terwesten 1770, p. 253.
2. See for example fig. 49b, *Deborah, Jael and Barak*, 1635, oil on panel, 86.5 x 71.5 cm, signed, Utrecht, Museum het Catharijneconvent, inv. RMCC s121; see exhib. cat. Frankfurt and Rotterdam 1999–2000, pp. 84–87, no. 6 (colour ill.).
3. He earlier depicted the scene of Hagar's banishment: 1633, oil on panel, 59.5 x 50.5 cm, signed, Paris (Hotel George V), 12 December 1995, lot 71 (ill.); see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 6, pp. 3522, 3531 note 39, p. 3543 (colour ill.).
4. On the impact of this sculpture, known only through copies, see Christine Mitchell Havelock, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995). The best-known copy is in the Vatican Museums.
5. See collection cat. The Hague 1993, pp. 98–99 (ill.).
6. Claes Cornelisz. Moyaert, *Allegory of Spring*, 1624, oil on panel, 43 x 80 cm, signed, Nuremburg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. GM 389; see collection cat. Nuremburg 1995, pp. 173–176, no. 81 (pl. 59).
7. Jacob Jordaens, *Allegory of Fertility*, around 1623, oil on canvas, 180 x 241 cm, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 119; see collection cat. Brussels 1984, p. 156 (ill.). ♦

44.

Attributed to Bartholomeus Breenbergh  
(Deventer 1598 – Amsterdam 1657)

*Tobias and the Fish*

Around 1624

Oil on panel, 24.2 x 33 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale London (Christie's) 31 March 1989, lot 97 (ill., as by Circle of Andries Both); purchased by Alfred Bader

ON THE RIGHT of this composition are two young men, one standing and pointing, the other down on one knee and raising his arms in surprise and fear. They are responding to the sight of the large fish that is emerging from the shallows at the centre of the painting. The work depicts the moment in the apocryphal Book of Tobit (6:2) when a giant fish leaps out of the River Tigris to attack the young Tobias. Accompanied by Azarius – actually the archangel Raphael in disguise – and his dog, Tobias has undertaken a long journey to collect a debt for his father, the blind Tobit. Azarius tells the frightened Tobias to catch the fish and to collect the liver, heart and gall, which will later be used to drive out the demon plaguing Tobias's new bride, Sarah, and to cure his father's blindness. Here, Azarius is pointing to the fish and calmly giving his instructions to Tobias, who is reacting in panic to the strange threat that is looming. Tobias's raised brows and open mouth reinforce the sense of horror conveyed by his flailing arms. The dog's fear is also graphically evoked in its wide eyes and bared teeth. The two figures in a boat on the extreme left have their backs to the scene and remain quite oblivious to its drama and emotion.

These events are taking place in an Italianate landscape, on a beach with a sheer cliff in the background that is punctured



Fig. 44a. Bartholomeus Breenbergh, *The Finding of Moses*, 1622, oil on copper, 18.3 x 25 cm, signed. Stockholm, Hallwyl Museum.





by an arched opening. The handling of the landscape, together with the small figure scale, prompted Otto Naumann's tentative attribution of this picture to the Dutch Italianate painter Bartholomeus Breenbergh,<sup>1</sup> which was based on comparison with two early pictures by this artist, *The Finding of Moses* in Stockholm, of 1622 (fig. 44a),<sup>2</sup> and a *Jesus and Mary* from around the same time.<sup>3</sup> These pictures display Breenbergh's early tendency toward a pithy and dynamic expression of emotion, also very much in evidence in the present painting. The artist made repeated use of pointing figures to add an element of narrative tension to his works, as witness the present picture, the one in Stockholm and a later depiction of *Ulysses and Nausicaa*, in which one of the female figures also expresses surprise by raising her arms in much the same way as Tobias here.<sup>4</sup> This dynamic, emotional quality distinguishes Breenbergh's style from the smoother, calmer, classicizing approach of the Utrecht history painter Cornelis van Poelenburch (1594-1667), by whom he was influenced. Also, the motif of the natural arch parallels the opened landscape and architectural forms that occur frequently in Breenbergh's work.<sup>5</sup>

Breenbergh was born in the inland town of Deventer. How he acquired his artistic training is not clear, but he is known to have sojourned in Italy is between 1619 and 1629. He was there at the same time as Van Poelenburch, who seems to have encouraged him to follow his own example and adopt the approach of the Flemish painter Paul Bril – also working in Italy – which featured small figures in Italianate landscape settings. Breenbergh's earliest

paintings show a dashing use of fluid, impastoed brushstrokes in the figures that is reminiscent of classical Roman painting, with which he may have been familiar. Marcel Roethlisberger attributed two genre scenes of washerwomen in a cavern (which show a similar painterly bravado) to Breenbergh but hesitated to ascribe the present work to the artist as well, citing a lack of knowledge of the artist's earliest period.<sup>6</sup> If this picture is by Breenbergh, it could be dated to the same period as these two panels, around 1624. However, the attribution must remain tentative in the absence of further examples for comparison, especially to the soft, textural handling of the landscape features.

1. Letter of 14 February 1990 from Otto Naumann to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.

2. See Roethlisberger 1981, p. 41, no. 64 (pl. 64).

3. Bartholomeus Breenbergh, *Jesus and Mary*, around 1622, oil on panel, signed, Netherlands, private collection; see *ibid.*, pp. 41-42, no. 65 (pl. 65).

4. Bartholomeus Breenbergh, *Ulysses and Nausicaa*, 1640, oil on panel, 55 × 71 cm, signed, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 3277; see Roethlisberger 1981, p. 78, no. 199 (pl. 199).

5. A natural arch appears in one of Breenbergh's Italian drawings: *Italianate Landscape with Hillside*, around 1628-1629, grey wash, 9.3 × 15 cm, signed, Grenoble, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. D661; see *ibid.*, p. 52, no. 105 (pl. 105).

6. Bartholomeus Breenbergh, *Cave with Washerwomen*, oil on panel, around 1624, 16.5 × 22 cm, Turin, private collection, and *Cave with Washerwomen*, around 1624, oil on panel, 13 × 22 cm, Gdańsk, Muzeum Pomorskie; see Roethlisberger 1981, pp. 42-43, no. 67 (pl. 67) and no. 68 (pl. 68), respectively. Roethlisberger expressed his hesitation about the present picture in a letter of 29 April 1990 to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files. ♦







45.

Attributed to Jan Brueghel the Elder  
(Brussels 1568 – Antwerp 1625)

*Two Squirrels*

Around 1616

Oil on panel, 33 × 40.6 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

London, collection of Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader, in 1981

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Birds and Beasts: An Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings of Five Centuries* (London: Matthiesen, 1953), no. 43; *Flemish Art, 1300-1700* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1953-1954), p. 96, no. 318 (as by Frans Snyders)

AGAINST A BACKGROUND of empty sky, two squirrels cavort on the bare branch of a tree, apparently frozen in mid-action, their tiny paws clutching the slender support. The squirrel on the left looks over at its companion, which in turn looks out at the viewer. Their lively figures, crouched and poised, create a dynamic composition that fills the panel – which has apparently been trimmed, having once extended further to the right.

The technique of this small panel clearly relates it to 16th-century Flemish painting practice. The pigment layers are thin and semi-transparent, creating a luminous effect. The fine detail and lively touches of the brush point to the manner of the Brueghel family. A previous attribution to Frans Snyders (1579-1657) was unsatisfactory, and Jacques Foucart suggested his follower Paul de Vos (1595-1678).<sup>1</sup> These names were disputed by Fred Meijer, who drew the connection to the famous animal studies by Jan Brueghel the Elder.<sup>2</sup> Two panels of such studies survive, one devoted to dogs,<sup>3</sup> the other combining monkeys, cats and donkeys (fig. 45a),<sup>4</sup> and both dating to around 1616. The present painting shows a similarly refined and sure handling, the same open arrangement and sprightliness, allowing for a tentative attribution to this earlier master. The panels used were also apparently identical in size: the height here is nearly the same as



Fig. 45a. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Studies of Donkeys, Monkeys and Cats*, around 1616, oil on panel, 34.5 × 50.5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 6988.

that of the two groups of studies, and the width (almost certainly cropped) is only a little less. The way the squirrels are positioned on the branch is strongly reminiscent of the birds perched in trees that appear in several of Brueghel's compositions, including his *Procession into Noah's Ark*, signed and dated 1613.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the gnarled and twisted branch reflects the same sensibility as these middle-period works, pointing to a date of around 1615.

Jan Brueghel, who was born in 1568, the second son of the renowned painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder and his wife Mayken Coecke, trained with his brother in the large family workshop. Between 1590 and 1596 he travelled throughout Italy, sojourning in Naples, Rome and finally Milan, where he received commissions from Cardinal Federico Borromeo. Upon his return north, to Antwerp, he entered the St. Luke's Guild<sup>6</sup> and, following the family tradition, established himself as a painter of large historical and genre scenes filled with small figures and set against rich landscape backgrounds. He gradually developed a specialization in the depiction of flowers, but also of animals, which he included in increasing detail and variety in paintings on diversely appropriate themes, including *The Procession into Noah's Ark* mentioned above. Squirrels appear in a number of these works, mostly in pairs, and generally small and simply depicted.

The remarkably complex and engaged rendering seen here actually relates more closely Jan Brueghel's painted studies of animals, and can be dated with them to around 1616. However, the present painting shows a high degree of finish, suggesting that it was executed on commission or for the market. As a "portrait" of a pair of squirrels, it mirrors the tradition of pendant portraits of husband and wife. Filled with life and humour, it represents a significant and sympathetic development in the observation of the animal world, reminiscent of his father's famous depiction of a pair of monkeys.<sup>7</sup>

1. Letter of 20 September 1994 from Jacques Foucart to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
2. Letter of 24 September 1998 from Fred C. Meijer to Alfred Bader; *ibid.* Meijer does not attribute this painting to Brueghel, however, but dates it to the second quarter of the 17th century.
3. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Studies of Dogs*, around 1616, oil on panel, 34.5 × 55.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 6985; see Ertz 1979, p. 393 (fig. 466), p. 609, no. 312.
4. See *ibid.*, p. 392 (fig. 465), p. 609, no. 311.
5. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Procession into Noah's Ark*, 1613, oil on panel, 87 × 54.5 cm, signed, London, with Brod Gallery, in 1979; see Ertz 1979, p. 237 (colour ill., fig. 307), p. 603, no. 273.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 14, for biographical information from the beginning of this paragraph.
7. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Two Monkeys*, 1562, oil on panel, 23 × 20 cm, signed, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. II.204; see collection cat. Berlin 1996, p. 229, no. 634 (ill.). ♦





46.

Hendrick ter Brugghen

(probably The Hague 1588 – Utrecht 1629)

*The Weeping Virgin*

Around 1621 (bust) and around 1629 (other elements)

Oil on panel, 77 × 62 cm (arched top)

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE<sup>1</sup>

Arnhem, collection of Dr. C. J. van Hengel; his sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 3 February 1948, lot 20 (as by Delft School, *A Mourning Woman with a White Head and Shoulder Shawl*); sale, Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 25 February 1969, lot 95 (as by Delft School, *Portrait of a Praying Woman in Profile*); Han Jüngeling, The Hague; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1970

#### LITERATURE

Nicolson 1973, p. 238 (as by Ter Brugghen); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 8, no. 1 (1976), p. 1 (ill. on cover); Joneath Spicer, review of exhibition Kingston 1984, *University of Toronto Quarterly* 54 (1985), pp. 512–513; Nicolson 1989, p. 191; Bader 1995, p. 210 (pl. 6); Slatkes and Franits 2007, pp. 222–223, no. W3 (pl. 96, as by Ter Brugghen's Workshop)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1984, pp. 4–5, no. 2 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 26 (ill.)

#### COPIES (showing the Virgin only)

Oil on canvas, 75 × 62.5 cm, London, with Agnew's, in 1965; Vienna, art market, in 1971; see Nicolson 1973, p. 238 (fig. 2), and Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 191

Possibly Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Mater Dolorosa*, oil on canvas, 68.3 × 57.2, Vienna, Schloss Rohrau; see Nicolson 1958, pp. 107–108, no. A75 (pl. 30b, as by Ter Brugghen), and Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 191

HENDRICK TER BRUGGHEN is the most important artist of the group of Dutch followers of Caravaggio active in Utrecht during the 1620s. The son of a bailiff of the States of Holland who was living in The Hague from around 1585 to 1602, he was likely apprenticed to Abraham Bloemaert in Utrecht by 1602.<sup>2</sup> He appears to have been serving as a soldier in 1607<sup>3</sup> but probably left that year for Italy, where he is reported to have met Peter Paul Rubens the following year.<sup>4</sup> He began his return journey in 1614<sup>5</sup> and was recorded in Utrecht in 1616, when he registered in the artists' guild and married.<sup>6</sup> Nominally a Protestant, he appears to have kept his distance from the Orthodox Reformed Church and maintained an openness to Roman Catholic traditions. The German painter and writer Joachim von Sandrart, who knew him during the last years of his life, remarked on his tendency to melancholy and profound thought.<sup>7</sup> Both Constantijn Huygens<sup>8</sup> and Peter Paul Rubens<sup>9</sup> attested to his very high reputation. An outbreak of the plague cut short his life in 1629.

In this painting, Ter Brugghen has depicted a large-scale female figure, shown half-length and in profile.<sup>10</sup> The woman, draped in heavy garments, clutches a white cloth. Tears run down her cheeks. Her hair is entirely covered by a white kerchief, and a white shawl envelops her neck and shoulders. Aside from the striking red lips, the colour scheme is relatively monochromatic. In the left background are two nude figures, either

raising or lowering an empty cross. Behind the woman on the right are two other figures. One is an elderly balding man with a beard; the other is a shorter and may be kneeling. Both are depicted in profile, facing the scene on the left. This, although it may originally have been more visible, is shrouded in a murky darkness. The whole of the background likely results from a second campaign of painting executed after the figure of the woman, which is on a panel that has been laid into a larger panel.

When it resurfaced at auction in 1948, this picture was identified simply as a profile portrait. In a 1969 sale the description noted that the woman was weeping, but again made no mention of the background detail. The theme of the work has since been the object of much debate. Wolfgang Stechow first suggested that it represents the weeping Magdalene.<sup>11</sup> Craig Harbison then proposed that it is in fact an image of the Virgin praying for the condemned souls in Purgatory.<sup>12</sup> Stechow later agreed that the figure likely represents the Virgin, but as the *Mater Dolorosa* (the mother mourning the death of her son).<sup>13</sup> This appears to be the theme of a similar composition, possibly by Ter Brugghen, that does not include the background detail.<sup>14</sup> Depictions of the Magdalene would show her hair uncovered, to distinguish her from the Virgin. And the ointment jar, one of the attributes usually included to identify the Magdalene, is absent. Moreover, another painting by Ter Brugghen, the *Annunciation* now in Diest,<sup>15</sup>





Fig. 46a. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John*, around 1625, oil on canvas, 154.9 × 102.2, cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 56.228.

portrays the Virgin with a head covering similar to the one seen here, and it appears again in the artist's *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John* of around 1625, now in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 46a).<sup>16</sup> Two copies of the figure, one possibly autograph, also seem to interpret it as the Virgin.<sup>17</sup> Harbison later suggested that what we are being shown is the sorrowing, meditating Virgin having a vision of the Crucifixion.<sup>18</sup>

But the scene in the background appears to be derived from the Christian legend known as the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>19</sup> This draws at least in part from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, a Christian text originating around 350 that (to judge from a 1671 translation published in the Netherlands)<sup>20</sup> enjoyed continued popularity there in the 17th century. Nicodemus describes Jesus' visit to Limbo to retrieve the righteous souls kept captive there since the beginning of the world. The first to be rescued is Adam, but before Jesus departs, the other souls implore him to leave behind a cross as a symbol of hope for them to contemplate. This he does. In two different prints of the Harrowing of Hell, Albrecht Dürer gives particular prominence to the empty cross and to Adam and Eve.<sup>21</sup> Here, they appear to be represented by the figures on the right. The fact that they are clothed is consistent with this artist's tendency to avoid the female nude. Adam's pose even recalls that of the Adam figure in a third depiction of the theme by Dürer, from 1512.<sup>22</sup> The clumsy nude figures to the left, possibly angels raising the cross for those left behind in Limbo, are reminiscent of the background angel in the Diest *Annunciation*. It seems likely, then, that Ter Brugghen constructed an original interpretation of this event, leaving out the figure of Jesus and instead showing the Virgin, weeping over the recent death of her son. As Christopher Wittcombe has pointed out, the Virgin is said to have wept only once – at the Crucifixion.<sup>23</sup> The unusual iconography, which seems to fuse the episodes of the Crucifixion and the Harrowing of Hell, has no precedent or parallel, once again suggesting that Ter Brugghen felt an interest and sympathy for the Catholic tradition, without adhering to it in any strict sense.

Ter Brugghen's rendering of Mary, with its solid masses and abrupt chiaroscuro, concords with his early work. A similar handling of drapery and heads can be seen in his *Calling of St. Matthew* of 1621, in Utrecht.<sup>24</sup> An even closer comparison can be drawn with the draped head of St. Catherine in the scene of her martyrdom, now in Norfolk, which can be dated with the present work to around the same period.<sup>25</sup> There is, however, a distinct difference in handling between the figure of the Virgin, painted on a separate panel, and the rest of the work, including the background and the hands.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, both the smoother, more regular handling in this second area and its broad treatment of forms relate to the Diest *Annunciation* of 1629. It would appear that the work was completed by the same hand but in two campaigns, one around 1621 and the second around 1629 – the last year of Ter Brugghen's life.

1. Slatkes and Franits suggest a possible connection to the following sale picture, although without explanation: London, 9 March 1810 (Lugt 7718) (as by Domenichino, *Madonna at Devotion*, "a graceful composition," purchased by Woodner); see Slatkes and Franits 2007, p. 222.
2. See Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 379.
3. Ibid., pp. 379, 437 note 3.
4. De Bie 1661, p. 277.
5. See Bok and Kobayashi 1985, pp. 10, 25, document no. 17.
6. Ibid., p. 26, documents no. 18 and 20.
7. Sandrart 1675-1679, vol. 2, p. 308. Sandrart's assessment may have been influenced by his friend Gerrit van Honthorst's jealousy of Ter Brugghen; see Nicolson 1958, pp. 27-28.
8. See Nicolson 1958, p. 26.
9. In a pamphlet of 1707, Houbraeken (vol. 1, p. 134) discusses Rubens's visit, as well as Sandrart's failure to mention it, and the subsequent rehabilitation by the artist's son, Richard ter Brugghen; see also Nicolson 1958, pp. 27-28.
10. It should be noted that Leonard Slatkes does not see Ter Brugghen's own hand in this work, but attributes it to his workshop; see under Literature at the head of this entry.
11. In a letter of 21 June 1971 to Benedict Nicolson, Alfred Bader stated that "Professor W. Stechow kindly pointed out ... that this really depicted Mary Magdalene ... St. Peter, King David, and the good thief, with the whole painting thus depicting the four repentant sinners"; Bader Collection, work files.
12. See collection cat. Milwaukee 1974, no. 26, note 2.
13. Letter from Wolfgang Stechow to Alfred Bader, 23 April 1977; Bader Collection work files.
14. See under Copies at the head of this entry (Vienna, Schloss Rohrau). This painting is rejected by P.P.J. van Thiel, "De aanbidding der koningen en ander vroeg werk van Hendrick ter Brugghen," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 19 (1971), p. 104.
15. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Annunciation*, 1629, oil on canvas, 216.5 × 176.5 cm, signed, Diest, Stedelijk Museum, on loan from the Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn van Diest; see exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, pp. 173-176, no. 15 (colour ill.).
16. See Hibbard 1980, p. 299, no. 537 (colour ill.).
17. See under Copies at the head of this entry.
18. Letter of 17 January 1983 from Craig Harbison to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
19. For a modern English edition of the account of the Harrowing of Hell from the Gospel of Nicodemus, see Elliott 1993, pp. 195-196, 8(24):2-10(26).
20. Nicodemus Phariseus, *Wonderlyck Evangelium van Nicodemus*, trans. Arnoldus Montanus (Rotterdam: Hugo Rijck-hals, 1671).
21. Albrecht Dürer, *The Harrowing of Hell*, around 1508-1509, woodcut, 12.6 × 9.9 cm, and *The Harrowing of Hell*, 1511, engraving, 39.6 × 28.4 cm; see German Hollstein, vol. 7, p. 127, no. 150 (ill.), and p. 109, no. 120 (ill.), respectively.
22. Albrecht Dürer, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 1512, engraving, 11.5 × 7.4 cm; see German Hollstein, vol. 7, p. 14, no. 15 (ill.).
23. Letter of 17 January 1983 from Craig Harbison to Alfred Bader, commenting on a letter of 16 October 1979 from Christopher Wittcombe to Craig Harbison; Bader Collection, work files.
24. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *The Calling of St. Matthew*, 1621, oil on canvas, 102 × 137.5 cm, signed, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 5088; see Nicolson 1958, pp. 99-101, no. A69 (pl. 27), and Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 191, and vol. 3 (fig. 1136).
25. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *The Beheading of St. Catherine*, oil on panel, 99 × 77.5 cm, Norfolk, Virginia, Chrysler Museum, inv. 71.2076; see Nicolson 1958, pp. 76-77, no. A45 (pl. 29), and Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 191, and vol. 3 (fig. 1151).
26. Nicolson 1973, p. 238. ♦





47.  
Workshop of Hendrick ter Brugghen  
(probably The Hague 1588 – Utrecht 1629)  
*David with the Head of Goliath*  
Around 1629  
Oil on canvas, 76.2 × 68.6 cm  
Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE  
George Granville, 5th Duke of Sutherland (1888-1963); sale, London (Christie's), 29 November 1957, lot 33; Montclair, New Jersey, with Stanley Kenneth Jernow; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1981

LITERATURE  
Nicolson 1958, p. 115 (fig. 25b); Slatkes and Franits 2007, pp. 237-238, no. R3 (as not by Ter Brugghen)

ACCORDING TO the famous story of David and Goliath, recounted in the First Book of Samuel, the young David, after striking down the Philistine battle champion and thus precipitating a rout of the enemy, carries the head of his victim to the city of Jerusalem (17:54). This painting – where, curiously, the hero is shown with his mouth open – may conjure the scene in which he first displays his trophy to the people of Israel. It is also possible, however, that it depicts the moment when, following his triumph, David is presented to King Saul (17:57): the biblical text specifically mentions that he has the head of Goliath in his hand as he addresses the king. Against this interpretation is the dynamic pose, which does not evoke such a formal episode. The painting provides no further clues as to the particular scene portrayed.

Benedict Nicolson had already connected this picture with the work of Hendrick ter Brugghen by 1958.<sup>1</sup> David's rough features



Fig. 47a. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Bacchante with Monkey and Grapes*, 1627, oil on canvas, 103 × 90 cm, signed. Los Angeles, Getty Museum, inv. 84.PA.5.

and slender proportions fit well with Ter Brugghen's figural style, as does the distinctively slouched shoulder. In a number of secure works – single-figured genre scenes from 1627 (fig. 47a)<sup>2</sup> and 1628<sup>3</sup> – the artist has similarly positioned an arm in a V shape that dominates the foreground. The muted chromatic harmony also accords with the artist's later development.<sup>4</sup> The smoothly formed head of Goliath represents a later style than the jagged physiognomy depicted in the artist's *Triumph of David*, dated 1623.<sup>5</sup> Notwithstanding these aspects, both Nicolson and other scholars were unwilling to attribute the execution of this work to Ter Brugghen, identifying it instead as a copy after a lost work by him.<sup>6</sup> Their judgement was obscured in part by damage to the work, as well as extensive overpainting. After a subsequent cleaning, Leonard Slatkes pointed out that certain areas, such as the head of Goliath, boast strong passages of painting while others remain weak.<sup>7</sup> The head and drapery of David do indeed show a simpler and flatter effect than one would expect, even in a late work. It is nonetheless virtually certain that this canvas originated in the artist's workshop and is based on his invention.<sup>8</sup> Its conception belongs to Ter Brugghen's last period, and its completion was likely left to others, possibly even after his death.

1. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
2. See Nicolson 1958, pp. 78-79, no. A47 (pl. 77); and Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 189, and vol. 3 (fig. 1162).
3. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Man with Dog (Cynic Philosopher?)*, 1628, oil on canvas, 82.7 × 69.8 cm, signed, sale, London (Christie's), 2 April 1976, lot 69 (ill.); see Nicolson 1958, pp. 77-78, no. A46 (pl. 98), and Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 195, and vol. 3 (fig. 1175).
4. Nicolson 1958, pp. 19-20.
5. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *The Triumph of David*, 1623, oil on canvas, 81.8 × 105.3 cm, signed, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, inv. 60.17.66; see Nicolson 1958, pp. 82-83, no. A50 (pl. 89), and exhib. cat. Raleigh, Milwaukee and Dayton 1998-1999, pp. 94-96, no. 10 (colour ill.).
6. Nicolson 1958, p. 115. Seymour Slive supported this view in a letter of 29 June 1983 to William S. Robinson; Bader Collection work files.
7. Letter of 8 June 1983 from Leonard Slatkes to Alfred Bader: "The head of Goliath and the general composition would fit well with Terbrugghen's style about 1623. Parts of the picture almost look good enough to have been executed by Terbrugghen himself. But, I'm afraid the condition is still such that it is impossible to say much more than this rather vague statement ... The picture certainly originated with the Terbrugghen workshop"; Bader Collection work files.
8. In his recent posthumously published monograph on the artist, Slatkes retracts his previous attribution to the workshop; see Slatkes and Franits 2007, pp. 237-238, no. R3. ♦





48.

Adam Camerarius (Groningen before 1620 – after 1666)

*Portrait of a Young Man in Fanciful Dress*

1650s

Oil on canvas, 70 × 54.4 cm

Signed lower right: CAMERARIUS

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 10 October 1991, lot 16 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, pp. 3522, 3697, 3806 (colour ill.), no. 2221; exhib. cat. Groningen 2004, p. 28, no. 18

ADAM CAMERARIUS WAS the second son of Georgius Camerarius, a lieutenant from the German town of Butzbach, near Solms, who eventually settled in the city of Groningen, where the artist was born.<sup>1</sup> There is no archival record of Adam's birth, however, and it is not known if he was the child of Georgius's first wife, Madlena Gerrits Schay, or his second, Margareta Schay (who were apparently related). Based on the evidence of one of his earliest known paintings, *Jesus and the Centurion*,<sup>2</sup> which dates from 1640, Camerarius seems to have gone to Amsterdam around that year to study under Jacob Adriaensz. Backer (1608-1651). This work also reveals the



Fig. 48a. Adam Camerarius, *Portrait of J. Reinders, Consul in Cadix*, 1650s, oil on canvas, 83 × 67 cm. Groningen, Groninger Museum, inv. 1954.0349.

influence of the Leeuwarden history painter Lambert Jacobsz., Backer's teacher, which Camerarius could have absorbed from works by this artist available in Amsterdam.<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely that he actually studied under Jacobsz., who died in 1636. Basing his practice largely on portraits, Camerarius worked in Amsterdam until around 1659. He was probably drawn back to his native city by the opening in the art market left by the death of Jan Jansz. de Stomme (around 1615-around 1657), who had dominated portraiture in Groningen.<sup>4</sup> Camerarius carried out a number of commissions for prominent residents of the city and was awarded a special citizenship in 1666. After this year, there is no trace of him, and the date and place of his death are not known.

Here, a young man is shown in half-length, posed against a backdrop formed by open fields on the left and trees on the right. Over his shirt he wears a plain doublet covered by a bulky cloak trimmed with gold brocade, neither of which bears any relation to contemporary dress. In several of his portraits Camerarius depicted the sitter in fantasy costume, thereby introducing an aspect of history painting.<sup>5</sup> The artist almost certainly painted the present portrait while he was still in Amsterdam: its handling compares closely to his *Portrait of J. Reinders, Consul of Cadix*, which can be dated to the 1650s on the basis of costume (fig. 48a).<sup>6</sup> In the present work Camerarius has ventured a daring colour harmony, setting muted browns and greens against sharper tones of purple and red<sup>7</sup> – a liberty likely sanctioned by the sitter's youth.

1. Virtually nothing was known about the artist's life until the biography published in exhib. cat. Groningen 2004, pp. 7-11.

2. Adam Camerarius, *Jesus and the Centurion*, 1640, oil on canvas, 172.5 × 226.5 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-773; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 3697, no. 2216, p. 3801 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Groningen 2004, p. 10 (colour ill.), pp. 13-15, 28, no. 2.

3. Exhib. cat. Groningen 2004, p. 9.

4. Ibid., p. 11.

5. For example the *Portrait of Hendrick Hooft*, oil on panel, 70 × 54.5 cm, private collection; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3698, no. 2223, p. 3808 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Groningen 2004, p. 18 (colour ill.), pp. 19-20, 29, no. 20.

6. See exhib. cat. Groningen 2004, p. 16 (colour ill.), pp. 19, 29, no. 21.

7. In a letter of 15 April 1992 to Otto Naumann, Werner Sumowski ranked this painting highest among the artist's works – indeed, highest among all 17th-century Dutch portraits of young men; a copy of Sumowski's letter is on file with the Bader Collection work files. ♦





49.

Jacob van Campen

(Haarlem 1596 – Amersfoort 1657)

*Old Woman with a Book*

Around 1628

Oil on canvas, 71.5 × 57 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Beverwijck, collection of Paulus de Wilhem, in April 1640 or soon after;<sup>1</sup> Munich, Dr. Jacobs, in 1936 (as by Lambert Jacobsz.); London, Brian Koetser; London, Neville Orgel; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1977

#### LITERATURE

Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 1, p. 238; P.T.A. Swillens, "Jacob van Campen als Schilder," *Elseviers Geïllustreerde Maandschrift* 68 (1938), p. 295; Jan Gerrit van Gelder, "De Schilders van de Oranjezaal," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1 (1948-1949), p. 141; Richard J. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst: A Discussion of His Position in Dutch Art* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), p. 64 note 1; Swillens 1961, p. 117, p. 265, no. 5 (as around 1640), p. 287 note 367; Leonard Slatkes, review of Benedict Nicolson, *The International Caravaggist Movement*, in *Simiolus* 12 (1981-1982), pp. 174-175 (as by Van Campen); Julius Held, "Some Studies of Heads by Flemish and Dutch Seventeenth-century Artists," *Master Drawings* 23/24 (1985-1986), p. 53 note 21; Josua Bruyn, "Jung und alt – Ikonographische Bemerkungen zur Tronie," in *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland. Beiträge eines Symposiums aus Anlass der Ausstellung "Holländische Malerei in Neuem Licht, Hendrick ter Brugghen und seine Zeitgenossen"* (Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1988), p. 72, p. 76 note 18, p. 93 (ill.); Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 29 (as lost); Julius Held, "Constantijn Huygens and Susanna van Baerle: A Hitherto Unknown Portrait," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), pp. 666-667, note 66 (fig. 15); Franits 1993, pp. 175, 178 (fig. 154); Roethlisberger 1993, p. 313, with no. 486

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 21 (ill., as by Anonymous Dutch artist); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 36-37, no. 15 (ill.); *Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideal in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Koninklijk Paleis, 1995), pp. 62-64, no. 1, p. 90 (colour ill., as around 1625); Raleigh, Milwaukee and Dayton 1998-1999, pp. 112-114, no. 15 (colour ill.)

#### PRINTS

Jacob Matham, after Jacob van Campen, *Old Woman Praying*, etching, 19.4 × 13.8 cm, inscribed upper right: *I. V. Campen pinx.*

JACOB VAN CAMPEN is best known as the architect of the two most prominent monuments of Dutch Classicism, the Royal Palace in Amsterdam and the Mauritshuis in The Hague. He started his creative career as a painter, however, studying with the portrait specialist Frans Pietersz. de Grebber (1572/73-1649) in Haarlem, and registering in the guild there in 1614.<sup>2</sup> Like his fellow pupil Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, his style shows a sophisticated synthesis of the Caravaggism of such Utrecht artists as Gerrit van Honthorst and an idealizing classicism that draws on the tradition of Haarlem artists like Hendrick Goltzius. Van Campen



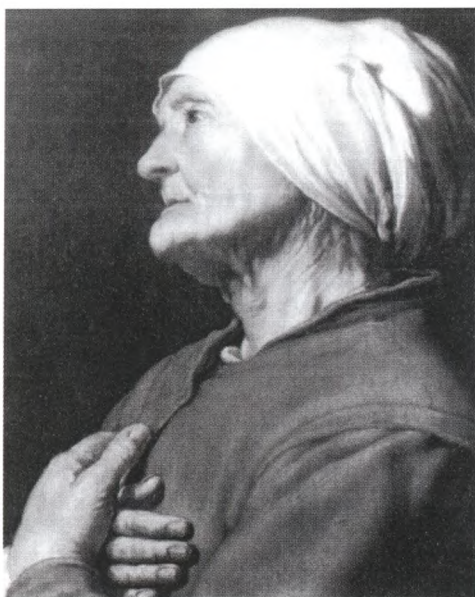


Fig. 49a. Abraham Bloemaert, *Old Woman Praying*, around 1625-1630, oil on panel, 51 × 38 cm, signed. Location unknown (photo: RKD).



Fig. 49b. Salomon de Bray, *Deborah, Jael and Barak*, 1635, oil on panel, 86.5 × 71.5 cm, signed. Utrecht, Museum het Catharijneconvent, inv. RMCC s121.



Fig. 49c. Jacob Matham, after Jacob van Campen, *Old Woman Praying*, etching, 19.4 × 13.8 cm, inscribed upper right: I. V. Campen pinx.

was born to a prominent family in The Hague and cultivated friendships with members of the court there, most notably the secretary to the stadholder, Constantijn Huygens Sr. He received the commission for a decorative painting cycle to adorn the Oranjezaal (Orange Hall) in the Huis ten Bosch and also contributed toward the building's design.

Van Campen here offers the bust-length image of an old woman, dressed in simple but fanciful garb and holding firmly onto a book propped up on the table in front of her. Her dramatically rendered head is caught in a bright light that comes from the upper left, emphasizing the lines and crevices of her face. Her brow is furrowed and her eyes are half-closed, denoting a state of serious and focused thought. Van Campen adapted the head directly from one of Abraham Bloemaert's paintings (fig. 49a),<sup>3</sup> creating a heroic version of the pictorial "type" of a pious old woman established by Bloemaert and other Utrecht Caravaggist painters (including Gerrit van Honthorst). The type derived originally from the tradition of the Penitent Magdalene<sup>4</sup> and reflected the convention that old women exercise piety in preparation for impending death.<sup>5</sup> However, the demure demeanors of the women portrayed in such images contrast sharply with the compelling pose and determined expression of Van Campen's subject. She seems also to draw something from the heroic tradition of the prophetess, as exemplified in Salomon de Bray's depiction of Deborah (fig. 49b).<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, the present work offers no specific attribute to connect the woman to any such figure. It remains an anonymous character head, falling into the newly developed pictorial category of the *tronie*, popularized in Leiden during the late 1620s by Rembrandt and Lievens. As with many *tronies*, the figure's engaged pose and expression connect more closely to history painting than to genre or portraiture, and this link is reinforced by the exoticism of her oriental-looking shawl.

Until this painting resurfaced in 1977, it was known only through a print made after it by Jacob Matham (fig. 49c).<sup>7</sup> The handling in the picture compares closely to that of Van Campen's early *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man*, now in Utrecht, which is dated 1628.<sup>8</sup> The drapery in that picture shows the same soft, broad forms, and the woman on the right wears a shawl that is nearly identical to the one seen here, with the decoration articulated in the same thin, loosely painted strokes. Even the expressions share the same seriousness. Van Campen's *Old Woman with a Book* can therefore be securely placed in the same period.

1. Van Campen's friend Paulus de Wilhem (1591-1648) was a merchant and banker in Amsterdam who also served as agent for the Danish crown; see Huygens/Worp 1911-1917, vol. 3 (series vol. 21), p. 112, note 1. In April 1640 De Wilhem wrote to Constantijn Huygens, "Als Ued. Geschreven, ick wacht maer nae myn swager Noirott, om my de oude vrouw te leveren. De her Kampen hebb ick dese middach hier gehad..." (As I wrote your Lordship, I am waiting upon my brother-in-law Noirott, to deliver to me the Old Woman. Mister Campen was here this afternoon); see Huygens/Worp 1911-1917, vol. 3 (series vol. 21), pp. 19-20, no. 2339. This could conceivably refer to the painting currently in the Bader Collection. Swillens, citing this letter, suggests that if it does refer to this painting by Van Campen, which Swillens knew only through the print, then the painting may be dated to 1640; see Swillens 1961, p. 287 note 367. The year 1640 would only provide a *terminus ante quem*, however.
2. Swillens 1961, p. 10.
3. With A. Brod, London, in 1956; see Roethlisberger 1993, p. 313, no. 486 (fig. 668).
4. For example, Cornelis Bloemaert, after Abraham Bloemaert, *Old Woman Praying*, around 1625-1630, engraving, 21.1 × 15.1 cm; see Roethlisberger 1993, p. 312, no. 485 (ill.). Conversely, Bloemaert and Honthorst produced images of old women serving as distinctly negative moral examples: Cornelis Bloemaert, after Abraham Bloemaert, *Avaritia*, engraving, 17.2 × 13.6 cm, inscribed: *A. Bloemaert pinx. 1625* (see Hollstein, vol. 2, p. 79, no. 286, and Roethlisberger 1993, p. 264, no. 396 [ill.]) and Gerrit van Honthorst, *Old Woman with a Coin*, around 1620, oil on canvas, 75 × 60 cm, The Hague, private collection (see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1995, p. 62 [fig. 36]).
5. Franits 1993, p. 178.
6. See exhib. cat. Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000, pp. 84-87, no. 6 (colour ill.).
7. See Hollstein, vol. 4, p. 11, no. 28 (as etched by Michael Sweerts), and vol. 11, p. 233, no. 327 (as etched by Jacob Matham).
8. Jacob van Campen, *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man*, 1628, oil on canvas, 111 × 172.9 cm, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 12383; see Quentin Buvelot, in exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1995, p. 105, no. 2 (ill.). ♦





50.

Pieter Claesz.

(Temse 1596/97 – Haarlem 1660)

*Still Life with a Rummer and Shrimp*  
1646

Oil on panel, 41 × 56 cm

Monogrammed and dated middle left: *PC*  
1646

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel  
Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Burton-on-Trent, collection of Nora Richards;  
purchased by Alfred Bader in 1954

#### LITERATURE

Bader 1995, pp. 231-232, no. 5 (pl. 21);  
Brunner-Bulst 2004, pp. 288-289, no. 148 (ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kalamazoo 1967, p. 7 (ill.); Kingston 1984,  
pp. 26-27, no. 12 (colour ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 4 (ill.)

PIETER CLAESZ. is celebrated as the foremost practitioner of the Dutch monochromatic still life. Born in the village of Temse, in the region of Berchem, near Antwerp,<sup>1</sup> he trained first in Flanders. By 1626 he was in Haarlem,<sup>2</sup> where he appears in guild records from 1634 on.<sup>3</sup> His earliest works resemble those of his fellow countryman Jacob Foppens van Es (1596-1666) in their assigning of separate spaces to the objects depicted, thus avoiding overlap. Claesz. quickly became part of a broad trend toward the monochromatic palette, which encompassed landscape, still life, genre and history painting. This approach may have originated with the still lifes executed by Flemish painter Clara Peeters (1594-around 1640) in the first decade of the 17th century. Claesz. also adopted the strategy employed widely in Dutch art (but made famous by Rembrandt) of heightening concentration through close colour harmonies and a skilful use of light effects. For most of his career, this artist's still-life paintings were characterized by an evocative simplicity, although his later works show the greater complexity typical of artists like Willem Claesz. Heda and Abraham van Beyeren. Pieter Claesz.'s son, Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683), would go on to achieve great fame as a painter of Italianate genre scenes.

In this panel Claesz. has depicted the arrangement featuring a large glass (or "rummer") of beer and a plate of bread that appears in a number of his other paintings from this period. Characteristically, the bread has been placed in the foreground to serve as an accent, a function efficiently accomplished by the white inside where the crust has been removed. The inclusion of a plate of shrimp is less usual for this artist, who generally favoured shellfish, such as crabs and lobster. Shrimp do appear in an early still life from the mid-1620s,<sup>4</sup> possibly borrowed from paintings by Peeters and Van Es. The simple meal shown here was likely a breakfast, and during this period the artist produced

a number of variations on the theme known as *ontbijjes*, or breakfast pieces.

Dated to 1646, this work still reflects the monochromatic approach that Claesz. adopted around 1626. During the 1640s he gradually started to introduce stronger colours, especially in the warmer register. Some of his works of this period have also moved away from his initially careful, fine technique and display a more direct and painterly handling. Evidence of this new manner can be seen here in the expressive facture of the softer consistencies and forms in the bread and the background wall. A flourish is provided by the vine that spreads across the background, its formal rhythms and lively brushstrokes adding a fresh and vibrant accent to the work and setting it apart from Claesz.'s more reserved compositions from these years. This element also foreshadows the increased sumptuousness that would characterize Dutch banquet still lifes of the 1650s.

1. See Brunner-Bulst 2004, p. 134.

2. Ibid., p. 135.

3. See Miedema 1980, vol. 2, pp. 419-420, and p. 525 at 1642.

4. Pieter Claesz., *Still Life with Fish and Shrimp*, around 1624-1625, oil on panel, 33.7 × 43.7 cm, monogrammed, London, with Richard Green, in 1995. ♦





51.

Marten de Cock (active in Antwerp and Amsterdam 1620-1631)

*Coastal Mountain Landscape with Tobias and the Angel*

1620s

Oil on copper, 18.1 × 27 cm

Indistinctly signed lower right

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Pasadena, Pasadena Art Museum; sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 2 December 1970, lot 27 (as attributed to Jan Brueghel the Elder); purchased by Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 142-143, no. 66 (ill., as by Unknown Netherlandish Artist, around 1620); Milwaukee 2005-2006, pp. 32-33, no. 9 (colour ill.)

TWO YOUNG MEN, one taller and apparently older than the other, walk along an elevated path, against the backdrop of an expansive sea below and a rocky coastline with mountains in the distance. The shorter figure carries a large fish under his arm, identifying the scene as an episode from the journey of Tobias. The apocryphal Book of Tobit tells how Tobias is sent by his father to collect a debt from a kinsman far away, accompanied and guided on his journey by Azarius – the archangel Raphael in disguise. When Tobias is attacked by a large fish (6:2), his companion instructs him to catch it and remove its gall, heart and liver (later used to drive away the demon that plagues Tobias's wife Sarah and to cure his father's blindness). This depiction shows Tobias carrying the fish and continuing on his way, although the original text indicates that the fish was roasted and eaten immediately after yielding its precious harvest.

In his rendering of the theme, the artist clearly followed the famous depiction by the German painter Adam Elsheimer, now in Frankfurt, known as the "small Tobias."<sup>1</sup> Elsheimer adapted the Flemish tradition (probably as interpreted by Paul Brill) of including travellers in fantasy landscapes, as staffage. From the orientation of the figures portrayed here, it is clear that they were not drawn directly from the painting or its copies, but from the etching after it by Hendrick Coudt, dated 1608.<sup>2</sup> A later print of 1613<sup>3</sup> shows the boy dragging the fish and omits the angel's supportive hand on his shoulder. This print likely follows a second interpretation of the theme by Elsheimer – the "large Tobias" – now lost, but reflected in a copy in Copenhagen.<sup>4</sup> Coudt's etchings after various compositions by Elsheimer served to disseminate them throughout Europe, and they were especially popular among artists working in Amsterdam (see cat. 72). Following the example of these other artists, De Cock has here adapted the figure group, leaving out the angel's wings and the dog (an element seen frequently in interpretations of this scene). In addition, the figures have been much reduced in scale, giving prominence to the spectacular backdrop of sea, coastline and mountains. De Cock also followed Elsheimer in his unusual use of copper as a support.

The connection to Amsterdam cast doubt on the traditional attribution of this painting to Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625), and the name of Marten de Cock first surfaced in a comparison offered by Alfred Bader in 1976.<sup>5</sup> De Cock's authorship was later confirmed by the discovery of the traces of a signature.<sup>6</sup> Very little is known about this artist aside from what can be deduced from his works. He produced prints, drawings and paintings, of which dated examples survive from the years 1620 to 1631.<sup>7</sup> Many of the





Fig. 51a. Marten de Cock, *Mountainous River Landscape with a Fortress*, 1631, oil on panel, signed, 28 × 44 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM 383.

identified works are drawings, and only three other signed paintings by him are known – one in Bordeaux,<sup>8</sup> another in Stockholm (fig. 51a)<sup>9</sup> and one formerly in Paris.<sup>10</sup> All show a style remarkably close to the present painting, and the Stockholm picture employs a similar dark landscape element as a repoussoir in the left foreground. De Cock's technique, with its thin application of semi-transparent paint, and his penchant for fantasy landscapes with Alpine features point to origins in Antwerp, where he possibly studied in the Brueghel workshop. He likely followed artists such as David Vinckboons in seeking his fortune in the northern Netherlands. An inscription on a drawing in Amsterdam indicates that he was in Copenhagen in 1625.<sup>11</sup> The notations left on one of De Cock's drawings by the famous Dutch collector Cornelis Ploos van Amsterdam, citing his birth in Antwerp in 1578 and his death in Augsburg in 1665,<sup>12</sup> have no documentary basis and do not accord with the evidence of the dated works, which point to a short period of activity during the 1620s. Similarly unsubstantiated are Bredius's claims that he was the son of a goldsmith and known to be in Amsterdam in 1630.<sup>13</sup>

1. Adam Elsheimer, *Tobias and the Angel* (the "small Tobias"), around 1607–1608, oil on copper, 12.4 × 19.2 cm, Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, inv. B 789; see Andrews 1977, p. 150, no. 20 (pl. 72).
2. Hendrick Goudt, after Adam Elsheimer, *Tobias and the Angel* (the "small Tobias"), 1608, etching, 13.4 × 18.5 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 8, p. 151, no. 1 (ill.).
3. Hendrick Goudt, after Adam Elsheimer, *Tobias and the Angel* (the "large Tobias"), 1613, etching, 25.6 × 26.9 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 8, p. 152, no. 2 (ill.).
4. Anonymous, after Adam Elsheimer, *Tobias and the Angel* (the "large Tobias"), oil on copper, 21 × 27 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. Sp. 745; see Andrews 1977, p. 154, no. 25 (pl. 89).
5. See Milwaukee 1976 under Exhibition Catalogues at the head of this entry.
6. The signature was discovered by the late collector Bert van Deun, a friend of the work's present owners.
7. For an overview of the known works, see Olivier LeBihan in collection cat. Bordeaux 1990, pp. 84–86, notes 14–28 (ills.).
8. Marten de Cock, *Landscape with the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli*, 1620s, oil on panel, 27.5 × 42.6 cm, signed, Bordeaux, Musée des beaux-arts de Bordeaux, inv. Bx E 464, Bx M 5697; see collection cat. Bordeaux 1990, pp. 83–86 (ill.).
9. See collection cat. Stockholm 1990, p. 81 (ill.).
10. Marten de Cock, *River Landscape with Gypsy Fortune Tellers*, oil on panel, 24.5 × 36 cm, signed, Paris, with J. O. Leegenhoek, in 1963; see Bernt 1970, vol. 1, no. 241 (ill.).
11. Marten de Cock, *Coastal Scene with Roman Ruins*, pen and ink, wash and watercolour, 9.3 × 13.5 cm, inscribed: 1625 Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 1906.21; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1998, vol. 1, p. 65, no. 107, and vol. 2, p. 87 (ill.).
12. Marten de Cock, *Landscape with Farm Buildings beside a River*, 1628, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, blue and green watercolour, 20.9 × 33.2 cm, inscribed on back: *M. Cock f. 1628 / hoog 8 1/4 d / breed 13 d / geboren Antwerpen 1578 / gestorven Augsburg 1661*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunst, de Grez Collection, no. 900; see *Landscape in Flemish and Dutch Drawings of the 17th Century from the Collections of the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, exhib. cat. (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, 1976), p. 13, no. 12, and Luuk Pijl, in Saur, vol. 20, p. 72.
13. See Thieme-Becker, vol. 7, p. 145. ♦

52.

Johan de Cordua (Brussels around 1630 – Vienna 1698 or Prague 1702)

*Vanitas Still Life with Rembrandt Print, on the Death of Ferdinand III* 1657

Oil on canvas, 56.5 × 45.7 cm

Signed lower right: *J Cord...*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

New York, with F.A.R. Gallery; New York, Solow collection; sale New York (Parke-Bernet), 10 April 1954, lot 340 (as Dutch school, 17th century); sale New York (Sotheby's) 20 May 1993, lot 166 (ill., attributed to Johan de Cordua), purchased by David Bader; acquired in exchange by Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Franziska Gottwald, "The 'Lijdingen des Gemoeds': Towards an Interpretation of Rembrandt's *Tronie* Prints as 'Pictures-within-Pictures' in Still Lifes by Sebastian Stoskopf and Johan de Cordua," in Roscam Abbing 2006, pp. 164–172 (fig. 11e)

VERY LITTLE IS known about the Flemish painter Johan de Cordua. His origins in Brussels are documented in the registration of his marriage on 26 July 1663, in Vienna, to Catharina Anna Bergmeyerin. He was married a second time, on 29 July 1667, to Anna Pfrümerin, with whom he had one child, Johannes Baptista.<sup>1</sup> It is very likely that De Cordua arrived in Vienna from Brussels around 1656 as part of the entourage of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, brother of Kaiser Ferdinand III. In 1660 De Cordua was working as court painter to the Bishop of Freising, and in 1677 he became "Hofbefreiter Mahler" (court painter) at the Habsburg court. Johan de Cordua died either on 17 October 1698 in Vienna, or in 1702 in Prague.<sup>2</sup>

The identity of De Cordua's teacher remains unknown. The early still lifes and genre scenes from his time in Brussels are painted in the manner of David Teniers the Younger, who was the curator of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's collection. Around 1657 De Cordua began executing *vanitas* still lifes set in architectural niches and *trompe l'œil* compositions, almost certainly as a result of encountering Samuel van Hoogstraten and his work at the court of Vienna. Joachim van Sandrart, who may have seen De Cordua's paintings at the court of the Bishop of Freising refers to him in his *Teutsche Academie*, from 1675, as "a good painter of still lifes on canvas, which had many beautiful things very naturally rendered."<sup>3</sup>

The present picture reflects the transformation in De Cordua's style. It is likely one of the first works he painted in Vienna and belongs to a group of four *vanitas* still lifes made in 1657, on the occasion of the death of Ferdinand III. These paintings all employ basically the same composition: an arrangement of various objects, placed on a stone table inside a niche, all symbolizing the transience of human existence. The present version includes an extinguished candle, a glowing fuse and a globe, placed in front of two folio volumes (a reference to worldly pursuits). Closer to the picture plane is a skull resting on an hourglass (an allusion to the passing of time), illuminated so that it stands out against the background and forms the focus of the arrangement.





The painting's dedication to Ferdinand III is indicated by two medals: one, bearing the Habsburg arms with the imperial eagle, is propped up on the table to the left of the skull, while a second, inscribed with the Emperor's name, *ferdinandus*, hangs down over the edge of the table on the right. Suspended just to the left of this medal is a print that can be identified as a reversed version of an etching of the head of an old man made by Rembrandt in 1631, during his Leiden period (fig. 52a).<sup>4</sup>

The imitation of the print in De Cordua's painting, like the original, portrays the bust of a very old man with a scraggly beard, shown in a three-quarter view and gazing down. The half-closed eyes and the fall of light from the side, which leaves one half of the face in darkness, evoke a melancholic state of mind. This complements the painting's theme, designed to remind beholders of their own mortality but also, more specifically, of the recent passing of Ferdinand III. Aside from being a reference to the transience of human life, the hourglass lying on its side may allude directly to the fact that time, for the emperor, has run out.

Three other *vanitas* still lifes by Johan de Cordua include early etchings by Rembrandt.<sup>5</sup> The one seen here is actually a printed *tronie* (a genre related to history painting), and the reappearance of the head elsewhere in Rembrandt's work can throw light on its significance in De Cordua's *Vanitas*. It is featured in the master's *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem* (fig. 161b),<sup>6</sup> and our knowledge of this biblical story can make the role the *tronie* plays in this symbolic still life more explicitly legible. In the Rembrandt painting, the figure of the elderly Jeremiah sitting in the foreground is related to the event taking place behind him – the fall of Jerusalem, about which the prophet had fruitlessly warned Zedekiah, the king of Judah (Jeremiah 32:1-3; 39:1-7). While the head of Jeremiah recalls Rembrandt's printed *tronie*, the figure's pose derives from Albrecht Dürer's print *Melancholia I*,<sup>7</sup> which Rembrandt must have known either directly or through the copy made by Jan Wierix in 1602.<sup>8</sup> Taking this well-known embodiment of gloom, Rembrandt transferred it into a narrative context and endowed it with greater naturalism.





Fig. 52a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of an Old Man* 1631, etching, 6.8 x 6.6 cm, state I/II, monogrammed. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis.

In the printed *tronie*, sadness is conveyed principally through the attitude of the head and the wrinkles of the face. In conjuring a sense of unhappiness, artists of this period could draw not only on iconographic tradition but also on the writings of Karel van Mander. In his *Schilderboek*, published in 1604, the painter-poet explains how painters should go about depicting inner sadness: "We must pay attention ... to the forehead; some hold it to be the betrayer of the soul, the exposor of the mind and the book of the heart, where one can read and learn a person's disposition; because wrinkles and furrows there let one see that a saddened spirit is hidden in us, disconcerted and burdened with care."<sup>9</sup> The author concludes, "To render a sad face you have to lift slightly the eyebrows at the left side, with the eye half-closed, and one fold that goes from the nose to the cheek."<sup>10</sup> The old man in Rembrandt's print displays the traits of melancholia as described by Van Mander almost exactly. Johan de Cordua, who apparently also understood and appreciated the efficacy of this visual language, has put it to use in his powerful *vanitas* image.

Franziska Gottwald

1. Saur, vol. 21, p. 200.
2. See Franziska Gottwald, "The 'Lijdingen des Gemoeds': Towards an Interpretation of Rembrandt's *Tronie* Prints as 'Pictures-within-Pictures' in Still Lives by Sebastien Stoskopf and Johan de Cordua," in Roscam Abbing 2006, p. 164.
3. "Jean de Cordua ist ein gar guter Mahler in stilliegenden Dingen, so sehr sauber auf Tuch, viel schöne Sachen ganz naturle herausgebracht"; Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 350.
4. See Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 146, no. B315; vol. 19, p. 154 (ill.).
5. Johan de Cordua, *Vanitas Still Life*, oil on canvas, 83 x 61.1 cm, Schloss Vaduz, Sammlungen des Fürsten von und zu Liechtenstein, inv. 1521 (see Franziska Gottwald, "The 'Lijdingen des Gemoeds': Towards an Interpretation of Rembrandt's *Tronie* Prints as 'Pictures-within-Pictures' in Still Lives by Sebastien Stoskopf and Johan de Cordua," in Roscam Abbing 2006, p. 164 [fig. 11f]); Johan de Cordua, *Vanitas Still Life*, 1665, oil on canvas, 54.5 x 43.5 cm, signed, Pau, Musée des beaux-arts de Pau (see Voskuil-Popper 1976, p. 85 [fig. 5]); and Johan de Cordua, *Vanitas Still Life with Two Rembrandt Portraits*, around 1672, oil on canvas 57 x 45 cm, signed, Switzerland, private collection (see Voskuil-Popper 1976, p. 68 [fig. 7]).
6. Rembrandt van Rijn *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem*, 1630, oil on panel, 58.3 x 46.6 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3276; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 276-284, no. A 28 (ill.).
7. Albrecht Dürer, *Melancholia I*, 1514, engraving, 24.3 x 18.7 cm, signed; see German Hollstein, vol. 7, pp. 70-71, no. B 74 (ill.).
8. Jan Wierix, after Albrecht Dürer, *Melancholia I*, 1602, engraving, 23.8 x 18.8 cm; see New Hollstein, vol. 67, part 9, 2004, pp. 144-146, no. 2000 (ill.).
9. "Op het voorhoofd... moeten we letten, omdat sommigen het houden voor de verrader van de ziel, de zichtbaarmaker van de gedachten en het boek van het hart, waarin men het menselijk gemoed kan lezen en leren kennen; want rimpels en groeven daar laten zien dat in ons een bedroefde geest verborgen is, benard en vol zorgen"; Van Mander/Miedema, vol. 1, p. 166 (6, 29).
10. "Om nu een droevige habitus te maken, ... moet men de wenkbrauwen aan de linkerkant wat optrekken, met het oog half dicht, en het plooietje dat van de neus de wang in loopt"; *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 173 (6, 44). ♦



53.

Joos van Craesbeeck

(Neerlinter around 1606 – Antwerp around 1660)

*A Man Surprised (Adriaen Brouwer?)*

Around 1635

Oil on panel, 33 x 24.8 cm

Inscribed on back in lead white paint: *CRAESBECK BROUWER FECIT.*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Schloss Leopoldskron, collection of Graf Leopold Firmian, Archbishop of Salzburg; collection of Baron Kuffner zu Dioszegh, Czechoslovakia; his sale, New York (Sotheby Parke-Bernet), 18 November 1948, lot 4 (as by Follower of Adriaen Brouwer, oil on panel, 13.5 x 9.75 inches [34.3 x 24.8 cm]); New York, with Paul Drey; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1951

#### LITERATURE

Anthony Clarke, "Dutch Art and the Aldrich Collection," in *Aldrichimica Acta* 1, no. 4, p. 18 (fig. 3); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 17, no. 1 (1984), p. 1 (cover ill.); Bader 1995, p. 210 (fig. 5); De Clippel 2006, vol. 1, pp. 134-136, no. A21, and vol. 2, 465 (fig. 21)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kalamazoo 1967, p. 6 (ill.); South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 14 (ill.); West Lafayette 1992, pp. 12-13 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 7 (ill., as by Craesbeeck)

#### COPIES

Oil on panel, 37 x 29.5 cm; sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 March 1975, lot 58 (as by Joos van Craesbeeck, *Study of a Young Man*)



ASTONISHMENT SEIZES a young man with dishevelled hair and a jauntily upturned moustache. His eyes are wide and bulging, his eyebrows raised and his forehead furrowed; his mouth gapes, his jaw drops and his shoulders rise to his ears. This striking visage provides a rare but penetrating study of one of the most powerful of human emotions: surprise. Yet it did not come from direct observation, but was adapted from another painting. In *The Smokers*, his famous tavern scene of around 1635, now in New York (fig. 53a),<sup>1</sup> Adriaen Brouwer depicted himself blowing smoke rings and wearing the same expression on his face – so the surprise is feigned. But this only enhances the artfulness of the trick, for the image provokes the expected response in the viewer and remains one of the most memorable faces in 17th-century Netherlandish art. The present panel emulates and celebrates Brouwer's achievement, isolating this single head and ignoring the other figures. These were portraits of Brouwer's artist friends, who, evidently revelling in his gifted ribaldry, play their parts in the tavern scene with some conviction. By also leaving out the smoke rings, the artist has recast the head as an expression of true surprise.

An inscription on the back of the panel identifies it accordingly as a work after Brouwer, but also names the artist: Joos van Craesbeeck. Van Craesbeeck is well known from various sources as a late pupil of Brouwer's, who followed him not only in art but also in his carefree lifestyle. Son of a well-to-do merchant of the same name residing in the Flemish village of Neerlinter, Van Craesbeeck acquired citizenship of the city of Antwerp in 1631, probably on reaching the minimum required age of twenty-five.<sup>2</sup> By that time he had been working for several years in the city as apprentice to a baker supplying the Kasteel, the fortification where the Spanish garrison guarded the city against the Dutch to the north.<sup>3</sup> There he likely met the baker Aart Tielens, whose daughter Joanna he married in 1631.<sup>4</sup> He also became acquainted with the painter Adriaen Brouwer, who was apparently imprisoned there for debt in 1633.<sup>5</sup> Houbraken's fanciful story about Peter Paul Rubens's intervention to free Brouwer has met with scholarly skepticism,<sup>6</sup> but his assertions that Van Craesbeeck's contact with Brouwer motivated him to abandon baker's paddle for painter's palette and that he became Brouwer's pupil seem justified. The works by Van Craesbeeck that have come down to us follow Brouwer's model closely, for the most part featuring peasants and tavern interiors painted in a thin, rough and lively style. Only later did he abandon Brouwer's monochromatic palette. In 1634 Van Craesbeeck registered with the Antwerp chapter of the St. Luke's Guild,<sup>7</sup> and around 1651 he proceeded to Brussels to seek his fortune there.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, Van Craesbeeck signed very few of his works, and none of them are dated. Many have traditionally been assigned to Brouwer. In this case, an important piece of evidence is the inscription on the back of the painting, which is in modern script but likely follows an earlier inscription. The attribution to Van Craesbeeck was supported by Wolfgang Stechow.<sup>9</sup> It appears that Van Craesbeeck updated Brouwer's style by using a more



Fig. 53a. Adriaen Brouwer, *The Smokers*, around 1636, oil on panel, 58 × 74 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 32.100.21.



Fig. 53b. Attributed to Adriaen Brouwer, *A Man Surprised*, oil on panel, 42 × 29.5 cm. Switzerland, Van Deun Collection.

methodical brushstroke and applying colour more liberally. The indebtedness to Brouwer's *Smokers*, which can be dated to around 1635 – and which Craesbeeck not only knew as it was being made, but for which he likely also sat<sup>10</sup> – supports a similar dating.

More problematic is the connection with a work in a Swiss private collection – another depiction of *A Man Surprised*, for a while attributed to Van Craesbeeck but more recently given to Brouwer (fig. 53b).<sup>11</sup> With its thin and semi-transparent paint layers and deft brushwork it could well be by the master. Both the pose, with the head turned slightly toward the right edge of the painting and set low down on the shoulders, and the man's simple coat compare closely to the present work, but the picture is distinguished by the sharp features and exotic fur hat. Van Craesbeeck seems to have drawn on the Swiss painting and on the *Smokers* in New York in creating his own *Man Surprised*.

1. See collection cat. New York 1984, vol. 1, pp. 5–10 (pl. 1).

2. See Van den Branden 1881, pp. 12, 16.

3. Ibid., pp. 12, 14. Van den Branden adduces several connections linking Craesbeeck to the Kasteel.

4. Ibid., pp. 11–13.

5. Ibid., p. 58.

6. Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 328–331. Houbraken was probably basing himself on De Bie; see De Bie 1661, p. 109.

7. See Liggeren, vol. 2, p. 48, where Craesbeeck is given as a painter and a baker.

8. Van den Branden 1881, p. 84.

9. Letter of 5 August 1967 from Wolfgang Stechow to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.

10. See Karolien de Clippel, "Adriaen Brouwer, Portrait Painter: New Identifications and a Graphic Novelty," *Simiolus* 30 (2003), pp. 200–201.

11. See De Clippel 2006, vol. 1, pp. 300–301, no. D4; vol. 2, p. 554 (fig. 153). ♦





54.

Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp

(Dordrecht 1612 – Dordrecht 1652)

*The Circumcision*

Around 1630

Oil on panel, 46 × 64 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

The Hague, with Galerie Sanct Lucas; sale, Rotterdam (Vendu Notarishuis), 7 April 1960, lot 8 (ill., as by B. J. Cuyp); Nijmegen, private collection; London, with Raphael Valls, in 1994; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Ember 1979, pp. 94 (fig. 5), 105, 138 no. 67; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, pp. 3699, no. 2230a, p. 3815 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Kunst uit Nijmeegs particulier bezit* (Nijmegen: Waag Nijmegen, 1963), no. 28 (ill.)

BENJAMIN GERRITSZ. CUYP was born in the city of Dordrecht into a family of painters whose most famous member was his nephew, the landscapist Albert Cuyp. Benjamin, the son of Gerrit Gerritsz. Cuyp, a glass engraver,<sup>1</sup> learned the art of painting from his older half-brother Jacob, who became Dordrecht's foremost portraitist.<sup>2</sup> Benjamin quickly proved himself an ardent follower of Rembrandt's early work, employing a monochromatic palette, a small figure scale and strong chiaroscuro effects, and displaying a preference for dramatic and emotional themes from the Bible. He was almost certainly not a pupil of Rembrandt, but his works reflect a close knowledge of many of the master's works from his early period. This strongly suggests that Cuyp left Dordrecht for Leiden or The Hague sometime in the late 1620s or early 1630s, although there is no documentary evidence of such a shift. He is known to have been in The Hague in 1643 and in Utrecht by 1645,<sup>3</sup> and to have returned to Dordrecht sometime before his death there in 1652.<sup>4</sup>

Cuyp here depicts the circumcision of Jesus, an episode related only in the Gospel of Luke (2:21). Mary and Joseph stand to the right, behind an old man seated with the baby Jesus on his lap, while the aged mohel approaches from the left, crouching down, knife in hand. The fantasy temple interior, with its organic forms and curious swelling columns marked by deep fluting, draws directly from Rembrandt's depiction of a related theme, his *Simeon's Song of Praise* in The Hague, of 1631 (fig. 54a).<sup>5</sup> With the seated bearded sage and the hunched-over figures in the mid-ground to the left, Cuyp also seems to have adapted Rembrandt's group of figures from this painting. The tall floppy hat worn by the man in the centre takes its cue from the corresponding figure in the Hague picture, but the monumental rounded shape of his body is reminiscent of a figure in another painting by Rembrandt – the Pharisee standing to the far left in *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, of 1629.<sup>6</sup> Rembrandt is also the source for Cuyp's bulky, small-scale figures modelled in



Fig. 54a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Simeon's Song of Praise*, around 1631, oil on panel, 60.9 × 47.8 cm. The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, inv. 145 (detail).

strong light, and the relatively controlled, careful handling. Cuyp would later develop a much looser painting technique. Ildikó Ember<sup>7</sup> connected this work to a depiction by Cuyp of *The Disciples at Emmaus*, in Cologne,<sup>8</sup> that in turn relates directly to Rembrandt's painting on the same theme in Paris, dated around 1629.<sup>9</sup> Not only do these comparisons indicate a similar date for the present work – they also tantalizingly suggest something already surmised by a number of scholars: that Cuyp was in close contact with the Rembrandt studio during this period.<sup>10</sup>

1. Veth 1884, pp. 235-238.
2. Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 248-249.
3. On his presence in The Hague, see exhib. cat. The Hague 1998, p. 297; on his move to Utrecht, see Paul Huys Janssen, "Pieter van Laer, Benjamin Cuyp, Gerard Douffet en Karel Dujardin in Utrecht," *Mercury* 11 (1990), p. 53.
4. Veth 1888, p. 141, and W. Veerman, "Cuyp, een Dordtse kunstenaarsfamilie," in *Aelbert Cuyp en zijn familie. Schilders te Dordrecht*, exhib. cat. (Dordrecht: Dordrechts Museum, 1977-1978), pp. 17-18.
5. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 331-337, no. A34 (ill.).
6. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, 1629, oil on panel, 79 × 102.3 cm, England, private collection; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 177-195, no. A15 (ill.).
7. Ember 1979, p. 105.
8. Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp, *The Disciples at Emmaus*, oil on panel, 50 × 40 cm, Cologne, private collection; see Ember 1979, p. 138, no. 73.
9. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 196-201, no. A16 (ill.).
10. Ember 1979, p. 102. ♦





55.

Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp  
(Dordrecht 1612 – Dordrecht 1652)

*The Appearance of Jesus to the Disciples  
at Emmaus*

Around 1640

Oil on panel, 45.7 × 34.9 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Christie's), 15 June 1984, lot 41 (ill.);  
sale, London (Christie's), 12 April 1985, lot 105, pur-  
chased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 3087, no. 2028,  
3159 (ill.)

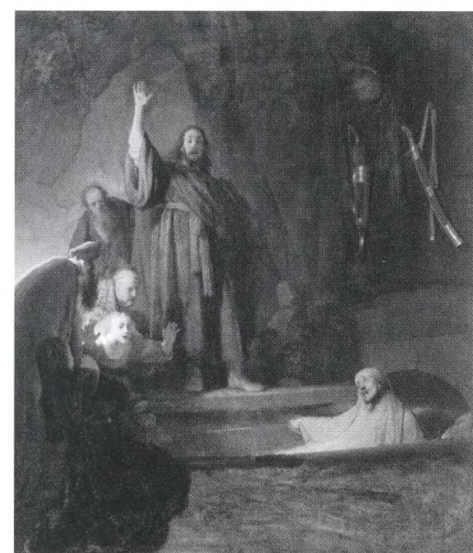


Fig. 55a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Raising of Lazarus*, around 1631, oil on panel, 96.2 × 81.5 cm. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv. M 72.672.

THIS PAINTING IS one of a number of known depictions by Benjamin Cuyp of Jesus' appearance to two of his disciples after his resurrection, as told in the Gospel of Luke (24:13-35). The two disciples, distraught at their master's death and disturbed by reports of his resurrection, have gone to the village of Emmaus. Jesus remains unrecognized when he first approaches them, but later, at supper, he reveals himself – only to vanish immediately. Cuyp has set the scene extravagantly. Both disciples are dressed in rich robes, and the one on the left sits in an elaborately decorative chair. Behind the group is a monumental column, and drapery is suspended across the background to the right. A palm frond rises from the floor on the left, next to what appears to be a niche in the wall containing a sculpture.

Cuyp developed his approach to the theme in two prior pictures. The earlier one, last in Cologne, poses the two disciples across from each other. In the interpretation in the museum in Bergen, Norway,<sup>1</sup> the artist adopted a larger interior space and showed the figure of Jesus in the process of departing. Here, he

has further dramatized this figure, adapting the agitated, arms-raised pose from that of Jesus in Rembrandt's *Raising of Lazarus*, now in Los Angeles (fig. 55a).<sup>2</sup> The compositional stability of this work, together with its sharp, linear brushstroke, places it in a vaguely defined middle phase in Cuyp's oeuvre, allowing for a tentative dating to around 1640.

1. Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp, *The Appearance of Jesus to the Disciples at Emmaus*, oil on panel, 40.5 × 52 cm, Bergen, Kunstmuseum, inv. BB4354. This version was not known to Sumowski.
2. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 293-308, no. A30 (ill.), and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, p. 3087, no. 2028. ♦





56.

Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuypp (Dordrecht 1612 – Dordrecht 1652)

*Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath*

Around 1640

Oil on panel, 25.4 × 33.7 cm

Signed lower centre, on a log: *Cuypp*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly sale, Amsterdam, 24 September 1777 (Lugt 2733), lot 212 (as *Een binnenhuis met drie beelden* [An Interior with Three Figures], for f3.10); Kasteel "Olde Wehme" sale, Hilversum (Olthoff), 7-13 February 1950, lot 56; sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 May 1965, lot 154 (as *An Interior, with an Old Man Seated to the Left, a Peasant Woman Cooking at an Open Fire and a Boy at a Cauldron in the Centre*); sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 October 1967, lot 125; sale, London (Bonhams), 10 December 2003, lot 12 (ill., as *A Kitchen Interior with Two Men and a Young Boy Preparing Food*), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Ember 1979, pp. 100, 136, no. 4

ALTHOUGH CORRECTLY interpreted some time ago, the theme of this small panel has often eluded its owners. Even quite recently it was identified simply as a peasant interior.<sup>1</sup> However, the figure on the left, distinguished by long robes, a flowing beard and a striking visage, does not belong to the tradition of Dutch genre painting, with its rich but vernacular sources: it clearly represents a biblical prophet. Ildikó Ember, writing in 1979, is among those who have recognized the scene as the biblical story of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath. The First Book of Kings tells how Yahweh directs Elijah to a widow in the region of Zarephath, who will provide him with food and shelter. However, when the prophet approaches the woman and asks her for food, she explains that being desperately poor she only has enough meal and oil for one more serving for herself and her son. Elijah insists, assuring her that all will be well. She accordingly prepares the remaining food for all three of them, only to discover that her oil jar and meal barrel now remain permanently filled: in reward for her faith, the prophet has worked a miracle. Given the elder's dramatic swaying pose and the alert reaction of the boy, Cuypp seems to have depicted the moment when the Elijah utters his prophecy of rescue. The grim features of mother and child,





Fig. 56a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Pancake Maker*, 1635, etching and drypoint, state I/III, 10.9 × 7.7 cm, signed. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis.

which convey hopelessness and fatigue, contrast with the prophet's bounding vibrancy. Aside from its evident message about the power of faith, the scene also carries a moral recommendation regarding the virtue of hospitality.

Cuyp has emphasized the everyday character of the setting and action, drawing heavily on the tradition of low-life genre then flourishing in the northern Netherlands. Another figure of a woman making pancakes appears prominently in a painting by Adriaen Brouwer, now in Basel, which portrays a rowdy peasant mealtime scene.<sup>2</sup> Cuyp may have been drawn to this image by Rembrandt, who exercised an early and powerful influence on his work. The Brouwer painting appears in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656, and he likely already owned it at this time since he adapted its central figure for a famous print of 1635 (fig. 56a).<sup>3</sup> In executing the present painting Cuyp was echoing both Rembrandt's appreciation of Brouwer and his penchant for adopting elements from genre painting to heighten the emotion and atmosphere of his history paintings.

Cuyp likely painted this panel at least five years after Rembrandt's print. Unfortunately, no dated work by Cuyp survives to firmly indicate his stylistic development. An early dependence on Rembrandt can be surmised from his works that emphasize massive rounded forms and strong chiaroscuro (see cat. 54). The present picture, with its loose, painterly handling, sharp brush-

strokes and resulting surface effect, clearly departs from this style. Here, while the structure of the composition and the scale of the figures still reflect the early absorption of Rembrandt, Cuyp has adapted not only a theme from Brouwer but also the quick, light strokes characteristic of his low-life genre scenes, along with his overall rough effect. Cuyp's *Adoration of the Shepherds*, in Bremen, and his *Freeing of St. Peter*, in Cologne,<sup>4</sup> showing similar figures and emotional interaction, are dated by Ember to around 1640, and this work, like the *Appearance of Jesus to the Disciples at Emmaus* (cat. 55), can also be tentatively dated to that period.

1. In 2003; see under Provenance at the head of this entry.
2. Adriaen Brouwer, *Old Woman Making Pancakes*, oil on panel, 29.2 × 36.3 cm, monogrammed, Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. 909.
3. See Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 65, no. B124, and vol. 19, p. 117 (ill.). Brouwer's painting or a version of it (e.g. Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Collection, no. 680) is listed in Rembrandt's 1656 inventory thus: "Een stuckie van Ad. Brouwer sijnde een koekebacker" (A little piece by Adriaen Brouwer, being a pancake maker); see W. L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt Documents* (New York: Abaris, 1979), p. 349, no. 1.
4. Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on panel, 48 × 35.5 cm, Bremen, Kunsthalle, inv. 1951/3 (see Ember 1979, pp. 131 [fig. 43], 132, 137 no. 47), and *The Freeing of St. Peter*, oil on panel, 63.2 × 55.5, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, inv. 3170 (see Ember 1979, p. 119 [fig. 30], pp. 125-126, 140 no. 117). ◆





57.

Abraham van Dijck

(Amsterdam around 1635 – Amsterdam 1672)

*The Widow of Zarephath and Her Son*

Around 1655

Oil on canvas, 115.6 × 95.9 cm

Signed: *A. v. Dyck f.*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Collection of Freiherr von Schorlemer-Lieser; sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 4 December 1952, lot 1180 (pl. 32, as by Abraham van Dijck, *Das Tischgebet* [Saying Grace]); collection of W. Hummelsheim, Munich; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 4, no. 4 (1971), inside cover (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, pp. 666, 669, 683 (colour ill., as around 1655), no. 362, and vol. 4, p. 2875; Bader 1995, p. 236, no. 13 (pl. 28); Saur, vol. 27, p. 372

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 110-111, no. 50 (ill., colour ill. on cover); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 8 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 50-51, no. 22 (ill.); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, pp. 76 (colour ill.), 138, 156, no. 20; Milwaukee 1989, pp. 94-95, no. 42 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 11 (ill.)

THE LITTLE-KNOWN Amsterdam painter Abraham van Dijck may be numbered among the pupils working in Rembrandt's studio during the early 1650s.<sup>1</sup> A notarial document drawn up in Amsterdam in 1661 gave his age as twenty-five, indicating a year of birth of 1635 or 1636.<sup>2</sup> His oeuvre reveals a sophisticated integration of the influence not only of Rembrandt but also of Nicolaes Maes, and as Hoet surmised, and John Loughman recently demonstrated, he followed Maes to Dordrecht.<sup>3</sup> Dated works by him range from 1655 to 1667. He was almost certainly active for much of his career in Amsterdam, and his death was recorded there in 1672.<sup>4</sup>

Walther Bernt first identified this painting as an autograph work by Van Dijck in 1952,<sup>5</sup> and subsequent cleaning confirmed his assessment by revealing the artist's signature.<sup>6</sup> That the artist had a strong interest in the story of the widow of Zarephath and her son is demonstrated by the three known variations on the theme by his hand. They focus on the events recounted in chapter 17 of the First Book of Kings, which mentions a drought in the Northern Kingdom and describes the prophet Elijah's trip to Zarephath, to visit a widow in the region. Approaching the widow as she gathers wood by the city gate, he asks her to fetch

him some water and bread. This gives the widow the opportunity to explain her plight:

As the Lord thy God liveth, I have not a cake, but an handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse: and, behold, I am gathering two sticks, that I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat it and die. (1 Kings 17:12)

Elijah assures her that she need not worry, and urges her to go and make some bread for him from her meagre supplies before tending to her son and herself. He explains that as long as the drought is upon the land she will have enough to feed her household. Then follows the miracle of the almost-empty cruse and barrel that continue to dispense oil and meal.

The present painting depicts a scene that is implied though not precisely described by the biblical narrative. The figures of the widow and her son are shown beside a table on which is laid a humble repast. Both have their hands clasped as they say grace, and the mother glances at her child while he gazes at the table. Using a bold yet economical palette, the artist has rendered all the objects on it with considerable skill, from the folded white tablecloth to the silver basin and the glazed golden loaf.

If seen in chronological sequence with Van Dijck's other





Fig. 57a. Abraham van Dijck, *Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath*, around 1659, oil on canvas, 160.6 × 135.3 cm. Houston, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation.



Fig. 57c. Nicolaes Maes, *Old Woman Saying Grace*, oil on canvas, 134 × 113 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-C353.



Fig. 57b. Abraham van Dijck, *Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath*, oil on canvas, 60 × 82.5 cm. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. 3578.

paintings on the theme, now in Copenhagen and Houston, the present work represents a third “episode” in the story. The Houston picture, which depicts the widow, her son and the prophet gathered around a small fire, illustrates the making of the bread for the prophet (fig. 57a).<sup>7</sup> The painting in Copenhagen represents a slightly later moment in the story, when the widow is preparing the bread for herself and her child (who has just begun to eat his portion), while the prophet sits alone at table with his plate already before him (fig. 57b).<sup>8</sup> The present painting apparently illustrates the next moment, when the widow and her son sit down to their meal, the prophet having been fed. Christian Tümpel has identified the scene as what he terms a *Herauslösung*

– a reduction and isolation – of the paintings in Copenhagen and Houston.<sup>9</sup> The two figures have been extracted from the larger narrative context featuring the prophet Elijah, who is generally the focal point of the scene.<sup>10</sup> Abraham van Dijck stands alone among Rembrandt’s pupils in his discerning absorption of his teacher’s strategy of reducing historical compositions to a concentration on the internal dramas of their main players. It is the graphically conjured relationship between mother and child – the sense of obedience, faithfulness and thanksgiving connoted by their respective gazes and gestures – that would have enabled the contemporary viewer to associate the scene with the biblical story. Although the subject of the painting is somewhat ambiguous, it bears a distinct similarity to Van Dijck’s other representations of the widow of Zarephath.<sup>11</sup>

For many years this painting was interpreted simply as a didactic scene of domestic virtue and given the title “Grace before the Meal.”<sup>12</sup> As with some of Rembrandt’s late history paintings, the theme is not explicitly identifiable here through attributes – the telltale objects that are specifically mentioned in the biblical text and that do appear in the related paintings (such as the pot in the Copenhagen painting and the jar in the picture in Houston, both presumably for meal or batter). The composition’s exclusive focus on the widow and her son tends to link it to the genre scenes of domestic life that had risen to popularity in the Netherlands by this period. In fact, the painting strongly resembles other well-known images of figures praying before meals painted by Nicolaes Maes (fig. 57c),<sup>13</sup> and even by Van Dijck himself, including, most notably, a small genre painting by him that appeared at auction in 1909,<sup>14</sup> which shows an elderly woman and a young child praying before a small triangular table (fig. 57d).





Fig. 57d. Abraham van Dijck, *Woman and Child Saying Grace*, 1659, oil on canvas, 43.5 x 39.5 cm. Private collection (photo: RKD).

This tranquil scene of an older woman instructing a child in piety captures a charming moment and addresses social and religious interests particular to the Dutch culture in which it was produced. The same appeal also characterizes the present work, but as with Rembrandt's several depictions of the Holy Family, it transcends boundaries between representations of everyday domestic life and what may properly be described as history painting. Moreover, the greater seriousness of its subject is underscored by the careful and deliberately monumental treatment.

1. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 666.
2. Karl Lilienfeld, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 10, p. 263.
3. Hoet and Terwesten 1770, p. 658: "of de zogenaamde van Dyk van Alkmaar, of van Dordt (or the so-called Van Dyk of Alkmaar, or of Dordt)." For recent documentary evidence of the artist's presence in Dordrecht, see John Loughman, "Abraham van Dijck (1635?-1680), a Dordrecht Painter in the Shadow of Rembrandt," in *In His Milieu: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias*, A. Colahny, M. M. Mochizuki and L. Vergara, eds, pp. 265-278. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).
4. Karl Lilienfeld, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 10, p. 263.
5. See the 1952 sale under Provenance at the head of this entry.
6. Exhib. cat. West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 8. See also exhib. cat. Kingston 1984, pp. 50-51, no. 22.
7. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 679, no. 364, p. 685 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1989, p. 94, fig. 2, no. 8. The current owner of this painting attributes it to Barent Fabritius and identifies its subject as Elisha in the House of the Shunammite Woman.
8. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 669, no. 361, p. 682 (colour ill.), and exhib. cat. West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 8 (fig. 6).
9. See collection cat. Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 11, and exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1989, p. 94, no. 42. Tümpel first introduced his concept of *Herauslösung* in the literature on Dutch art in 1966; see Tümpel 1966, p. 301.
10. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 918, no. 559, and vol. 4, p. 2599, no. 1733, for examples by Barent Fabritius and Jan Victors respectively.
11. See exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1976, p. 110, and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 674, with no. 386, and vol. 5, p. 3093, no. 2053.
12. Exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1989. For a discussion of such scenes of domestic virtue and the instruction of children, see Franits 1993, pp. 62-110.
13. On the most famous one of these (illustrated here), see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, p. 357 (ill.).
14. Sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 27 April 1909, lot 10 (paired with lot 9). For other examples by Van Dijck, see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 671, no. 371, and p. 673, no. 384. ◆

58.

Abraham van Dijck

(Amsterdam around 1635 – Amsterdam 1672)

*Portrait of a Fifty-year-old Woman*

Oil on panel, 75 x 62 cm

Inscribed, signed and dated: *AETATYS.50 / AV* (in ligature) *Dijck / Ano 1655*.

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 October 1989, lot 73 (ill., as by Abraham van Dijck, signed, without mention of the date); London, with Galerie Raphael Valls; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Josua Bruyn, in exhib. cat. Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991-1992, pp. 82 (pl. 101), 85, 89 note 84; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, pp. 3520-3521, 3705, no. 2267, p. 3855 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Recent Acquisitions* (London: Galerie Raphael Valls, 1990), unpaginated, no. 10 (colour ill.)

ABRAHAM VAN DIJCK has here portrayed a middle-aged woman in a black dress, against a plain ochre ground. The inscription gives her age as fifty, and her sober costume conveys the modesty expected of married people – both women and men. She seems to give extra emphasis to her marital state by posing with one white glove removed to prominently display a double ring on her right index finger.

The sitter's plain black dress is strikingly set off by white cuffs and a vast white collar, whose stiff conical form entirely covers her shoulders. A similar collar appears in a 1656 *Portrait of a Woman* by Nicolaes Maes (fig. 58a),<sup>1</sup> although the one pictured here is larger and rises higher behind the neck. A similarly imposing collar (accompanied by cuffs) is also worn by the subject of Jan van Noordt's *Portrait of a Woman*, now in a private collection.<sup>2</sup> This latter work cannot date to before 1663 and was probably made around 1665, attesting to the longevity of the



Fig. 58a. Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1656, oil on panel, 74.3 x 60.3 cm, signed. San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, Mildred Anna Williams Collection.





fashion. Both the Van Noordt portrait and the one by Maes have a pendant that almost certainly depicts the sitter's husband.<sup>3</sup> Although no pendant to this Van Dijck portrait is known, these comparisons reinforce the probable connection between the subject's severe costume and her married state.

Van Dijck conspicuously chose to present his sitter from a strictly frontal viewpoint, and the strong symmetrical lines of the collar and upper arms form an imposing pyramidal composition. This strategy is paralleled in Van Dijck's later history paintings, which bring the main figures and action into the same foreground plane and show none of the concern for depth and space acquired during his study under Rembrandt during the early 1650s. One of the most interesting works for comparison is his remarkable *Widow of Zarephath and Her Son* (cat. 57), also in the Bader Collection.

Under Rembrandt's influence, Van Dijck had developed a daring application technique involving dragged impastoed paint and thick, visible brushstrokes. He had also moved in the same classicizing direction as fellow pupils Nicolaes Maes and Willem Drost.

In marked contrast to Maes, however, Van Dijck did not paint many portraits, and the present work reflects the vibrancy and expressive impulse of the artist's history paintings of the same period and later. Despite the severity of the costume and pose, the woman wears a mildly informal expression: with raised eyebrows and lips slightly parted in a small smile, she engages with the viewer. The active expression and lively handling, together with the monumental composition, demonstrate how Van Dijck's activity as a history painter infused his approach to the portrait genre. With this work he produced one of the most striking portraits of the Dutch Golden Age, and one that marked a high point of his career.

1. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 2026, no. 1389, p. 2115 (ill.).
2. Jan van Noordt, *Portrait of a Woman*, around 1665, oil on canvas, 81.2 × 64.5 cm, England, private collection; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 79, 184 (ill.).
3. The pendant to the portrait by Van Noordt is *Portrait of a Man Holding a Glove*, around 1665, oil on canvas, 83.2 × 67 cm, London, with Clovis Whitfield Fine Art. For the pendant to the Maes, see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 2026, no. 1388, p. 2114 (ill.). ♦





59.

Abraham van Dijck

(Amsterdam around 1635 – Amsterdam 1672)

*Profile of a Boy*

Around 1655

Oil on canvas, 40 × 37.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 17 November 1993, lot 18 (colour ill., as by Willem Drost), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3704 no. 2259a, p. 3845 (colour ill., as by Willem Drost); Bikker 2005, p. 147, no. R15 (as by Abraham van Dijck)

A YOUNG BOY with long hair is shown in profile, his face brought into relief by a strong light coming from the upper left. He wears a fantasy costume – a heavy red cloak with rich decoration at the shoulder – suggesting a role in a history painting and marking this work as a *tronie*, or anonymous character head. As observed by Jonathan Bikker, the first scholar to suggest Van Dijck as the artist, the piece can be related to a number of heads of young boys in profile, caught in raking light, that appear in history paintings by

Abraham van Dijck, including the one in the *Widow of Zarephath and Her Son* in the Bader Collection (cat. 57). The present work had previously been attributed to Willem Drost.<sup>1</sup> Related heads appear in *Woman Combing a Boy's Head*, in Darmstadt,<sup>2</sup> the moving *Benjamin and Judah*, in Chicago,<sup>3</sup> and *Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath*, in Houston (fig. 57a)<sup>4</sup> – all firmly attributed to Van Dijck and all showing the same soft handling of flesh and striking treatment of hair, with distinct strokes of heavy pigment used to describe golden locks caught in the light.

1. The attribution to Drost was first made by Richard Charleton-Jones of Sotheby's; see under Provenance at the head of this entry.
2. Abraham van Dijck, *Woman Combing a Boy's Head*, 1652, oil on canvas, 85 × 72 cm, signed, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 673 no. 382, p. 703 (ill.)
3. Abraham van Dijck, *Benjamin and Judah*, oil on canvas, 132 × 110.5 cm, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 670 no. 363, p. 684 (colour ill.)
4. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 670 no. 364 p. 685 (ill.). ♦





60.

Lambert Doomer (Amsterdam 1624 – Amsterdam 1700)

*A Billy Goat and a Ram*

Around 1660

Oil on canvas, 68 × 85.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Estate of the artist;<sup>1</sup> London, collection of John Webb, until about 1818; Earl of Crawford and Balcarres sale, London (Christie's), 11 October 1946, lot 57 (for 7 guineas, to Grant); sale, London (Christie's) 28 March 1947, lot 67 (for 3 guineas, to Schapiro); London, collection of Dr. Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader in 1985

#### LITERATURE

Schulz 1972, vol. 1, pp. 101-102, 468, no. G57 (as before 1676); Schulz 1974, p. 42, with no. 19; Schulz 1978, p. 99, no. XII; Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 2, p. 806, with no. 379; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, pp. 464, 469 no. 235, p. 490 (ill.); Alfred Bader in *Aldrichimica Acta* 18, no. 3 (1985), p. 57 (cover ill.)

AMONG THE customers of Amsterdam ebony carver and frame-maker Harmen Doomer was Rembrandt, who painted his portrait in 1640. After first learning his father's trade, Doomer's son Lambert studied art under Rembrandt – probably around 1640-1644. Aside from trips to France and Germany, and a longish sojourn in Alkmaar, Lambert Doomer remained in Amsterdam. Firmly attributed works by him date from as early as 1648 to as late as 1695, five years before his death. He is best known for a large corpus of fine landscape drawings, many of



Fig. 60a. Lambert Doomer, *Two Studies of a Goat*, around 1660, pen and brown ink and brown wash, 20.2 × 29.6 cm. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 2867.

which are topographical scenes, but he produced a number of paintings as well. They explore a variety of themes, including genre scenes and biblical history.

Monumental depictions of animals, often in rural settings, had been introduced into the Dutch art market by such artists as Paulus Potter (1625/26-1654) and Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-1659/61). Derived from the established tradition of monumental hunting scenes, like those created by the Flemish artist Frans Snyders, they adopted a more bucolic, domestic tone. Weenix was





Fig. 60b. Lambert Doomer, *The Thistle*, 1675, oil on panel, 62.5 × 44 cm. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. 677.

the source for this remarkable depiction by Doomer of a braying male goat and a ram. Its compares to Weenix's monumental *A Ram Lying on the Ground* in the Rijksmuseum,<sup>2</sup> and sets a similarly unaffected tone. The animals' thrusting, slightly belligerent poses seem to suggest the character of their species. Doomer depicted a ram in an equally dynamic and even more distinctive position in a larger canvas in Kingston, probably executed during the 1660s (cat. 61). For the braying goat in the present work, Doomer made use of a pen and ink study now in Vienna (fig. 60a).<sup>3</sup> The frequent appearance of these animals in the artist's paintings and drawings attests to his special interest in them.

Sumowski dated this painting to the mid-1670s, comparing the head of the billy goat to a similar one that appears in the background of Doomer's 1675 painting *The Thistle*, in Copenhagen (fig. 60b).<sup>4</sup> The looser handling suggests that it might originate in another period of the artist's career, possibly earlier than that of the Copenhagen painting – around 1660 – but Doomer's painting style did not follow a clear developmental pattern, which leaves the question of dating open.

1. Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 1, p. 76, no. 31: "Een bok en een ram door den Overleden geschildert (A billy goat and a ram painted by the deceased)." The inventory was taken on 26 April 1702.

2. Jan Baptist Weenix, *A Ram Lying on the Ground*, oil on canvas, 84 × 132.5 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1417; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, pp. 596-597 (ill.).

3. See Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 2, pp. 806-807, no. 379 (ill.).

4. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 469, no. 236, p. 491 (colour ill.). ◆

## 61.

Lambert Doomer (Amsterdam 1624 – Amsterdam 1700)

### *A Ram in a Wooded Landscape*

Probably 1660s

Oil on canvas, 102.5 × 126.4 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1994, acc. no. 37-090

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly estate of the artist, no. 27;<sup>1</sup> sale, London (Phillips), 12 July 1982, lot 48 (ill., as by Jan Baptist Weenix); London, with Trafalgar Galleries; sale, New York (Christie's), 10 June 1994, lot 12 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### COPIES

Oil on panel, 24.2 × 30.4 cm, falsely inscribed middle right: *Paulus Potter / f. 1647*, private collection<sup>2</sup>

AGAINST A BACKDROP formed by a wood on the right and a typically flat Dutch rural vista on the left, a ram twists around and scratches itself rather inelegantly with its hind leg. This uninhibited presentation of a farm animal's behaviour follows the model of Paulus Potter and contrasts with the serene and idyllic views of cattle portrayed by Albert Cuyp.<sup>3</sup> As well as opting for a truly monumental portrayal, with the form of the ram looming in the centre foreground, the artist has made a dramatic use of light. The animal's vigorous action resonates with the dynamic lines and rhythms of the landscape. Skilfully executed but vaguely comic, this picture celebrates the impulsive character of the sheep.

Until recently the painting was attributed to Jan Baptist Weenix and connected to his well-known depiction of a *Ram Lying on the Ground*.<sup>4</sup> The scene lacks Weenix's fiery energy, however, showing instead a restrained handling and a subtle arrangement of colour featuring muted yellows and greens with sooty greys that are set off by the pink cast of the landscape vista at the left. Equally important, this landscape does not relate in any way to the Italianate views for which Weenix is famous. The painting is actually most closely related to the depiction of a *Billy Goat and a Ram* by Lambert Doomer (cat. 60), another work from the Bader Collection. The lively, realistic poses of the two animals depicted there reflect the same wry, down-to-earth attitude conveyed by the present picture. The masterful landscape passage can also be related to the specialty for which Doomer is better known: topographical drawings of the Dutch countryside.

Although Doomer created far fewer paintings than drawings, he nonetheless developed a distinctive and experimental approach to colour based on a muted palette and close colour harmonies acquired from Rembrandt's instruction and example. His *Venetian Courtesan*, also in Kingston (cat. 62), illustrates how by the mid-1660s he had introduced neutral grey tones and cool colours into this restrained and naturalistic palette. The present painting shows a remarkably comparable approach, incorporating greyish tones that clearly depart from the warm base colours of Rembrandt's manner. Boasting a similarly monumental presentation as the *Courtesan*, it likely dates to the same period. By comparison, the depiction of a thistle in Copenhagen, which is dated 1675, is even cooler in colour and more staccato in rhythm.<sup>5</sup> The





other Bader Collection work mentioned above (cat. 60) leans toward a warm Rembrandtesque cast and could be earlier. It must be acknowledged that the lack of a clear stylistic development makes the dating of Doomer's paintings difficult. Very evident, though, is his singular and rather amused sympathy for sheep and goats: it puts him alongside Cuyp and Potter, with their cattle, and Wouwerman, with his horses, as the foremost painter of these animals in the Dutch Golden Age.

1. Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 1, p. 76, no. 31 (the inventory was taken on 26 April 1702): "Een d<sup>e</sup> (Landschap) met een groote bock (One ditto [landscape] with a large ram [or billy goat])"; see Schulz 1972, vol. 2, p. 468, no. G 58.
2. Photo on file at the RKD, artwork no. 9404.
3. For example Albert Cuyp, *A Herdsman with Five Cattle by a River*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 45.4 × 74 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 823; see collection cat. London 1991, vol. 1, pp. 89-90, vol. 2 (pl. 76).
4. Jan Baptist Weenix, *A Ram Lying on the Ground*, oil on canvas, 84 × 132.5 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1417; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, pp. 596-597 (ill.).
5. See cat. 60, fig. 60b and note 4. ◆





62.

Lambert Doomer (Amsterdam 1624 – Amsterdam 1700)

*A Venetian Courtesan*

1666

Oil on canvas, 97.2 × 83.2 cm

Signed illegibly and dated middle right: *L Do.../ 1666*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.02

#### PROVENANCE

Dieren, with Gebroeders Katz, in 1930; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 25 November 1972, lot 2506 (as by A. de Gelder), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Schulz 1972, vol. 2, p. 475, no. F8 (as by Lambert Doomer, *Portrait of a Woman*, signed and dated: *A de Gelder f./ A 1666*); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 9, no. 2 (1976), p. 21 (cover ill., as *Esther?*); Schulz 1978, pp. 79, 83 (pl. 11, as *Esther?*), p. 97, no. VI; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, pp. 464, 468, no. 227, p. 482 (colour ill., as by Lambert Doomer, *Woman with a Veil*); Von Moltke 1994, p. 194, no. R 109

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 124-125, no. 57 (ill., as *Esther?*); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 15 (ill., as *Esther?*); Kingston 1984, pp. 70-71, no. 33 (ill., as *Esther in the Courtyard of Ahasuerus?*)

AN ATTRACTIVE YOUNG woman in a flamboyant costume strides across the picture plane, gazing out confidently at the viewer. Behind her, on the left, is an antique sculpture of a king. Wolfgang Schulz, who immediately recognized this canvas as being by Doomer,<sup>1</sup> has speculated that the female figure repre-



Fig. 62a. Jan de Bisschop, after a drawing by Willem Doedeys, *Dacian King*, etching, pl. 75 from *Signorum veterum icones semicenturia altera* (1669). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 62b. Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, title page from *Le miroir des Plus belles Courtisanes de ce temps* (1631), etching.

sents the biblical Queen Esther and that the statue alludes to King Ahasuerus.<sup>2</sup> Alfred Bader has further posited that Esther is shown here among the idols of Ahasuerus, which she refused to worship – a detail omitted from the biblical account but mentioned in the Talmud (Megillah 15b).<sup>3</sup> The statue has been identified by Ulrich Middeldorf as that of a captive Dacian king in the Farnese collection, in Naples.<sup>4</sup> This sculpture was published in a print (fig. 62a), in reverse, in Jan de Bisschop's *Icones* of 1669 (a series of prints after classical sculptures),<sup>5</sup> but Doomer's depiction of it with the correct orientation indicates knowledge of a drawing. Installed here at an outside corner of a building, the statue gives no clear clue to the painting's subject matter, however. This is in sharp contrast to Doomer's other history paintings: his *Hannah Bringing Samuel before Eli* in Orléans, for example, contains abundant references to textual source and historical setting.<sup>6</sup> The woman's costume, with its distinctive slashed sleeves, is based on Italian dress of the period.<sup>7</sup> Her hairstyle also conforms to current fashion, as evidenced by the picture of Hannah, which is a





Fig. 62c. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Woman at an Open Door*, around 1656-1657, oil on canvas, 88.5 x 67 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. 828 B.

*portrait historié*. It appears, then, that the artist was not illustrating a historical theme in this work, but was instead portraying an anonymous type in a contemporary time frame.

An important hint concerning the woman's general identity is the sculpture of a winged lion in the upper right background: it is one of the famous lions of St. Mark that tower over Venice's Piazza San Marco. The woman's seductive and direct glance at the viewer already suggests that she is a courtesan, Doomer having followed the type taken up by Titian in his famous depiction of Flora.<sup>8</sup> The popularization of this pictorial type is reflected in Crispijn van de Passe the Younger's famous book of courtesans, published in 1631 (fig. 62b),<sup>9</sup> and it reappears in the Bader Collection in a painting by Jürgen Ovens (cat. 146). The most important model for Doomer was likely his mentor Rembrandt, who, following Titian and a work by another Venetian artist, Palma Vecchio, created several depictions of women in a similar guise (fig. 62c).<sup>10</sup> Like these other artists, Doomer was making an allusion to the fame of Venice's courtesans.<sup>11</sup>

1. See under Literature at the head of this entry. Although the work was sold in 1972 as a De Gelder, after Schulz's reattribution the reading of the partly effaced signature was corrected.

2. See Schulz 1972, vol. 2, p. 475, no. F8.

3. See Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 9, no. 2 (1976), p. 21.

4. Undated letter from Ulrich Middeldorf to Alfred Bader; see exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1976, p. 124.

5. See Van Gelder and Jost 1985, vol. 1, p. 159, no. 75, and vol. 2, fig. 75.

6. Lambert Doomer, *Hannah Bringing Samuel before Eli*, 1668, oil on canvas, 133 x 192 cm, signed, Orléans, Musée des beaux-arts; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 466, no. 217, p. 472 (colour ill.).

7. Compare, for example, the dress of the woman in the lower left corner of Daniele Heintz, *Esther Appealing to Ahasuerus*, Potsdam, Sanssouci, Bildergalerie; see Rodolpho Pallucchini, *La Pittura Veneziana del Seicento* (Venice: Alfieri, 1981), vol. 2, p. 902 (fig. 1028).

8. Titian, *Flora*, around 1515, oil on canvas, 79 x 53 cm, Florence, Uffizi. See Julius Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," in *De Artis Opuscula XL: Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky*, Millard Meiss, ed. (New York and Zurich: Buehler Buchdruck, 1961), pp. 201-208.

9. *Le Miroir des plus belles Courtisanes de ce temps/The Looking Glass of the fairest Courtiers* [sic] of these tymes, published by the author, 1631.

10. Jan Kelch has pointed to courtesan depictions by Palma Vecchio as a likely model for this painting by Rembrandt; see exhib. cat. Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991-1992, pp. 267-271, no. 45 (ill.).

11. On the Venetian tradition of depicting courtesans, see *Le cortigiane di Venezia dal trecento al settecento*, exhib. cat. (Venice: Casino Municipale Ca' Vendramin Calergi, 1990). ♦



63.

R. Doornbos (Dutch, active 1665-1671)

*Vanitas Still Life with a Calendar and Musical Instruments*  
1665

Oil on canvas, 55.9 x 68.6 cm

Signed and dated lower left, on the table's edge: *R. Doornbos Fecit 1665*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

The Hague, with Han Jüngeling; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1965

#### LITERATURE

Voskuil-Popper 1976, pp. 64-65 (as by Johan de Cordua); Bader 1995, p. 231, no. 4 (pl. 20)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 18 (ill.); Eau Claire 1987, pp. 5-6 (ill.); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 78-79, no. 31 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 6 (ill., as by Johan de Corduba [sic])

THIS STILL LIFE presents a number of objects on a table: a medieval stringed instrument called a rebec is shown leaning against a skull, with a globe behind on the right, while in the foreground are playing cards, a calendar, a watch, a flute and a book of music. The scene is lit from the upper left by a suspended oil lamp. The picture conveys the *vanitas* message powerfully and unequivocally, warning against the emptiness of worldly pursuits and desires in the face of the inevitability and finality of death. Clustered in the centre, the skull, calendar and watch remind the viewer of time's passing, life's brevity and the eternity to come. The lamp, ultimately to be extinguished, reinforces the allusion. The musical accessories have a dual function, evoking at once the transience of sound but also the pleasure of worldly things.<sup>1</sup> The playing cards offer a similar double message, cautioning against trifling amusement but also conjuring the vicissitudes of chance.<sup>2</sup>





Fig. 63a. R. Doornbos, *Italian Market Scene*, oil on canvas, 61.2 × 80.2 cm, signed. Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Schlossmuseum, inv. G 1173.

On the basis of the remnants of a signature visible on the table's edge, scholars had for a long time attributed this painting to the Flemish still-life specialist Johan de Cordua (around 1630-1698/1702).<sup>3</sup> However, its bold approach differs markedly from De Cordua's softer, more translucent and refined handling (see cat. 52). The cool tones, inky blacks and subtly dramatic chiaroscuro relate more closely to Italian art, reflecting the clear influence of Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610). More recently the signature has been read as "Doornbos" by Fred Meijer,<sup>4</sup> who connects the work to several similarly signed genre paintings, including an *Italian Market Scene* in Weimar (fig. 63a) and a painting of *Peasants with Cattle* that appeared recently on the market in Cologne,<sup>5</sup> both of which are set against an Italianate landscape. Like the *Market Scene*, a signed and dated *Peasant Interior* by Doornbos from 1671 shows a good deal of still-life detail, rendered in the same abrupt hand and showing the same striking contrasts as the present painting.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that this *Vanitas*, made six years earlier, reflects the still recent impact of an Italian journey, which was later parlayed by the artist into a modest career producing Italianate scenes for the Dutch market. It is not clear that the maker of this work can be linked to a painter by the name of Abraham Doornbos known to have been in Amsterdam in 1679, since his signature consistently begins with an "R."<sup>7</sup>

1. Bergström 1983, p. 156.

2. Jane Russell Corbett, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 78.

3. See Voskuil-Popper 1976, pp. 64-65.

4. Letter of 7 May 1999 from Fred Meijer to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files. The signature of this artist on other works is sometimes read as "Doorenbos."

5. R. Doornbos, *Peasants with Cattle*, oil on panel, 32 × 40 cm, signed R. Doornbos; sale, Cologne (Carola van Ham), 10-12 April 2003, lot 1187 (colour ill.).

6. R. Doornbos, *Peasant Interior with a Woman and Children*, 1671, oil on panel, 36 × 40 cm, signed; Dijon, with C. de Salvatore, in 1961.

7. Abraham Bredius in Thieme-Becker, vol. 9, p. 463. ♦

## 64.

Willem Drost (Amsterdam 1633 – Venice 1659)

### *Self-portrait as St. John the Evangelist*

Oil on canvas, 81 × 71.5 cm

Around 1655

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Christie's), 1 April 1966, lot 19 (ill., as by C. Fabritius); Kreuzlingen, collection of Heinz Kisters; sale, London (Christie's), 9 July 2003, lot 34 (colour ill., as by Drost), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1969, pp. 377-378, 382 (ill., as the high point of Drost's middle period); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, pp. 609, 615, no. 326, p. 619, with no. 341, p. 635 (colour ill.); Meijer 1983, p. 46, note 104 (incorrectly as signed D.F.); Aikema 1989, p. 115, note 9; Langedijk 1992, p. 35; Safarik 2001, p. 407, 657 (fig. 7); Bikker 2005, pp. 106-107, no. 26 (colour ill., as by Drost, around 1655)

THE CAREER OF Willem Drost, who was among Rembrandt's most talented pupils and one of only a few who took the master's style to Italy, was cut short by his premature death at the age of twenty-five. Born in Amsterdam in 1633, to the schoolteacher and bookseller Jan Barentsz. and his wife Marrijtge Claesdr., he likely found his way into Rembrandt's studio through acquaintanceship with Lambert Doomer.<sup>1</sup> Drost's brother was an ebony worker, like Doomer, and as a supplier of frames had contacts within the artistic community.<sup>2</sup> Drost's training would likely have taken place around 1648-1652, probably (as Jonathan Bikker has posited) following an initial period of training with Rembrandt's pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten.<sup>3</sup> After embarking on an independent career in Amsterdam as a painter of portraits, history paintings and genre scenes, Drost left for Italy in late 1654 or 1655.<sup>4</sup> Houbraken claims that he settled in Rome and became friendly with Johannes van der Meer of Utrecht and the German-born Johann Carl Loth.<sup>5</sup> He seems to have spent most of his time in Venice, however, and to have adjusted his style to the Caravaggesque *tenebroso* manner favoured by Loth, who was principally active there.<sup>6</sup> Drost's death was recorded in Venice in 1659.<sup>7</sup>

Drost has depicted St. John the Evangelist as a half-length figure wearing a red robe. In his left hand is cradled a silver chalice, the attribute associated with the legend of his attempted poisoning by the pagan priest Aristodemus.<sup>8</sup> Drost has left out the serpent sometimes shown emerging from the cup, which warned the Apostle of the danger it presented. Following the tradition that John was younger than the other disciples, Drost has shown him as a clean-shaven youth with flowing locks. Less conventional is the artist's use of his own face as the model for the Evangelist's. Bikker remarks on the similarity of the likeness,<sup>9</sup> with its square proportions, bulbous nose and large almond eyes, to both the late Drost self-portrait in the Uffizi (fig. 64a)<sup>10</sup> and an earlier one last recorded in a sale in New York.<sup>11</sup> The artist's identification with John, who was generally depicted as handsome, is not without a touch of vanity. For the Uffizi self-portrait, Drost represented himself in the persona of an ancient philosopher. Generally, such images functioned less as statements about aspects of the artist's





Fig. 64a. Willem Drost, *Self-portrait as an Ancient Philosopher*, oil on canvas, 72 × 65 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1880.

own person than as gestures of allegiance to a well-known figure. They also offered patrons the double interest of a history painting and a portrait of the artist. Drost's model for such an application of the self-portrait genre was his teacher Rembrandt, who assumed numerous roles in his own paintings. Another Rembrandt link is the prominent place given here to the sleeve of the Evangelist's robe, which echoes the master's famous self-portrait of 1640 in London (fig. 93c)<sup>12</sup> – a work that found further reflection in a number of self-portraits by other Rembrandt pupils, including Ferdinand Bol.<sup>13</sup>

The connection to Rembrandt ties this work to Drost's Dutch period. Stylistically speaking, its restraint of emotion and pose and its solid masses and smooth surfaces echo aspects of Rembrandt's classically oriented manner of the early 1650s. In addition, the tilting chalice completes the same gentle spiral motion evident in many of Drost's Dutch paintings. However, other elements indicate exposure to Italian art: the heavy robe, as Bikker has pointed out, is an Italian feature. Also, the rendering of the hand, with its slender, pointed fingers and emphasized joints, reveals a trait of Loth's work that Drost adopted in his

Italian practice.<sup>14</sup> With its synthesis of Dutch and Italian elements, this painting should therefore be placed near the beginning of Drost's time in Italy, around 1655.

1. On Drost's birth, see Dudok van Heel 1992, p. 18, and Bikker 2005, pp. 9, 193 no. 1.
2. Dudok van Heel 1992, p. 18; Bikker 2005, p. 9.
3. Bikker 2005, p. 10.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–39.
5. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 61.
6. As observed in Bikker 2005, p. 39.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 193 no. 2.
8. See LCI, vol. 7, col. 119. Bikker points out that in representations of the four Evangelists, John is usually shown with an eagle, while the chalice is the more typical attribute in individual depictions of the saint; see Bikker 2005 p. 108.
9. *Ibid.*
10. See Bikker 2005, pp. 122–124, no. 38 (colour ill.).
11. Willem Drost, *Self-portrait*, oil on panel, 28.6 × 24.8 cm, monogrammed, sale, New York (Sotheby's), 25 January 2001, lot 118 (colour ill.); see Bikker 2005, pp. 95–96, no. 21 (ill.).
12. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, 1640, oil on canvas, 102 × 80 cm, signed, London, National Gallery, inv. 672; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 375–381, no. A139 (ill.).
13. Ferdinand Bol, *Self-portrait*, oil on canvas, 101 × 88.3 cm, private collection; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, p. 381 (fig. 6).
14. Bikker 2005, p. 108. For a comparable treatment of hands in the work of Johann Carl Loth, see his *Mercury and Argus*, oil on canvas, 116.9 × 99.7 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 3571; Bikker 2005, p. 104 (fig. 25a). ◆





65.

Heyman Dullaert (Rotterdam 1636 – Rotterdam 1684)

*Young Scholar in His Study*

Around 1660-1665

Oil on canvas, 68.8 × 53.3 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Possibly London, collection of Mr. Patch; possibly his sale, 20 April 1792 (Lugt 4904), lot 60 (as by Rembrandt, *A Young Student*, for 1.11.6 guineas), purchased by Godrell; William Knighton sale, London (Christie's), 21 May 1885 (Lugt 44957), lot 483 (as by Rembrandt, *The Student*, oil on canvas, 24 x 28 in. [61 x 71.1 cm] suggesting a horizontal format), for £325.10.0, to Lesser; Eastlothian, private collection, in 1938 (as by A. de Gelder); Colstoun, Haddington, Scotland, collection of Lady Lindsay, in 1953 (as by Karel van der Pluym); sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 February 1972, lot 105 (for £170), purchased by Miss Martin; sale, London (Sotheby's), 4 July 1990, lot 10 (colour ill., as by Heyman Dullaert); sale, London (Sotheby's), 11 April 1991, lot 10 (colour ill., as by Karel van der Pluym); London, with Raphael Valls, in 1991; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 18-19 March 1992, lot 99 (colour ill.); sale, London (Christie's), 9 July 1993, lot 184 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, p. 3090, no. 2041, p. 3172 (as by Dullaert)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1883; London 1953, no. 55 (ill., as by Karel van der Pluym, formerly attributed to Christoph Paudiss); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 48-49, no. 12 (ill.)

THE ROTTERDAM native Heyman Dullaert likely went to Amsterdam to study with Rembrandt around 1650, at the age of fourteen.<sup>1</sup> He maintained contact with his teacher and served as a witness for him in a document dated 1653.<sup>2</sup> Dullaert also befriended an earlier Rembrandt pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, and like him devoted some of his attention to letters, in particular poetry.<sup>3</sup> The exquisite portrait of him by Philips Koninck may be evidence of another artistic friendship.<sup>4</sup> A far from prolific painter, Dullaert did not develop a consistent style. Houbraken nevertheless singled out for praise his painting of a soldier in a cuirass, noting particularly its depiction of reflections.<sup>5</sup> The artist eventually returned to his native city, and is recorded as head of the Rotterdam St. Luke's Guild in 1668. He died there in 1684.<sup>6</sup>

Here, Dullaert has taken up the traditional Dutch theme of a scholar in his study. Instead of a mature intellectual, however, he has depicted a young man – probably a student. As he rubs his eyes, the figure suggests the boredom and fatigue of a youth not yet accustomed to the rigours of study. The man's features and



Fig. 65a. Heyman Dullaert, *A Doctor in His Study*, oil on panel, 42 × 45 cm, signed lower right: H. Dullaert. Groningen, Groninger Museum, inv. 1931.0102.



fur hat hint that he is a foreigner from the Baltic region, perhaps Poland. During the 17th century many foreigners, including Poles, flocked to study in the Dutch city of Leiden, drawn by the international reputation of its university. Several manuscript sheets lie on the table before the young man, and an open book rests on the arm of his chair. The subject of his study is not clear, however. The only clue is the partially visible inscription on one of the books propped up against the wall, which begins with the letters "CAS." As Volker Manuth has speculated, it could be the name of the early Christian writer Cassiodorus (around 487–around 580), indicating theology, or simply (since the fourth letter could well be a "B") the title "Casboek," denoting the more prosaic subject of accounting.<sup>7</sup> But, like many Dutch genre scenes, this one was probably aimed deliberately at a wide audience, whose members could feel free to read their own meaning into the scene.

The attribution of the painting is based on comparison with a signed picture by Dullaert of a *Doctor in His Study*, in Groningen (fig. 65a).<sup>8</sup> The same chair appears in both works, along with a very similar gown – although in the Groningen work it lies unused behind the figure, while here it is worn by the young scholar and (as Manuth has noted) painted in a much smoother style.<sup>9</sup> Sumowski observed Dullaert's generally wide range of style and dependence on other masters. The hesitant, fussy impasto technique of the present picture reflects the artist's training with Rembrandt more directly, suggesting that it is the earlier of the two. Some notable divergences from the master's work in both paintings include the creation of hard edges and contrasts, and the application of strokes of high-key colours such as blue and pink that are quite alien to Rembrandt's subtle, muted palette. It appears, then, that both were created some time after Dullaert's study with Rembrandt, perhaps during the 1660s after his return to Rotterdam.

1. Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 652.
2. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, pp. 302–303, document no. 1653/14, 23 March 1653. Houbraken also mentions their continued association; see Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 79.
3. Dullaert had strong ties to the Van Hoogstraten family, who published his writings. Two poems attest to his friendship with Samuel, one of them written on the occasion of Samuel's departure for England in 1662; see Van Putte 1978, pp. 22, 262–263. This poem is also quoted in Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 161.
4. Philips Koninck, *Portrait of Heyman Dullaert*, oil on canvas, 63.5 × 55.9 cm, St. Louis, City Art Museum, inv. 408: 1923; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1541, no. 1029, p. 1579 (colour ill.). Houbraken also mentions the portrait and their friendship; see Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 79.
5. See Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 80. This reference has been plausibly connected with a painting in New York: *Man in Armour (Mars?)*, oil on canvas, 102 × 90.5 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 71.84. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, pp. 652, 653, no. 345, 657 (ill., as attributed to Dullaert).
6. On Dullaert's return to Rotterdam and his registration in the Guild, see Hofstede de Groot 1906, p. 478. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 80, gives the date of his death precisely as 5 May 1684.
7. See Volker Manuth, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 48.
8. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 653, no. 343, p. 655 (colour ill.).
9. See Volker Manuth, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996–1997, p. 48. ◆



## 66.

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (Amsterdam 1621 – Amsterdam 1674)

### *The Fall of Man*

1646

Oil on panel, 41 × 29.9 cm

Signed and dated above the dog: *Eeckhout / 1646*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

A. Kay sale, London (Christie's), 11 May 1911 (Lugt 69889), lot 204 (as *Adam and Eve*, on panel, 40 x 29 cm); Belgium, private collection; sale, Zurich (Koller), 26–29 November 1985, lot 5023 (pl. 60); sale Zurich (Koller), 13 July 1986, lot 5024 (ills.); purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Manuth 1987, p. 31, note 94 (fig. 41); Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 5, pp. 3059, 3094, no. 2057, p. 3188 (colour ill.)

ARNOLD HOUBRAKEN singled out only one artist as enjoying a bond of friendship with Rembrandt: his pupil Gerbrand van den Eeckhout.<sup>1</sup> Born in 1621 in Amsterdam to the goldsmith Jan Pietersz. van den Eeckhout and his wife Grietie Claes Lydeckers,<sup>2</sup> Van den Eeckhout likely trained in the master's studio in the years 1635–1641.<sup>3</sup> Although he probably studied alongside the pupils Covert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol, his career took a decidedly different path. Instead of breaking away from Rembrandt's style to follow the classicizing Flemish mode that came into fashion





Fig. 66a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Fall of Man*, 1638, etching, 16.4 × 11.5 cm. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis.

among the Dutch nobility and regents, Van den Eeckhout continued to revisit a range of established models represented in the work of Rembrandt and artists close to him. Van den Eeckhout's iconography is dominated by subjects from the Old Testament, although he also took up a variety of genre themes, including the *kortegaard*, or barracks scene. He continued to use strong light effects, and initially adopted the monochromatic palette employed in Rembrandt's work and widely popular in the 1630s and 1640s. However, he soon began to incorporate stronger hues, typically blue, applied in areas of sky or swathes of fabric. Some of these characteristics, together with his stocky figure type, harken back to Rembrandt's own sources – the works of Pieter Lastman and the other Amsterdam artists who, because of their impact on the master's work, came to be known as the Pre-Rembrandtists.<sup>4</sup> This reference to Rembrandt's artistic influences constitutes an additional homage to him in Van den Eeckhout's work.

This early signed canvas shows Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge. Eve holds out an apple in her right hand to Adam, who somewhat hesitatingly accepts it (Genesis 3:6). Above the two figures the serpent can be seen wrapped around the trunk of the tree, holding another piece of fruit in its mouth.

In contrast to the Dutch Mannerists, who welcomed the opportunity afforded by the theme to represent the nude figure, Rembrandt's circle of pupils rarely depicted the Fall of Man. An iconographic prompt for Van den Eeckhout's painting was unquestionably Rembrandt's own 1638 etching on the theme (fig. 66a).<sup>5</sup> A number of motifs, though somewhat modified, can be traced back to this print – the figure of Eve, for example, and the elephant.<sup>6</sup> But Flemish models also appear to have played a role for the figure group: Adam's seated pose, with ankles crossed, is closely related

to that in a painting on the same theme by Jan Breughel the Younger (1601–1678), now in a German private collection.<sup>7</sup>

The tussling cat and dog in the foreground of Van den Eeckhout's scene most likely symbolize the consequence of transgressing God's command: the end of the peaceful coexistence of all creatures that had hitherto prevailed and the beginning of permanent strife. It is also conceivable that there is a reference here to the connection between the Fall of Man and the doctrine of humours, which had been developed by the Scholastics. According to this theory the cat epitomizes the choleric temperament, on account of its cruelty as a hunter, while the sluggish ox (represented here by the bovine head protruding in from the left) symbolizes the phlegmatic temperament.<sup>8</sup> The placing of the cat in opposition to the dog – the traditional symbol of alertness, obedience and fidelity – fits in with the theme of the painting. The combat between cat and dog had appeared before as a motif in an image of the Fall of Man – a woodcut by Jost Amman included in two editions of the Bible, published in Frankfurt in 1583 and 1589.<sup>9</sup> The lamb seated here next to Adam is a symbolic allusion to Jesus, who as the new Adam would conquer sin by sacrificing himself.

Painted in a muted chromatic range dominated by brown and green tones, this picture belongs to a small group of works by this artist from the 1640s. The thinly painted areas and sometimes sketchy execution seen here are characteristic features of the group, which includes the 1641 *Scholar in His Study*, now in Budapest.<sup>10</sup> The present panel also shows some vagueness in the organization of pictorial space, another clear indication that it was executed early in the artist's career.

Volker Manuth

1. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 174. For further discussion and documentary evidence of this association, see Horn 2000, vol. 1, p. 113.
2. Thieme-Becker, vol. 10, p. 354.
3. Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 719.
4. On Van den Eeckhout's style, see *ibid.*
5. See Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 13, no. B28; vol. 19, p. 17 (ill.).
6. Michiel Roscam Abbing and Pierre Tuynman have recently argued that the elephant in the background of Rembrandt's 1638 etching is a depiction of the famous show elephant Hansen. This female Indian elephant, brought to Amsterdam in 1633, was drawn by Rembrandt on several occasions during the 1630s and 1640s; see Michiel Roscam Abbing, "Rembrandt's Drawings of the Elephant Hansen," in Roscam Abbing 2006, pp. 173–189.
7. Jan Breughel the Younger, *Paradise Landscape with the Fall of Man*, around 1630, oil on panel, 36 × 22.5 cm, Germany, private collection; see Ertz 1984, pp. 281–282, no. 100 (ills.).
8. Compare Erwin Panofsky's interpretation of the animals in Albrecht Dürer's print of the *Fall of Man* (1504), in Panofsky 1943, vol. 1, p. 85. See also P.P.J. van Thiel, in exhib. cat. Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1980–1981, p. 82, and Carl van de Velde, "Het Aardse Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten," in exhib. cat. Antwerp 1982, pp. 17–36, 23–27.
9. For a reproduction of this print, see Schmidt 1977, p. 265.
10. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *The Scholar in His Study*, 1641, oil on panel, 64.5 × 49 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 5985; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 745, no. 489, p. 852 (ill.). Sumowski rightly argued that the date on this painting can be neither 1659 nor 1671, as given in the previous literature, and he considered the painting to be from the 1640s. This can be confirmed by the present author, who studied the signature in the lower right corner in 1991. The date clearly reads 1641, making the picture one of the two earliest dated paintings by Van den Eeckhout. See also collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 55, no. 5985 (as dated 1641). ♦





67.

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (Amsterdam 1621 – Amsterdam 1674)

*Tobit, Anna and the Kid*

1652

Oil on canvas, 47.6 × 39.4 cm

Signed and dated lower left: *G.V. Eeckhout. F. 1652*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, Paris (Piasa), 27 March 2000, lot 9 (ill.); sale, New York (Sotheby's), 25 January 2001, lot 119 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Manuth 2002, p. 235; Manuth 2004, pp. 89–105 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Tokyo 2003, p. 164, no. 70 (colour ill.)

AMONG THE BOOKS of the Apocrypha is the story of the pious but blind and impoverished Tobit, whose wife Anna maintains their household with the income from her spinning. Van den Eeckhout has chosen here to portray the moment when Tobit unjustly accuses Anna of stealing a kid that she actually earned through honest labour (Tobit 2:13). The picture resurfaced in 2000 on the French art market and received its first mention in the art historical literature in 2002.<sup>1</sup>

The scene is set in a modestly appointed interior featuring wooden beams and a curving staircase that leads to an upper storey obscured in deep shadow. The stone floor visible at the lower left, where steps descend into the cellar, is covered by

wooden planks. Anna, holding the kid in her arms, stands in front of a fireplace where the embers burn low. Her gaze is directed at Tobit, who sits in an armchair beside a table decked in red, a walking stick resting against his right knee. Turning toward his wife, he raises a scolding finger. A spinning wheel stands in the right foreground, beside a small fringed stool. The fire in the hearth has virtually no impact on the lighting of the scene, and the figure of Anna is accentuated by a source of illumination at the left.

Representations of the book of Tobit are few in Van den Eeckhout's oeuvre, although it is otherwise rich in themes from the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> There is no other known example by the artist of the scene presented here, but he evidently took up the theme more than once. This can be deduced from references to thematically related paintings in 18th-century documents. The earliest such reference is to a picture that appeared at an auction in November 1761, in Amsterdam. The description supplied is strongly reminiscent of the present work, but is ultimately too summary to allow for a secure identification. Furthermore, the dimensions given suggest a horizontal format.<sup>3</sup> Some years later, in 1770, a painting with a very similar description was included in another Amsterdam sale.<sup>4</sup> In addition, a painting of the story of Tobit by Van den Eeckhout – depicting the very same episode as the Bader picture – was listed in the 1764 inventory of the collection of the Berlin factory owner, banker and art dealer Ernst Gotzkowsky. However, a comparison of that work's and the present picture's dimensions excludes the possibility that they are one and the same.<sup>5</sup> In light of this evidence, it seems very likely that Gerbrand van den Eeckhout represented the Tobit theme several times, just as he did many other biblical scenes that exist in several versions or appear in diverse references in inventories and auction catalogues.

In terms of specific motifs, but also with respect to the figural arrangement – Tobias seated at the left and Anna standing to the right, holding the kid in both arms – the present picture can be related to Rembrandt's 1626 work *Tobit Repenting from Accusing Anna*, now in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 67a).<sup>6</sup> For his own composition Rembrandt made use of earlier prints, and Jan van de Velde's etching of around 1619–1620 after Willem Buytewech's picture on the same theme is repeatedly and justifiably referred to as a source.<sup>7</sup> The interior portrayed in the print, with the wooden construction of a peaked roof and a window to the left, along with several other details show a clear correspondence with Rembrandt's painting. Van den Eeckhout's setting, on the other hand, is a windowless space whose ceiling and rear wall are cast in deep shadow. There are no stairs in either of the other images, nor any sign of the curved basement entrance seen in the lower left section of the present picture. Tools for producing textiles, such as a spindle, do appear in the Buytewech and the Rembrandt, but neither of these artists includes a spinning wheel like the one that appears here prominently in the foreground.<sup>8</sup> When one considers the furniture and other accessories in the three representations, not many parallels emerge. They are limited





Fig. 67a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Tobit Repenting from Accusing Anna*, 1626, oil on panel, 39.5 × 30 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4717.

to books (in the Buytewech and Rembrandt on the shelf on the back wall, in the Van den Eeckhout on the table), and a string of onions, which hangs in Van den Eeckhout's painting to the left of the fireplace. Common to all three depictions, however, is the opposition of the two old people, with Tobit seated to the left of the standing Anna.

The narrative moment selected by Van den Eeckhout differs from both the Buytewech and the Rembrandt. With Buytewech, the direct and heated confrontation between the married couple dominates the scene. Rembrandt, by contrast, has represented the prayer of the desperate old man related in Tobit 3:1: "Then I being grieved did weep, and in my sorrow prayed." Van den Eeckhout has chosen the earliest moment in the chain of events. Anna gazes in astonishment at the aged Tobit, who raises his left hand in reproof and thus underscores his words: "From whence is this kid? Is it not stolen? Render it to the owners; for it is not lawful to eat any thing that is stolen" (Tobit 2:13). It is notable that Van den Eeckhout, unlike Rembrandt, avoided dressing Tobit in worn-out clothes as a sign of his impoverished state. There is no doubt that in his orchestration of light and his contrasting of illuminated figures against a background cast in shadow, Van den Eeckhout was employing Rembrandtesque stylistic devices, but this does not necessarily mean that he was familiar with Rembrandt's painting of 1626. The light, colourful scheme of Rembrandt's work, which clearly reveals the influence of his teacher Pieter Lastman, is quite different from Van den Eeckhout's reduced palette, in which brown, grey and greenish tones dominate.

Nevertheless, despite the differences between the two ver-

sions it remains a remarkable fact that both Rembrandt and Van den Eeckhout selected this particular scene from the Book of Tobit. The possibility that it was pure coincidence cannot be excluded, but – considering the lengthy personal connection between the two artists – it seems unlikely.

Volker Manuth

1. See under Provenance and Literature at the head of this entry.
2. Besides the present painting, Van den Eeckhout also turned to the Book of Tobit (6:4-6) for his painting of *Tobias Cleaning the Fish*, around 1658, oil on canvas, 156 × 138 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 259; see collection cat. Braunschweig 1983, p. 60, no. 259 (ill.), and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 733, no. 427, p. 790 (ill.).
3. Sale, Amsterdam (Croese, De Winter), 25 November 1761 (Lugt 1132), lot 3 (as "Een binnenhuis, in hetzelve zit de blinde Tobias aan tafel, naast dezelve staat een Vrouw, en verder met veel ander bywerk, zeer fraay geschildert door G. van Eeckhout, zo goed als Rembrant, hoog 26, breed 31 duim [An interior of a house, in which the blind Tobit sits at the table, beside him stands a woman, with further accessories, beautifully painted by G. van Eeckhout, as good as Rembrandt, 26 × 31 duim (approx. 66.8 × 79.7 cm)]"), sold to Kalkoen for f42-5. The support of the painting is not mentioned.
4. Sale, Amsterdam (De Winter, Yver), 19 December 1770 (Lugt 1878), lot 175 (as "De blinde Tobias verzeld van syn huisvrouw zittende in een binnenhuis, waar in men ziet eenig Huisraad: krachtig en fraai op Doek geschildert. Hoog 26, breed 31.5 duim [The blind Tobias accompanied by his wife sitting in their house, in which one sees some domestic accoutrements: painted stoutly and beautifully on canvas, 26 × 31.5 duim (approx. 66.8 × 81 cm)]"), for f10-5. The measurements are nearly identical to the picture in the 1761 sale; see note 3 above.
5. In an inventory that Gotzkowsky drafted of his collection in 1764, the painting is listed as no. 579 and described as follows: "V:d'Eckhout, stellet den Tobiam vor, wie er seiner frau den verweiss gibt. 2 Fuss 2 Zoll [hoch], 1 Fuss 8 Zoll [breit] (V.d. Eeckhout Represents Tobias, who accuses his wife, 2 Fuss 2 Zoll [high], 1 Fuss 8 Zoll [wide])." This converts to measurements of around 67.8 × 53.4 cm, making the picture larger than the present work. On the history of Gotzkowsky's collection, see Frank 2002, pp. 117-194. This Van den Eeckhout painting was still traceable to the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg in 1882 but has since then gone missing; see Manuth 2004, pp. 91, 103 with note 14.
6. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 82-87, no. A3 (ill.). Whether or not Rembrandt's painting of 1626 could have served as a direct source of inspiration for Van den Eeckhout's painting of the same theme dated 1652 cannot be unequivocally established. The provenance of the painting produced by Rembrandt in Leiden contains lacunae and does not go back further than the mid-18th century. No preparatory drawing that could have served as an intermediary has come down to us.
7. Jan van de Velde, after Willem Buytewech, *Tobit Accusing Anna*, around 1619-1620, etching and engraving, 19.4 × 11.3 cm, 2 states; see Hollstein, vol. 4, p. 77, no. 17 (ill.). The connection with Rembrandt's painting was first noted by Hans Jantzen; see Jantzen 1923, p. 40. See also Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 86-87.
8. The X-ray of Rembrandt's painting in Amsterdam shows that he originally planned to include a spinning wheel and had actually started to paint it. It can clearly be discerned in the background, at the level of Tobit's left elbow. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 83, 85 (fig.2). ♦





AGAINST A FOREST landscape background, Mary holds the tightly swaddled baby Jesus on her lap. With her left hand she lifts the light covering from his head, thus allowing Joseph, who stands behind her, a view of the sleeping child. In the left foreground is a woven basket, and behind Mary to the right can be discerned the head of a donkey, cut off at the picture's edge. Both these elements allude to the apocryphal episode of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt.

Neither the placing of the figures in the immediate foreground nor their large scale relative to the frame is typical of Van



Fig. 68a. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, oil on panel, 24.6 × 29.4 cm. Location unknown.

68.

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (Amsterdam 1621 – Amsterdam 1674)

*The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*

1653

Oil on canvas, 101 × 83.7 cm

Signed and dated lower left: *G V Eeckhout. f / A°. 1653*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Woburn Green, London, collection of Captain Eric C. Palmer, in 1953; purchased from his widow by Alfred Bader, through Neville Orgel, in 1983

#### LITERATURE

Roy 1972, p. 217, no. 43; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 730, no. 415, p. 778 (colour ill.); vol. 6, p. 3600, no. 415; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 17, no. 2 (1984), p. 29 (cover ill.); Bader 1995, p. 211 (pl. 8)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

London 1953, no. 24 (ill.); Kingston 1984, p. 46, no. 19 (ill.); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, p. 77 (colour ill.), p. 156, no. 21; Milwaukee 2005-2006, pp. 34-35, no. 10 (colour ill.)

den Eeckhout's oeuvre, and this may have to do with the fact that the composition originally extended further on both left and right, making the vertical format and the concentration on the figure group less emphatic.<sup>1</sup> A much smaller version of the same image surfaced on the Amsterdam art market in 2005 (fig. 68a)<sup>2</sup> whose problematic condition made it very difficult to assess the question of Van den Eeckhout's authorship. Its discovery revealed the strongly horizontal format of the original composition, which was much more extensive. In the smaller work the donkey on the right has a much longer neck, and we can also make out part of a saddle lying in front of it. Minor differences revealed by a careful comparison with the present work indicate that it is not a small-scale copy; for example, the edge of white undergarment visible at Mary's left wrist is much broader in the Bader picture. It therefore seems at least possible that the smaller painting is a *modello* made by Van den Eeckhout in preparation for the 1653 painting.<sup>3</sup>

An inventory of Joachim van Aras's possessions drawn up in Amsterdam in 1665 mentions "Een schilderitie van Joseph met Maria en't kindeken Jesu met een ebben lijst gedaen door Mr. Gerrit Eeckhout (A small painting of Joseph with Mary and the infant Jesus, in an ebony frame, done by master Gerrit Eeckhout)."<sup>4</sup> Since the painting is described explicitly as being small, the Bader picture must evidently be excluded. But perhaps what Joachim von Aras already had in his possession in 1665 was a *modello* – possibly the small picture that appeared recently in Amsterdam – that the painter had produced for eventual sale.

Van den Eeckhout's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* has been connected both to Rembrandt's *Holy Family* from the first half of the





Fig. 68b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1645, etching with touches of drypoint, 13 × 11.5 cm, single state. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis.

1630s, now in Munich,<sup>5</sup> and to Ferdinand Bol's 1644 painting on the same theme, now in Dresden.<sup>6</sup> The similarities with Bol's conception of the theme are of a general nature and are not very compelling. However, the Bader picture shares with Rembrandt's *Holy Family* the portrayal of a specific moment of family intimacy. Even more significant is Rembrandt's 1645 etching on the same theme as the likely source for Mary's gesture of revealing the sleeping child to her husband (fig. 68b).<sup>7</sup> Also notable is the reduced palette of the present painting compared to most of Van den Eeckhout's other history paintings from the 1650s – another indication that he was taking Rembrandt as his model.

Volker Manuth

1. This hypothesis is supported by technical evidence: neither the left nor the right edge of the canvas shows the usual scalloped or garland pattern, which allows us to conclude that it was cut down.
2. Sale Amsterdam (Christie's), 16 November 2005, lot 38 (as by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout). This painting came from an unidentified private collection, for which it was bought from the Amsterdam art dealer Douwes in 1947. Unfortunately, it has darkened in many areas and is covered by an uneven layer of varnish. In addition there are large areas of damage where the paint layer has vanished entirely, revealing the support. Particularly serious is the irregular band measuring around 13–15 × 2–7 cm that extends horizontally from Mary's left forearm, over the face of the child and past Joseph's right arm.
3. Sumowski suggested this possibility in his entry to the catalogue of the 2005 sale; see note 2 above.
4. Amsterdam Municipal Archive, Notary C. Borsellaer, NA 593, dated 5 May 1665, fols. 252–265v, fol. 260; for further discussion see Loughman and Montias 2000, p. 50 note 123.
5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Holy Family*, 1634, oil on canvas, 183.5 × 123.5 cm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 1318, see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 450–458, no A88 (ill.).
6. Ferdinand Bol, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1644, oil on canvas, 203 × 261 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 1603; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 291, no. 81, p. 320 (colour ill.). For further discussion of the connection with the present painting, see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 730, and Roy 1972, p. 217.
7. As noted in Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 730. For the print, see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 30, no. B58; vol. 19, p. 48 (ill.). ♦

69.

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (Amsterdam 1621 – Amsterdam 1674)

### *Solomon's Idolatry*

Around 1665

Oil on canvas, 54.6 × 63.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Uccle, Belgium, collection of W. van Gelder; sale, London (Christie's), 14 May 1971, lot 58 (as by Salomon Koninck); The Hague, with J. Hoogsteder; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1971

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1957–1958, p. 237 (as by Van den Eeckhout, *The Consecration of the Temple*); Sumowski 1962, p. 30 (as around 1660–1665); Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 3, p. 1404 (as *Solomon's Idolatry*); exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Groningen 1983, p. 136 (as by Van den Eeckhout, *Solomon's Idolatry*); Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 738, no. 453, p. 816 (colour ill., as around 1665), and vol. 6, p. 3601, no. 453; Bruyn 1987, p. 223 (as not by Van den Eeckhout); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 23, no. 4 (1990), p. 85 (cover ill. in colour); exhib. cat. Delft 1994, p. 168, note 1 (as by Van den Eeckhout, probably *Solomon Praying in the Temple*); Manuth 2002, p. 235 (as by Van den Eeckhout, around 1660–1665)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 100–101, no. 45 (ill., as by Van den Eeckhout, *Solomon Praying in the Temple?*); South Hadley 1979, no. 4 (ill., as by Van den Eeckhout, 1650s or 1660s); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 9 (ill., as around 1650); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986–1987, p. 79 (colour ill.), pp. 156–157, no. 23 (as by Van den Eeckhout, *Solomon's Idolatry*, around 1665)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 12 (ill., as by Van den Eeckhout, *Solomon Praying in the Temple*)

THIS PAINTING SHOWS a ruler wearing a lavish mantle of gold brocade over a white undergarment and a turban surmounted by a crown. The figure kneels on a cushion, hands clasped before him in prayer. In front of him lies a sceptre, and to the right is an altar-like structure on which stand a censer and a pedestal. Behind the ruler two richly dressed women, also in a posture of prayer, kneel on a lower step. In the mid-ground is an enclosing structure with an open door and an arcade, through which other figures observe the scene.

This painting can be closely related to a drawing by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout that is presently in a Dutch private collection (fig. 69a). Differences in a number of details make it clear that this sheet is not a drawn copy of the painting, but a preparatory study.<sup>1</sup> It is significant for the iconographic interpretation of the painting that the drawing allows all the observers looking



Fig. 69a. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Solomon's Idolatry*, around 1665, pen in brown ink and brown washes, 18.8 × 23.2 cm. The Netherlands, private collection.





through the arcade opening to be identified conclusively as women – something that is no longer clear in the painting. Also, the foot that appears on top of the pedestal at the right edge of the drawing unquestionably belongs to a seated statue of one of the pagan idols worshipped by King Solomon. This detail is absent from the painting.

According to the First Book of Kings, God had warned the Israelites not to associate with members of pagan tribes, lest his people succumb to the temptation of idolatry. Ignoring this caution, Solomon took many pagan wives and concubines, who persuaded him to worship foreign deities. The king even had sanctuaries erected, so his womenfolk might burn incense and make sacrifices to their gods (1 Kings 11:8).

It has been suggested several times that the theme of this painting is actually Solomon's prayer on the occasion of the Consecration of the Temple, which is thoroughly described in chapter 8 of the First Book of Kings.<sup>2</sup> The chief argument in favour of this identification is the absence of the pagan idols seen typically on the altar in images of Solomon's Idolatry. Speaking against this identification, however, is the fact that there is no significant prior tradition for depictions of Solomon's prayer at the Consecration of the Temple. This theme was portrayed only rarely during the 17th century, and correspondences between Van den Eeckhout's painting and the few existing examples<sup>3</sup> – including the painting by Philips Koninck in the Bader collection (cat. 101) – are not evident. By contrast, Solomon joining his harem wives in the worship of their pagan deities can be counted among the more frequently depicted themes. Many examples can

be identified, particularly in the work of such Haarlem artists as Willem de Poorter (cat. 155), Jacob de Wet and Jan de Bray. But Leonard Bramer, active in Delft, also painted the theme repeatedly.<sup>4</sup> With some differences in the details, nearly all these depictions emphasize the role of the pagan women, who encouraged King Solomon to commit idolatry. Moreover, in an earlier rendering of the subject dated 1654, Van den Eeckhout himself placed one of them in a prominent position, directly beside the kneeling Solomon.<sup>5</sup> The presence of the female figures is critical to the iconography of this theme, and it is owing to their inclusion in the present painting that it may also be considered a representation of the Idolatry of Solomon.

*Volker Manuth*

1. See Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 3, pp. 1404–1405, no. 647 (ill.).
2. See under Literature at the head of this entry. Alfred Bader remains convinced that the painting depicts Solomon praying in the Temple (written communication with the author of this entry, 13 August 2006).
3. Among these is an etching by Matthaeus Merian that appeared as an illustration in the so-called Merian Bible, which was published around 1630 in Strasbourg. In this image the king is shown kneeling at prayer on a podium in the nave of a three-aisled church, high above the heads of the large crowd. This corresponds to "all the congregation of Israel," specified as being present in the biblical description of the Consecration of the Temple by Solomon (1 Kings 8:5, 22, 55). In Dutch 17th-century painting, aside from the painting by Philips Koninck in the Bader Collection (cat. 101), there is also an example by Leonard Bramer: oil on panel, around 1650, 73.5 × 109.5 cm, signed, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie alte Meister, inv. 1324; see exhib. cat. Delft 1994, pp. 168–169, no. 46 (ill.). This picture shows Solomon kneeling in the Temple before the Tabernacle with the Tables of the Law and precious vessels. Behind him stands a group of priests.
4. On the dissemination, popularity and interpretation of this theme in 17th-century Netherlandish art, see Judith van Gent in exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991–1992, p. 96, and Bleyerveld 2000, pp. 239–242.
5. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *The Idolatry of Solomon*, 1654, oil on canvas, 169 × 138 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 258; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 730, no. 417, p. 780 (colour ill.). ♦





70.

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (Amsterdam 1621 – Amsterdam 1674)

*Jacob's Dream*

1672

Oil on canvas, 121.3 × 102.8 cm

Signed and dated lower right: *G.V. Eeckhout / A° 1672*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 2001, acc. no. 44-008

#### PROVENANCE

John Turner et al. sale (anonymous section), London (Sotheby's), 6 May 1953, lot 150 (as dated 1652); sale, London (Christie's), 11 March 1955, lot 170 (as dated 1652); London, collection of Efim Schapiro; An American Corporation et al. sale (Dr. Efim I. Schapiro section), London (Christie's), 13 July 1979, lot 10 (pl. 5, as dated 1652); purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Biafostocki 1956, p. 349, note 45; Sumowski 1962, pp. 18, 20, 21 (fig. 19); Roy 1972, p. 212, no. 13; Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 3, 1980, pp. 1346-1347; Robinson 1982, p. 285 (as dated 1672); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 722, 743, no.

481 (colour ill.); vol. 4, p. 3602, no. 481; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 19, no. 2 (1986), p. 29 (cover ill.); Christopher Brown, in exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992, pp. 38 note 98, 76 (fig. 4); Martin Weyl and Rivka Weiss-Blok, *Rembrandt's Holland*, exhib. cat. (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1993), p. 105 (colour ill., fig. 102); Bader 1995, p. 247

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1984, p. 30, no. 20 (colour ill.); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, p. 157, no. 24 (colour ill.); Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998, pp. 274-275, no. 55 (colour ill.)

CHAPTER 28 OF the Book of Genesis tells how Jacob, after having cheated his brother Esau out of his birthright, obeyed his father Isaac's order to visit his uncle Laban in Padan-aram (in present-day Syria) and there to find himself a wife. During his journey, Jacob "lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep." As he slept, he dreamt that he saw "a ladder set up on the





Fig. 70a. Ferdinand Bol, *Jacob's Dream*, around 1642, oil on canvas, 128 x 97 cm, signed. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie alte Meister, inv. 1607.



Fig. 70b. Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, *Jacob's Dream*, 1650s, red chalk, 26.1 x 20 cm. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, inv. Hz 4486.

earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it" (28: 11-15). From above the ladder God speaks to Jacob, promising that the land where he is will belong to him and his descendants, the Israelites. When Jacob wakes he builds a pillar from the stones and pours oil on it, calling the place Beth-El (the House of God).

Gerbrand van den Eeckhout depicted this subject on several occasions, in paintings and drawings. The present picture – whose date was wrongly read as 1652 until a cleaning undertaken in 1981, soon after its acquisition for the Bader Collection, revealed it to be 1672 – is thus Van den Eeckhout's latest surviving painted version of the subject. The earliest painting, today at the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw, is dated 1642.<sup>1</sup> Another painted version, dated 1669, can be found at the Dresden Gemäldegalerie.<sup>2</sup>

In all three paintings Van den Eeckhout dispenses with the motif of the ladder, which is mentioned in the Bible and had hitherto been an important iconographic motif in the pictorial tradition for the theme. The artist replaces it with clouds that reach to the ground. The semi-dark setting is in keeping with the textual source, which indicates that the sun had already gone down. Jacob is shown lying stretched out in the foreground, nearly parallel to the picture plane. His head is tilted back, and his slouch hat has almost fallen off. His legs are crossed at the ankles, and a walking stick, his calabash and a bag lie close to his feet. The pose and the motif of the hat that has slipped off his head as he sleeps probably derive from a 1602 etching by Jan Pynas, where they appear in reverse.<sup>3</sup>

The angel standing beside Jacob has raised his right hand, as if to protect the sleeping man, and points with his left up toward heaven. This figure displays similarities with Ferdinand Bol's angel in his painting of *Jacob's Dream*, now at the Dresden Gemäldegalerie (fig. 70a).<sup>4</sup> In comparing the figure of the angel in Bol's painting with Rembrandt's figure of Christ in his 1642 etching *The Raising of Lazarus*, Albert Blankert dates Bol's version of *Jacob's Dream* to around the same year. As noted above, 1642 is also the date of Van den Eeckhout's earliest version of

*Jacob's Dream*. For the period from around 1640 to 1644 it is possible to detect a close connection between Bol and Van den Eeckhout with regard to their choice of subject matter and their Rembrandtesque painting style. Although both painters were working as independent masters from around 1641, Rembrandt's influence remained noticeable in their work. Blankert speculates that Rembrandt may have given his two pupils the task of depicting an encounter between a biblical figure and an angel.<sup>5</sup>

For the present painting, Van den Eeckhout made a preparatory red chalk drawing, now in the Staatliches Museum in Schwerin (fig. 70b).<sup>6</sup> Despite slight variations (see, for example, Jacob's hat) there can be no doubt about the close connection between the drawing and the painting, although the latter seems to have been slightly cut down on the left. In 1984 David McTavish observed that beneath the wings of the second angel, in the background of the painting, there is an earlier figure, with longer and more horizontally positioned wings. These are still visible through the top paint layer.<sup>7</sup> This original set of wings corresponds to that of the same angel in the Schwerin drawing. For stylistic reasons the drawing must be dated to the 1650s. Van den Eeckhout evidently referred back to it for his painting of 1672, altering the wings of the angel in the background in order to give them the same shape as those of the angel dressed in white.

Volker Manuth

1. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Jacob's Dream*, 1642, oil on canvas, 76 x 116 cm, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, inv. 34; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 725, no. 395, p. 758 (colour ill.). This version is the only one Van den Eeckhout painted in a horizontal format.
2. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Jacob's Dream*, 1669, oil on canvas, 128 x 104 cm, signed, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie alte Meister, inv. 1618A; see Volker Manuth in exhib. cat. Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998, pp. 272-273, no. 54 (colour ill.).
3. Jan Pynas, *Jacob's Dream*, etching, 1602, 15.2 x 20.5 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 17, p. 116 (ill.). For further discussion, see Volker Manuth in exhib. cat. Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998, p. 274 (fig. 55a).
4. See Blankert 1982, pp. 29, 32, 48, 69, 91, no. 5 (with earlier literature).
5. Ibid., p. 30.
6. See Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 3, pp. 1346-1347, no. 618 (ill.). An alternate preparatory drawing for the same subject is at the Albertina in Vienna: around 1672, red chalk, 26.5 x 20.3 cm, inv. 619; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 3, pp. 1348-1349, no. 610 (ill.).
7. David McTavish, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1984, p. 30, no. 20. ♦





71.  
Attributed to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout  
(Amsterdam 1621 – Amsterdam 1674)

*A Lion and a Lioness*

1640s?

Oil on panel, 11 × 17.5 cm

Monogrammed lower left, in block letters: *GE*.

Inscribed on the back, in ink: *G.v. Eeckhout*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Possibly inventory of the estate of Jan van den Eeckhout, 9 June 1679: "In 't voorhuijs (In the antechamber): F. 7:10:- No. 17: Een schilderije verbeeldende en leeuw ende leeuwin (A painting representing a lion and lioness)";<sup>1</sup> sale, Lucern (Fischer), 9 November 1989, lot 2040 (ill., as Dutch School, 17th century), purchased by Alfred Bader

AGAINST A ROCKY and wooded wilderness setting, a lioness and a lion move across the foreground from left to right. Both look out at the viewer, while the thickly maned lion on the right turns his head in our direction and lifts his right paw. Behind them, on the left, a young cub lies on the ground with its head between its front paws, its gaze also on the viewer. Our sense of the animals' ferocity is accentuated by their glaring eyes and the open mouths of the two adults, which suggest they are growling.

An inscription on the verso of this painting identifies the artist as Gerbrand van den Eeckhout. Written in a later hand, it was probably prompted by the monogram visible in the lower left corner, which is likely period.<sup>2</sup> As Volker Manuth has indicated, this painting may also be connected to a reference in an Amsterdam inventory of 1679 to a painting by Van den Eeckhout with the

same rather unusual subject matter.<sup>3</sup> However, he observes that the block letter form of the monogram differs markedly from Van den Eeckhout's usual calligraphic inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> and in the absence of any clear stylistic links to his known works, Manuth harbours strong reservations about the attribution to this artist.<sup>5</sup>

It remains a possibility that this is a very early work by the artist. A juvenile trait is the softwood support, selected for its low cost. Moreover, the decisive effect of a strong light coming from the left, casting dark shadows but leaving lighted areas of flat modelling, relates in a general way to Van den Eeckhout's oeuvre. More specific to his approach is the muted palette accentuated by the blue of the sky at the upper right. Although no work from this artist's period of study is known, the lively, solid handling of textures, ranging from smooth to rough, relates to the work of other Rembrandt pupils of the early 1640s, such as Carel Fabritius (1622-1654) and Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678). Yet the contrast here with the loose facture and greenish tones of such early Van den Eeckhout works as the *Fall of Man* (cat. 66) cannot be overlooked. The inventory reference of 1679 remains a tantalizing piece of evidence, but without more conclusive indications the attribution of this small panel to Van den Eeckhout must remain tentative.

1. City Archive of Amsterdam, Desolate Boedel Kamer (Chamber of Bankrupt Estates) 5072, 385, fol. 82, drawn up by Jan Roosa and Jan van Kessel. My thanks to Volker Manuth for this reference.
2. Report of 20 April 1990 by conservator Charles Munch; Bader Collection work files.
3. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
4. Letter of 12 February 1990 from Volker Manuth to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
5. Oral communication with the author, 16 July 2007. ♦



72.

Adam Elsheimer (Frankfurt 1578 – Rome 1610)

*The Mocking of Ceres*

Around 1608

Oil on copper, coated with silver, 29.1 × 24 cm

Inscribed on the back by a later hand (possibly Hendrick Goudt):

*Adam Elsh[ei]mer pinxit Rom[ae]*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Amsterdam, collection of Gerrit Dou; London, Whitehall, collection of King Charles II, presented by the Dutch States General as part of the "Dutch Gift" of 1660; Gateshead, England, collection of H. G. Binder; sale, Munich (Neumeister), 7 December 1988, lot 406 (ill., as by Follower of Elsheimer); London, private collection; sale, Billingshurst (Sotheby's Sussex), 20 May 1991, lot 123 (ill., as by Follower of Adam Elsheimer, signed), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Johann Faber, *Aliorum Novae Hispaniae Animalium*, in Francisco Hernández, *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus* (Rome, 1628), pp. 748-749; Sandrart 1675-1679, Part 2, Book 3, p. 294; Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn, *Lettre à un Amateur de la Peinture* (Dresden, 1755), p. 179 (as copied by Dou); Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 161; Mahon 1949, p. 304 note 21, p. 350, no. B; Andrews 1977, pp. 34, 153, with no. 23, as copy no. C; Logan 1979, pp. 79, 81-82; Klessmann 1997, pp. 244-247 (fig. 5, as autograph); Klessmann 2004, pp. 59-62; Luuk Pijl, in Saur, vol. 33 (2002), p. 389; exhib. cat. London and Amsterdam 2006, pp. 69-70

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Frankfurt, Edinburgh and London 2006, pp. 138-145, no. 26 (colour ill.)

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

William Crissich, manuscript of the collection of paintings of King Charles II, around 1685-1688, British Museum, Harleian MS, no. 519; Queen Anne Inventory, manuscript inventory of the collection of paintings of Queen Anne, around 1705-1710, Windsor, Royal Library, no. 14; *A Catalogue of the Collections of Pictures, & c. belonging to King James the Second* (London: printed for W. Bathoe, 1758), no. 518 (as "Elshamor. An Olde woman holding a Candle & a woman drincking, a night piece. Dutch p'sent., 11 [by] 9 [inches] [27.9 x 22.8 cm]")

COPIES

Oil on copper, 30 x 25 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. 2181; see Andrews 1977, p. 153, no. 23 (pl. 86)

Oil on copper, 29.6 x 24.1 cm, unfinished, Berlin, Jagdschloss Grunewald, inv. GK I 10013; see collection cat. Berlin 1964, pp. 62-63, no. 78 (ill.)

ADAM ELSHEIMER RANKS as the most illustrious German painter of the Baroque period. Born in Frankfurt am Main, he trained first with Friedrich Brentel (1580-1651).<sup>1</sup> In his initial history paintings he drew inspiration from earlier German artists, notably Albrecht Dürer, probably under the guidance of Philip Uffenbach (1566-1636).<sup>2</sup> Elsheimer's work changed considerably, however, when he went to Italy. He arrived in Venice in 1598 and worked there with his compatriot Hans Rottenhammer (1564-1625), likely also spending time in the atelier of the Bassani.<sup>3</sup> More significant was the subsequent move to Rome, where he befriended the scholar and doctor Johannes Faber (1574-1629) and the Flemish painter Paul Bril (1554-1626).<sup>4</sup> He henceforth oriented himself entirely toward history painting, adhering to the small-figure scale and landscape settings popular in Flanders, but imbuing his scenes with high-pitched action and dramatic light effects that reveal the impact of Caravaggio. He fittingly



received his highest praise from a Fleming, Peter Paul Rubens, who on Elsheimer's death remarked, "Our entire profession will not easily replace him. I have never seen his equal in the realm of small figures, landscapes, and so many other subjects."<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, Elsheimer's career was short, his premature death apparently hastened by another artist. He had entered into an arrangement with the affluent Dutch etcher Hendrick Goudt, who boasted a title endowed by the Roman Catholic Church. Goudt made etchings after Elsheimer's compositions, but also became his landlord. He exploited Elsheimer and, when the melancholic artist failed to produce, had him thrown into debtor's prison – with fatal results.<sup>6</sup> Elsheimer's work nevertheless became highly influential, chiefly among the generation of Amsterdam artists who preceded Rembrandt: Pieter Lastman (1583/84-1633), Jan Pynas (1581-1631) and Moyses van Wtenbrouck (around 1595-before 1647). In this way he served as an important forerunner to Rembrandt. Moreover, several of Rembrandt's own followers also looked back to Elsheimer's oeuvre; Salomon Koninck painted a number of variations on this composition, for example, including one in the Bader Collection (cat. 104).

Elsheimer appears to have selected the Ovidian theme of the present picture independently, following no prior pictorial tradition.<sup>7</sup> In Book Five of the *Metamorphoses* (II:438-461), Ovid relates that after Pluto's abduction of Proserpine, her mother, Ceres, begins searching for her tirelessly, across the world. Exhausted, and not having yet stopped to quench her thirst, she chances upon an old woman in a hut and asks for water. As she





Fig. 72a. Adam Elsheimer, *The Mocking of Ceres*, gouache, 15.9 × 10.4 cm. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 1927-105.



Fig. 72b. Hendrick Goudt, after Adam Elsheimer, *The Mocking of Ceres*, 1610, etching, 31.8 × 24.5 (plate with inscription). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 72c. Adam Elsheimer, *The Mocking of Ceres*, 1608, etching, 28.4 × 22.7 cm. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 12870.

drinks the barley water the woman supplies, a little boy nearby mocks her, suggesting that she is greedy. The angry goddess throws the rest of her drink at him, changing him into a lizard. The story underlines the respect due to the goddess of grain and harvest, but also presents the human drama of a mother's love. Elsheimer has here elected to emphasize the little boy's impudence by showing the moment when he bursts into laughter and points at Ceres. The right angle formed by his figure, standing opposite that of the goddess, creates a powerful tension across the picture plane.

That Elsheimer initially experimented with a different composition is demonstrated by a gouache now in Hamburg (fig. 72a).<sup>8</sup> In that work the artist has placed Ceres in the lower right quadrant, seated and holding the jug above her head as she drinks. The old woman stands behind, her face looming above Ceres, her mouth agape in surprise. Nestled in front of her, the little boy points somewhat hesitantly at Ceres. His mocking attitude is not clear, and Elsheimer evidently changed the composition to give it greater impact. The final image is at once more dynamic and more monumental. The transition from one composition to the other may have been mediated in another gouache showing a later moment in the story, now in Frankfurt. This work could be by Goudt, for it is possible that the Dutch artist participated in the making of Elsheimer's paintings in the capacity of assistant.<sup>9</sup>

Although Elsheimer established his career with biblical works, in the years before his death – during the first decade of the 1600s – he adopted a number of innovative pictorial themes from Ovid, including Philemon and Baucis, and Apollo and Coronis. In his extensive research on the present painting, Rüdiger Klessmann has demonstrated that it must have been

executed around 1608, a couple of years before Hendrick Goudt completed his masterful etching after it, which dates to 1610 (fig. 72b).<sup>10</sup> Klessmann also confirms that the present painting is the original – not the one now in the Prado, which was once in Rubens's possession.<sup>11</sup> That version, which departs from Goudt's etching by portraying the boy's head in profile, shows a stiffer execution, and thus must be a copy. Goudt's print is joined by a rare etching that Elsheimer himself made after his own composition, likely for experimental purposes, in which he again shows Stellio – the boy – turning toward the viewer, as here (fig. 72c).<sup>12</sup>

This painting likely went to Goudt after Elsheimer's death, as it does not appear in the latter's posthumous inventory.<sup>13</sup> Faber reported in 1628 that it was sold for a large sum, and Klessmann speculates that Goudt may have needed the money to pay for his return to the Netherlands.<sup>14</sup> By 1645 Elsheimer's painting seems to have made its way to the Netherlands, for it was then that Salomon Koninck painted the earliest of his three known variations on its composition.<sup>15</sup> It remains a possibility that Goudt was the buyer of the work, rather than the seller, and that it accompanied him back to his native country. The interpretation of the theme in a drawing by Leonard Bramer appears to be based on Goudt's print, not on the original painting.<sup>16</sup>

Elsheimer's composition has unfortunately been partly eradicated, due in some measure to severe overcleaning. A possible further explanation is that the painting is one once owned by King James II that may have suffered damage in a fire at Whitehall in 1698.<sup>17</sup> The work's poor condition led Keith Andrews to publish it as a copy.<sup>18</sup> However, he was unable to reconcile this judgement with the discovery of numerous pentimenti in the underlying layers, the most visible being a change in the position of Stellio's



right leg, which previously projected forward in a striding pose. As Klessmann has rightly asserted, these traces of underpainting reveal the process followed by the artist in generating his composition, thus eliminating the possibility that the work is a copy.<sup>19</sup> The attribution to Elsheimer is further supported by what remains of the finishing layers, which show the fresh, lively brushwork and combination of translucent coats of paint with opaque touches typical of the master.

1. See Luuk Pijl, in Saur, vol. 33, p. 385.
2. Andrews 1977, pp. 13-17. Sandrart gives only Philip Uffenbach as Elsheimer's teacher; Sandrart 1675-1679, Part 2, Book 3, p. 294 (Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 161).
3. Andrews 1977, pp. 17-21.
4. Faber and Bril both served as witnesses at Elsheimer's wedding; see Andrews 1977, p. 22.
5. Letter of 14 January 1611 from Rubens to Johannes Faber; see Saunders Magurn 1955, pp. 53-54, no. 21, and Andrews 1977, p. 51, no. 18b.
6. Coudt himself succumbed to mental illness in the 1620s. The story about Elsheimer's consignment to debtor's prison comes from Sandrart 1675-1679, Part 2, Book 3, p. 294 (Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 161; for a translation, see Andrews 1977, p. 56). In his letter to Johannes Faber (see previous note), Rubens also alludes to persons who helped bring about the artist's death.
7. Klessmann 1997, pp. 239-240.
8. See Andrews 1977, p. 163, no. 50 (pl. 83), and Klessmann 1997, pp. 242, 248 note 16.
9. Adam Elsheimer or Hendrick Coudt, *The Mocking of Ceres*, gouache, 11 × 6.8 cm, Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut; see Andrews 1977, p. 163, no. 51 (pl. 84), and Klessmann 1997, pp. 242-243.
10. See Hollstein, vol. 8, p. 155, no. 5 (ill.).
11. See under Copies at the head of this entry.
12. Elsheimer's etching is known in only one impression. See German Hollstein, vol. 6, p. 150 (not numbered); Andrews 1977, p. 164, no. 56; and Klessmann 1997, pp. 242-243 (fig. 4).
13. See Andrews 1977, pp. 48-51, no. 18b. Klessmann 2004, p. 241, points out that this painting was not mentioned by Faber in a letter of 18 December 1610 to Rubens discussing paintings that remained in the artist's estate.
14. Klessmann 1997, p. 240. For a translation of Faber's comments, see Andrews 1977, p. 153.
15. See Klessmann 2004, pp. 59-62. This earliest version by Koninck was last in a private collection in France; photo kept at the RKD.
16. Leonard Bramer, *Stellio Changed into a Lizard*, brush and black ink with white heightening on grey paper, 39.3 × 28.4 cm, collection of Julius Held, in 1970; see *Loan Exhibition: Selections from the Drawing Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Julius Held*, exhib. cat. (Binghamton: State University of New York, University Art Gallery; Williamstown: Williams College Museum of Art; Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Ackland Memorial Art Centre; Oberlin: Allen Memorial Art Museum; and Poughkeepsie: Vassar College Art Library, 1970), p. 12, no. 23 (ill.).
17. Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn, writing anonymously in 1755, claimed that Elsheimer's painting was indeed destroyed in the conflagration: "Gerard Dow ne dedaignoit point de copier le Tableau de Ceres, quand l'original devoit passer en Angleterre, où il fut malheureusement consumé, dit-on, dans un incendie arrivé à White-hall (Gerard Dow was not loath to copy the painting of Ceres, when the original was to go to England, where it is said to have been destroyed in a fire at Whitehall)"; see under Literature at the head of this entry. See also Mahon 1949, p. 350; Logan 1979, p. 82; and Klessmann 1997, p. 247. On the other hand, the partial damage afflicting the present work appears to support George Vertue's claim, made in 1736, that no pictures were lost in this fire; see Vertue IV, p. 100.
18. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
19. Klessmann 1997, p. 245, fig. 7. ◆



73.

Jacob Foppens van Es (Antwerp around 1596 – Antwerp 1666)

*Still Life with Lobster on a Pewter Plate*

After 1617

Oil on panel, 53.3 × 70.5 cm

Reverse of panel stamped with the mark of panel maker Simon Lambrechts and the coat of arms of the City of Antwerp<sup>1</sup>

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Venice, collection of the Baron von Hadeln (as cited in 1979 sale catalogue below);<sup>2</sup> Berlin, with Paul Cassirer; Berlin, collection of Hans Engel; Chapel Hill, North Carolina, collection of Kathryn Keefe; sale, New York (Christie's), 31 May 1979, lot 80 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Edith Greindl, *Les peintres flamands de nature morte au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2nd edition (Sterrebeek: Éditions d'Art Michel Lefebvre, 1983), p. 347, no. 87

#### COPIES

Oil on panel, 75 × 119.5 cm; sale, London (Christie's), 12 July 1985, lot 54 (colour ill. showing the composition continuing further on the right side)

#### VARIANTS

Jacob Foppens van Es?, oil on panel, 54 × 99.6 cm; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 10 October 1988, lot 216 (ill., as by Circle of Van Es)

Oil on panel, 56 × 84 cm, sale, London (Christie's), 4 July 1997, lot 279 (as by Circle of Jacob Foppens van Es)

Oil on canvas, 73 × 153 cm, sale, Monaco (Sotheby's), 2 December 1988, lot 803 (colour ill.)

JACOB FOPPENS VAN ES enjoyed a long career in Antwerp as a leading painter of still life. His works made their way into numerous collections, including that of Peter Paul Rubens,<sup>3</sup> and he counted prominent fellow artists Jacob Jordaens and Cornelis Schut among his friends.<sup>4</sup> Although also characterized as a painter of game, Van Es specialized in the so-called breakfast or banquet still life.<sup>5</sup> Nothing is known of his family background or training. He first emerged as a follower of the pioneering still-life painter Osias Beert the Elder (around 1580-1623) but around 1640 turned to the manner of Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606-1683).



His works often exist in several variants and copies, following the established system of atelier production in Flanders.

A number of variations of the present composition are known, all of which incorporate its arrangement of a pewter plate and lobster to the left with a bowl of cherries behind it, a cluster of green grapes to the right of centre in front of a pile of ripe pears on a stack of thick wooden platters, and two apples off to the right side mirrored by two small peaches in the lower left corner. The artist arranged these objects so as to give each grouping its own separate space, allowing overlap only within clusters – an approach that can be connected to the early still-life efforts of Osias Beert and Clara Peeters (around 1594-before 1657). Van Es also adopted the high viewpoint characteristic of their generation. The steady and robust handling, using thick, opaque colours, and the sensitive differentiation of objects marks the present picture as an original – a *principaal* – by Van Es. The grapes show a skilful suggestion of translucency in the subtle interplay of glazes, contrasting with the hard outlines of the same fruit in the panel that appeared in a 1997 sale.<sup>6</sup> The soft modelling of the pears and peaches serves as a foil to the clear, crisp forms of the lobsters. The same high quality appears in a similar panel last in a 1988 sale in New York, which is likely an autograph variant.<sup>7</sup> There, the composition is extended on the right side to include a plate of shrimp in front of a plate of oysters. This work offers evidence that the present panel has been cut down from its original format, which is already clear from the truncated form of the apple on the right. It is possible that the lost section was smaller and contained fewer objects, however: no covered-up forms can be distinguished through the thin, translucent paint layers at the right edge. The subtle variations of arrangement from one version to the next indicate that the artist did not create a rote copy of his own composition, but was likely aiming in the present work at a plainer, more monumental effect – possibly a later refinement of the 1988 sale picture. Unfortunately, the lack of dated works by Van Es prevents us from situating these pieces within the pattern of a clearly defined stylistic development. All we can say is that the maker's mark on the back of the present panel and the Antwerp coat of arms indicate that it was made after 1617.<sup>8</sup>

1. According to a letter of 24 September 1979 from Christophe Janet, New York, to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection, work files. This mark may also be connected with the name of Lambrecht I Steens; see Van Damme 1990, pp. 207-210.
2. Borgo San Cassiano archive, 1754, no. 22/3.
3. See Muller 1989, pp. 143-144, nos. 311-312.
4. Both artists served as godfather to his children; see Fred Meijer, in Saur, vol. 34, p. 530.
5. Descamps, vol. 1, p. 267.
6. See under Variants at the head of this entry.
7. See under Variants at the head of this entry.
8. See Jørgen Wadum, "The Antwerp Brand on Paintings on Panel," in *Looking through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in the Support of Art Historical Research*, *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 11 (1998), pp. 179-198. ♦

74.

Allart van Everdingen (Alkmaar 1621 – Amsterdam 1675)

### *Mountain Valley*

Early 1660s

Oil on panel, 25.5 × 39 cm

Traces of signature lower right

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Merlo sale, Cologne (Heberle), 9-11 December 1891, lot 51 (as signed middle right); Berlin, with Erasmus, in 1931 (as fully signed); Berlin, collection of Dr. M. Bonn; thence by descent; sale, London (Christie's), 10 July 1992, lot 127 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alice Davies, *Allart van Everdingen* (New York and London: Garland, 1978), p. 338 no. 84 (fig. 193); Hans Joachim Raupp, "Zur Bedeutung von Thema und Symbol für die holländische Landschaftsmalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 17 (1980), pp. 92, 107 note 38; Davies 2001, pp. 122, 237, no. 112 (pl. 112)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 2005-2006, pp. 36-37, no. 11 (colour ill.)

ALLART VAN EVERDINGEN was one of three painter sons born of the second marriage of Pieter van Everdingen, a notary residing in Alkmaar.<sup>1</sup> The eldest, Cesar, specialized in history paintings in a classicizing style, while the second, Jan, painted still lifes, as well as practising his father's profession of notary. Houbraken tells that the youngest, Allart, first trained with the prominent Utrecht landscapist Roelant Savery.<sup>2</sup> Allart's earliest paintings are seascapes, however, and may reflect a subsequent period of training with a specialist in this genre, perhaps Pieter Mulier in Haarlem.<sup>3</sup> Van Everdingen studied next with the second teacher named by Houbraken, the Haarlem landscapist Pieter Molijn, probably between 1642 and 1644.<sup>4</sup> He then travelled by sea to Scandinavia, where according to Houbraken a shipwreck landed him in Norway.<sup>5</sup> There he ventured forth to sketch the rugged forested landscape that was so foreign to his



Fig. 74a. Allart van Everdingen, *Mountain Village by Water*, 1664, oil on panel, 31.7 × 48.1, signed. Montreal, private collection.





eyes.<sup>6</sup> On his return to his homeland he began making use of his Scandinavian drawings, producing many scenes of rocky forests with hills and rivers. He joined his brother Cesar in Haarlem, marrying in that city in 1645 and signing on as a member of the painters' guild.<sup>7</sup> The thriving art market in Amsterdam prompted him to quit Haarlem in 1652.<sup>8</sup> It was probably pressure from the prodigiously talented Jacob van Ruisdael and the other painters who had adapted Van Everdingen's Scandinavian mode that prompted him to diversify in the 1660s, trying his hand at local landscape and developing his skills as a printmaker.<sup>9</sup>

As Alice Davies has shown, this scene by Van Everdingen picturing rocky promontories and a castle can be placed among his works of the early 1660s,<sup>10</sup> although by then he had ceased dating his paintings systematically. The work shows evidence of Van Everdingen's increasing pursuit of structure and clarity after the 1650s, and can be assigned to the same period as the *Mountain Village by Water* in Montreal, which is dated 1664 (fig. 74a).<sup>11</sup> Both show a thinner and more fluid handling of paint and a greater decorative richness than the dated landscapes of the mid-1650s, such as the *Norwegian Landscape* of 1656, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.<sup>12</sup> The prominent features of the composition – the rock pillars and cliff, and the castle – appear to have been adapted from drawings by Van Everdingen, possibly made from nature.<sup>13</sup> He may also have reworked a painted composition of a rocky landscape now in Budapest.<sup>14</sup> The present painting

stands out in the artist's oeuvre, however, for its framing of a wide vista between two rises, with a vast expanse of cloudy sky above. The resulting monumental effect is strongly reminiscent of the work of Hercules Seghers, which was a source of inspiration to many artists, including Rembrandt.<sup>15</sup>

1. Davies 2001, p. 16.

2. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 95–96. For an English translation, see Davies 2001, p. 157, and for further comment, p. 25.

3. See Huys Janssen 2001, p. 701.

4. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 95. See also Davies 2001, pp. 24–25.

5. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 96. See also Davies 2001, pp. 26–27.

6. Davies 2001, pp. 26–27, 75, with reference to figs. 13–22.

7. Davies 2001, p. 27.

8. Ibid., p. 102.

9. Ibid., p. 139.

10. Ibid., p. 122.

11. See Davies 2001, pp. 220–221, no. 44 (pl. 44).

12. Allart van Everdingen, *Norwegian Landscape*, 1656, oil on panel, 43.8 × 55.9 cm, signed, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 66; see Davies 2001, p. 220, no. 43 (pl. 43).

13. Compare *Rocky Landscape*, pen and wash and brown and grey ink, 16.5 × 24.6 cm, signed lower centre: *AVE* (London, British Museum, inv. 1836-8-11-178) and *Mountainous Landscape*, pen and ink and watercolour, 11.5 × 16.8 cm (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. PD 323-1963); see Davies 2001, unpaginated, figs. 104, 140.

14. Allart van Everdingen, *Rocky Landscape*, oil on canvas, 85.7 × 113 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 210; see Davies 2001, p. 237, no. 111 (pl. 111).

15. See cat. 18, fig. 18a and note 1. ♦





75.

Govert Flinck (Kleve 1615 – Amsterdam 1660)

*Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*

1634

Oil on canvas, 109.9 × 85.1 cm

Dated lower right: 1634, with traces of a signature

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of Efim Schapiro; sale, London (Christie's), 13 July 1979, lot 21 (ill., as by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 14, no. 1 (1981), p. 1 (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 3059, 3104, no. 2102a, p. 3239 (colour ill., as by Lambert Jacobsz.), and vol. 6, 3642 (as possibly by Govert Flinck); Bader 1995, p. 247

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

West Lafayette 1980, no. 10 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 28-29 (ill., as by School of Rembrandt), p. 81, no. 30

GOVERT FLINCK was born in 1615 in the capital city of the German duchy of Kleve, into a prosperous Mennonite family engaged in the fabric bleaching trade.<sup>1</sup> Houbraken, who was of the same religious denomination, tells how Flinck's parents tried to suppress his keen inclination for art until they met the Mennonite preacher-artist Lambert Jacobsz., who demonstrated that it was possible to be an artist and still adhere to the strict

moral code to which they subscribed.<sup>2</sup> Flinck accordingly proceeded to the Frisian capital of Leeuwarden to train under Jacobsz., where Jacob Adriaensz. Backer was a fellow pupil.<sup>3</sup> In 1633 Flinck joined Backer in moving to Amsterdam, but instead of establishing his own studio he entered the workshop of Hendrick Uylenburgh.<sup>4</sup> There he received instruction from Rembrandt until around 1635, when Rembrandt struck out on his own. Flinck's earliest paintings date to 1634, but he stayed with Uylenburgh until at least 1637 before embarking on an independent career.<sup>5</sup> Initially he produced portraits and history paintings in a Rembrandtesque style, but around 1645 his work began to incorporate the sweeping movement and lighter, more colourful palette of Flemish art. He also left the Mennonite faith to join the Remonstrant Church.<sup>6</sup> Flinck was greatly esteemed and earned spectacular success, which culminated in his being selected to paint the decorative cycle for the newly built Amsterdam City Hall in the late 1650s.<sup>7</sup> While working on this project, at the very pinnacle of his career, he fell ill and died, leaving a number of the City Hall paintings to be completed by other artists – including his former teacher Rembrandt.<sup>8</sup>

This large canvas depicts Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman, described in the Gospel of John (4:7-27). Having stopped at a well while travelling through the region of Samaria with his disciples, Jesus addresses a local woman, asking her for a draft of water. When she protests that Jews do not normally have dealings with Samaritans, he answers her rebuff by expounding a theology of inclusion for the Samaritan people. He then astonishes the woman by recounting details about her own life, thereby revealing himself to her. Although Rembrandt appears not to have treated this theme other than in a number of drawings,<sup>9</sup> it became popular among his pupils and followers, who often favoured moments of revelation in their biblical history paintings.<sup>10</sup> In depictions of the subject, the moment generally favoured was that of Jesus' initial address, but the present painting clearly portrays the revelation near the end of the conversation. It thus echoes the pictorial tradition for the Annunciation to the Virgin, especially in the woman's kneeling pose.

The attribution of this painting to Govert Flinck was first proposed by Josua Bruyn in 1991.<sup>11</sup> Werner Sumowski, who had previously given it to Lambert Jacobsz.,<sup>12</sup> subsequently also acknowledged the possibility of Flinck's authorship. However, he expressed some hesitation, pointing to the different style of a recently discovered early painting by Flinck of *Manoah's Sacrifice*.<sup>13</sup> These two paintings nonetheless share many characteristics, including large-scale figures of lanky proportions, broadly handled forms and a distinctive palette featuring muted greens and browns punctuated by areas of purplish red. All these features betray the influence of Lambert Jacobsz., Flinck's first teacher. The *Manoah*, however, shows a loose, painterly handling that Flinck must have learned from Rembrandt. The present work is more smoothly painted overall, but it does show passages of freer facture – in the landscape background, and most importantly in the head of Jesus, where it renders the texture of flesh and hair.





Fig. 75a. Govert Flinck, *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, 1634, oil on canvas, 124 × 151 cm, signed. Utrecht, Museum het Catharijneconvent, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland, The Hague, inv. NK 2487.



Fig. 75b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Presentation in the Temple with the Angel (Small Plate)*, 1630, etching, statel/II, 12 × 7.8 cm, signed (Bartsch 51). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

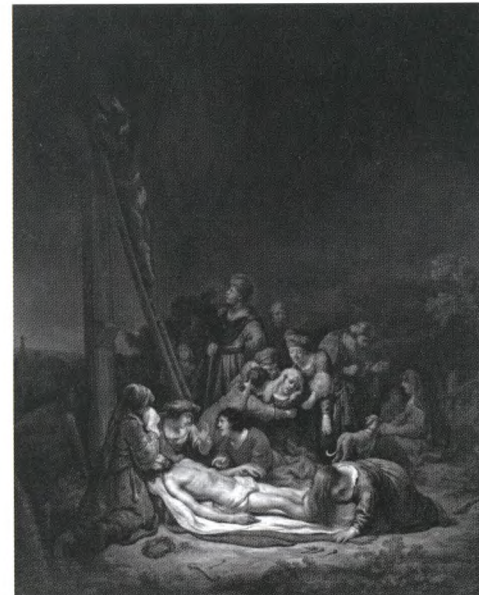


Fig. 75c. Govert Flinck, *The Lamentation*, 1637, oil on canvas, 90.1 × 71.9 cm, signed. Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art.

In fact, it is this passage that most clearly distinguishes the picture from the work of Lambert Jacobsz. The smoother technique employed elsewhere in the composition reflects a slightly earlier phase in Flinck's stylistic development. A recent cleaning uncovered a date of 1634, two years earlier than the date Sumowski gives to the *Manoah* and only one year after Flinck left his first teacher. The combination of smooth and rough surfaces can also be seen in an early Flinck now in Utrecht, *Isaac Blessing Jacob* (fig. 75a).<sup>14</sup> Another consistently distinctive trait is the style of the heads, which show broad features and narrow squinted eyes, lending further credence to Flinck's authorship of the piece.

The impact of Rembrandt's model appears most prominently in the kneeling figure of the Samaritan woman, which Flinck derived from an earlier print by his teacher – *The Presentation in the Temple* of 1630 (fig. 75b).<sup>15</sup> The figure reappears in a modified form, but with a remarkably similar head covering, in Flinck's *Lamentation* of 1637 (fig. 75c).<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, as David Franklin has observed, Flinck's admiration for this invention may have led Rembrandt to revisit it himself some fifteen years later in his famous print of *Jesus Preaching*, also known as *The Hundred Guilder Print*, which incorporates a similar figure of a kneeling woman.<sup>17</sup>

The young Flinck may also have been influenced in his treatment of this theme by the Haarlem artist Pieter de Grebber. The arrangement of the figures, and the well, ewer and rope correspond roughly with a print made after De Grebber's design.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, both the *Manoah* and *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman* betray the influence of Pieter Lastman: both feature such Lastmanesque devices as a receding diagonal line in the landscape background, rugged hills reminiscent of Italy, classicizing architecture and broad-leafed foliage filling a lower corner. One gains the impression that Flinck was aiming to fill the void in the market left by Pieter Lastman's death in 1633 – an event that may

actually have prompted the artist's move to Amsterdam that year. When he entered Hendrick Uylenburgh's workshop, the young Flinck was almost certainly encouraged to study Lastman's work by his new teacher, Rembrandt.

1. The exact date of his birth is recorded on a commemorative medallion; see Jeroense 1997, p. 73. For more about his father's profession, see Havard 1879-1881, vol. 2, p. 84.
2. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 18-20.
3. Ibid., p. 20.
4. Von Moltke 1965, p. 10.
5. Flinck is still given as residing with Uylenburgh in 1637; see Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 5, section 1, p. 128.
6. See Jeroense 1997, pp. 84-85.
7. After completing paintings for the Burgomaster's Chamber and the Council Chamber in 1656 and 1658, Flinck received the commission in 1659 for a cycle of twelve paintings to adorn the Grand Gallery, depicting the history of the Batavians. He had only started work on the first one when he died; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 999.
8. See Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Oath of Claudius Civilis*, oil on canvas, 196 × 309 cm, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM 578; see Schwartz 1985, p. 319 (colour ill.).
9. For examples, see Benesch 1973, vol. 3, pp. 148-149, no. 538 (fig. 708), and pp. 164-165, no. 611 (fig. 783).
10. For examples, see Bredius/Gerson 1969, pp. 610-611, nos. 588, 589 and 592a (ills.). Of these, the painting that merits most serious attention as possibly by Rembrandt is no. 588, oil on panel, 46.5 × 39.3 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 811B.
11. Letter of 15 February 1991 from Josua Bruyn to Alfred Bader (Bader Collection work files); and see Bruyn 1995, pp. 168-169.
12. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
13. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3642, with reference to Govert Flinck, *Manoah's Sacrifice*, 1636, oil on panel, 117 × 100.9 cm, sale, New York (Sotheby's), 1 June 1989, lot 45 (colour ill.), and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 3061, 3064 note 52a, p. 3072 (colour ill.).
14. See exhib. cat. Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998, pp. 235-237, no. 41 (colour ill.).
15. See Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 26, no. B51, and vol. 19, p. 40 (ill.).
16. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1019, no. 612, p. 1044 (ill.).
17. See exhib. cat. Kingston 1984, p. 28.
18. Possibly Nicolas Lynhoven, after Pieter de Grebber, *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, etching, 2 states, 29.6 × 21.3 cm (image), inscribed lower left: *P. De Greb. inuent.*; see Hollstein, vol. 8, p. 170 (ill.). A drawing of 1648 by Salomon de Bray with a similar composition also likely derives from the model of his fellow townsman De Grebber, not from Flinck's early painting: *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman*, 1648, pen and black ink, 14.5 × 10.3 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 1057; see Von Moltke 1938-1939, p. 412, no. Fr. Z. 3 (fig. 90). ♦





76.

Govert Flinck (Kleve 1615 – Amsterdam 1660)

*The Sacrifice of Manoah*

1640

Oil on canvas, 74.3 × 123.8 cm

Signed and dated lower centre: *G. Flinck f. 1640.*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1975, acc. no. 18-114

PROVENANCE

Gouda, De Tol (clandestine Roman Catholic Church), until at least 1741; London, collection of Max Rothschild, in 1924 (as by Rembrandt); London, with Galerie Rothman; Arnhem, collection of Dr. van Hengel; Dieren, with Katz; Amsterdam, with Duits; Hoevelaken, collection of C.J.K. van Aalst, by 1939; his sale, London (Sotheby's), 1 April 1960, lot 22 (pl. IX); London, with C. Marshall Spink; London (Sotheby's), 10 July 1974, lot 50 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Saxl 1939, p. 8, note 1 (fig. 29); Pigler 1956, vol. 1, p. 123; Sumowski 1961, p. 5; Von Moltke 1965, pp. 19, 22, 69 (pl. 10), no. 19; collection cat. Budapest 1968, vol. 1, p. 233 with no. 3829; Haverkamp-Begemann 1969, p. 288; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, pp. 999, 1020, no. 617, p. 1049 (colour ill.); vol. 4, p. 2955 with no. 1948; exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992, p. 72; Van Eck 1987, p. 44, no. 2, p. 48, note 54; Franken 2006, pp. 156-157 (fig. 146)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kleve 1965, no. 4 (ill.); Montreal and Toronto 1969, no. 61 (ill.); Milwaukee 1976, pp. 82-83, no. 36 (ill.); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, pp. 83 (colour ill.), 139, 157, no. 27; Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 90-93, no. 22 (colour ill.); Tokyo, Chiba and Yamaguchi 1992, pp. 111 (colour ill.), 235, no. 42; Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998, pp. 238-239, no. 42 (colour ill.); Tokyo 2003, p. 146, no. 59 (colour ill.)

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Van Aalst 1939, pp. 132-133 (pl. 31); Marshall Spink 1963, no. 4

COPIES

Oil on panel, 78 x 105 cm, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 3829; see collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 140 (ill., as by Follower of Rembrandt)

Oil on canvas, 89.5 x 127.5 cm, Tours, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. 62-1-1; see Von Moltke 1965, p. 69, no. 20 (ill.)

THE PRESENT PAINTING is a powerful demonstration of Govert Flinck's early adherence to the Rembrandt idiom. Following the master's predilection for themes drawn from the Old Testament, it depicts a scene from the passage in the Book of Judges (13:1-20) that recounts the prophesying of Samson's birth to his parents. An angel appears first to Samson's mother, with the message that she is to have a son who will be a Nazirite. When she tells her husband, Manoah, he is eager to meet the messenger too. Encountering the angel again in the fields, they receive instructions from him concerning the Nazirite way of life. When Manoah then sacrifices a kid as a burnt offering to the Lord, the man suddenly rises up to heaven in the flames from the altar, revealing his divine nature to the astonished couple. Their son Samson would later lead the fledgling Hebrew nation to many victories against its enemies, only meeting his demise when his hair was shorn, in contravention of the Nazirite code.

While Rembrandt painted several scenes from the life of Samson, he only represented the prophecy to Manoah in a draw-





Fig. 76a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Manoah's Sacrifice*, pen and bistre, 17.5 × 19 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 3774.

ing, now in Berlin (fig. 76a).<sup>1</sup> Flinck adapted all the poses in the present painting from those in Rembrandt's drawing, with varying degrees of exactitude. The angel flying off to the left follows the drawing quite precisely, even in such details as the raised left foot. The kneeling Manoah has been turned to the left and pushed further into the foreground, while the figure of his wife, standing behind, is twisted more toward the right. However, Flinck has also drawn here from a Rembrandt painting on a different theme, *The Angel Leaving Tobias and His Family* of 1637, in Paris (fig. 76b).<sup>2</sup> In particular, he was inspired by the device of bright light breaking through an opening in a dark cloud, toward which the angel ascends. Manoah's hunched-over pose is also closer to that of the elderly Tobit in Rembrandt's painting than the Manoah figure in the drawing. Certain elements, such as the altar and the sacrificial accoutrements, were taken directly from a 1624 depiction of the same theme by Pieter Lastman.<sup>3</sup> A drawing by Flinck now in London, likely done later than the present painting, has been dated by Sumowski to 1642. It repeats elements such as the plate, the altar and the barn, but also absorbs elements of Lastman's style.<sup>4</sup> The version of this composition in the Museum in Tours is a copy.<sup>5</sup>

Flinck's unusual composition is of squat proportions, with the main action crowded off to the left. The right-hand section of the painting shows a view of a country courtyard with chickens and goats, bounded on the left by a large stone barn with an open doorway. Judith van Gent and Gabriel Pastoor have explained that the setting is derived not from the Bible but from the account given by the Jewish scholar Josephus, who describes the scene as taking place near Manoah's country estate.<sup>6</sup> Flinck may have been led to emphasize the landscape element by the constraints of his commission. As Xander van Eck has pointed



Fig. 76b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Angel Leaving Tobias and His Family*, 1637, oil on panel, 66 × 52 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1736.

out, the painting was probably originally placed in the interior of the clandestine Catholic church De Tol, in Gouda, for it appears in a 1741 inventory of the church's possessions, along with other religious paintings from around 1640 by the Gouda artist Wouter Crabeth II.<sup>7</sup> Its proportions were likely dictated by the architectural setting, perhaps the panelling of a gallery. This provenance proves that Old Testament themes were acceptable among Dutch Catholics of the time, although such subjects are more typically identified with Protestant patronage and the open market.

Expertly restored by Charles Munch, who has worked on a number of other paintings in the Bader Collection, this canvas has nonetheless suffered losses to both the figures and the background. Especially well preserved, however, are the foliage and vegetation crowded into the lower left corner – an element Flinck likely appropriated from Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman, who employed it in many of his paintings to add an effect of richness.

1. See Benesch 1973, vol. 1, pp. 49–50, no. 180 (fig. 210).
2. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 232–241, no. A121 (ill.).
3. Pieter Lastman, *Manoah's Sacrifice*, 1624, oil on panel, 72 × 53 cm, signed, Bolsward, private collection; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 120–121, no. 18 (colour ill.).
4. Covert Flinck, *Manoah's Sacrifice*, around 1642, black chalk, 20.1 × 26.1 cm, London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, inv. Witt Collection 3826; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 4, pp. 1982–1983, no. 909 (ill.).
5. See under Copies at the head of this entry.
6. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (5.280–284); see exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991, p. 72.
7. Van Eck 1987, p. 44, no. 2, p. 48, note 54. ♦





77.

Govert Flinck and Workshop

(Kleve 1615 – Amsterdam 1660)

*King David Writing the Psalms*

Around 1659–1660

Oil on canvas, 133.3 × 99 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1987, acc. no. 34-020.03

#### PROVENANCE

Stockholm, art trade; sale, London (Christie's), 13 March 1987, lot 42 (ill., as attributed to Jan van Noordt); London, with Rafael Valls; purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 6, pp. 3707, no. 2277, p. 3865 (colour ill., as by Flinck, *An Ancient King in His Study*); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 23, no. 3 (1990), p. 57 (fig. 1 and cover ill. in colour, as *David Writing the Psalms*)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1989–1991, pp. 38–39, no. 16 (ill., as *A Church Father*); Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 62–63, no. 22 (ill.)

#### VARIANTS

Govert Flinck and Studio, around 1660, oil on canvas 126 x 98 cm, formerly Potsdam, Gemäldegalerie Schloss Sanssouci, inv. I 2648; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 4, pp. 1944 (fig. 67)

AN OLD MAN WITH a flowing beard sits at a desk, his left hand resting on a large open volume. With the pen in his right hand raised, he pauses in his writing, turning away from the book and gazing heavenwards. His exotic, orientalizing robes and the turbaned crown to the right identify him as an Old Testament king. Although both David and Solomon are credited with writing parts of the Bible, it is likely King David who is depicted here, in the act of writing the Psalms. He earnestly seeks divine inspiration as he composes the Holy Scriptures, displaying an emotion consistent with that expressed in the Psalms and quite unlike the cool sagacity usually associated with David's son, Solomon.

By showing him in the act of writing, this image of King David nonetheless departs from established iconographic tradition. In a well-known 1628 depiction by Hendrick ter Brugghen, David is portrayed with a large book of music, playing the harp and singing, surrounded by a small choir of angels.<sup>1</sup> Five years later Lambert Jacobsz. created a more monumental composition on the same theme, filling the frame with a half-length figure of David, his fingers on the strings of a partially represented harp.<sup>2</sup>

But instead of focusing on music, the present depiction casts David in a more academic light. Portraying him with nothing but a book and a pen, the artist has recast David in the mould of the scholarly saint, thus moving away from the Caravaggist preoccupation with musicians and joining the trend for representing Evangelists and Apostles, of which the well-known paintings by Jan Lievens are an example – including his *St. Paul*, also in the Bader Collection (cat. 112). This choice seems to reflect Calvinist privileging of the word over music in worship, an attitude linked to the principle of *sola scriptura*.

This painting resurfaced in a 1987 auction with an attribution to Jan van Noordt.<sup>3</sup> However, Sumowski subsequently pointed out its relationship to a counterproof drawing in Coburg that bears Flinck's signature (fig. 77a),<sup>4</sup> which he had earlier connected to another version of the present composition, previously in Potsdam but now lost (fig. 77b).<sup>5</sup> The drawing is a loose sketch but in its composition differs from the two paintings in only a few details (in the drawing, the cloak covers only one shoulder, and the metal breastpiece is absent). As a counterproof, its





Fig. 77a. Govert Flinck, *An Apostle at His Writing Desk*, red chalk, 25.1 × 18.27 cm, signed. Coburg, Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. Z.2591.



Fig. 77b. Govert Flinck and Studio, *King David Writing the Psalms*, around 1660, oil on canvas, 126 × 98 cm. Formerly Potsdam, Gemäldegalerie Schloss Sanssouci, inv. I 2648.

orientation is the reverse of its now-lost original – and of both painted versions. The loose, agitated quality of line prompted Sumowski to date the sketch to around 1658, pointing to a similar date for both paintings. The sinuous S-curve of David's pose is derived from Pieter Lastman's depiction of the same personage in his *David and Uriah*, now in The Hague.<sup>6</sup>

With the Coburg drawing in mind, both Sumowski and Josua Bruyn have attributed the present work to Flinck on the basis of a photograph.<sup>7</sup> As Sumowski has observed, the closest comparison is Flinck's grand depiction of *Solomon Asking for Wisdom*, painted for Amsterdam's City Hall (now the Royal Palace).<sup>8</sup> Both works reflect Flinck's heavily Flemish-influenced late style, which incorporates a smooth finish, rounded forms, and powerful energy and movement generated by diagonal and undulating lines. The present work, however, exhibits thick, opaque layers of paint that are at odds with the deft build-up of semitransparent colours characteristic of Flinck, even in his latest work. Flinck employed a loose, painterly handling in a masterly way to evoke form, texture and rhythm, but here the strokes have been applied harshly, so they detach from their surroundings and fail to fully resolve form. The variant of this painting formerly in Potsdam shows virtually the same handling, although it appears softer in places. This badly damaged work is known only from photographs, making it impossible to judge its originality. Most probably, both paintings were produced in Flinck's studio under his supervision and after his drawing, while he himself toiled away on his daunting commission for the City Hall.<sup>9</sup> It should also be noted that the

figure's exaggerated features contrast with the idealized Jewish types seen in Flinck's depiction of Solomon, and may reflect a pupil's conception.

An anti-Semitic bias appears to have prompted a previous owner to modify this painting, changing the figure's identity: by covering up the turbaned crown and painting a cross on David's chest, an unknown hand effectively Christianized the figure by turning it into St. John of Malta.<sup>10</sup> These alterations were removed in a recent cleaning.

1. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *King David Harping, Surrounded by Angels*, 1628, oil on panel, 150 × 190 cm, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, inv. 126202; see Nicolson 1958, pp. 108–109, no. A77 (pl. 96b).
2. Lambert Jacobsz., *King David Playing the Harp*, 1633, oil on canvas, 81.5 × 66.5 cm, signed, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum.
3. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
4. See Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 4, pp. 1944–1945, no. 891 (ill.).
5. Ibid., p. 1944 (fig. 67).
6. Pieter Lastman, *David and Uriah*, 1619, oil on panel, 41.5 × 62.5 cm, signed, The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland, inv. NK 2834; see collection cat. The Hague 1989 p. 173 (ill.).
7. Letter of 15 February 1999 from Josua Bruyn to Alfred Bader; curatorial files, Agnes Etherington Art Centre.
8. Govert Flinck, *Solomon Asking for Wisdom*, 1658, oil on canvas, 465 × 450 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Royal Palace on the Dam; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 1027, no. 640, p. 1072 (colour ill.).
9. For stylistic reasons, Alfred Bader inclines toward the authorship of Flinck.
10. See exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1989, p. 38. ♦





78.

Frans Francken II (Antwerp 1581 – Antwerp 1642)

*The Four Latin Fathers of the Church*

Around 1620

Oil on copper, 16 × 21.5 cm

Signed: *ffranck*; inscribed on the back, in an old hand: *Nº 320*; and in a later hand: 265

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1979, acc. no. 22-048

#### PROVENANCE

Den Bosch, collection of Th. J. A. J. Goosens; The Hague, collection of E. Hirschberg; New Orleans, collection of Bert Piso, in 1972; acquired in trade by Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 58-61, no. 14 (colour ill.)

#### COPIES

Attributed to Abraham Diepenbeeck, oil on panel, 20.2 x 28.6 cm, Bordeaux, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. BX 1987 3 1; see *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, March 1988, p. 26, fig. 29 (as by A. Diepenbeeck)

Attributed to David Teniers the Elder, oil on panel, 20.5 x 26.5 cm, sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 11 June 2004, lot 1029 (colour ill.)

FRANS FRANCKEN II was the most prominent member of an artistic dynasty. He was born in Antwerp in 1581 to the painter Frans Francken I and Elizabeth Mertens, and not only did all four of his brothers become painters, but also two of his sons.<sup>1</sup> His father's high social standing is attested to by his position as church master

of the city's cathedral.<sup>2</sup> Frans Francken II became a member of the St. Luke's Guild in 1605, and served as its dean in the years 1614 and 1615.<sup>3</sup> Apart from an early trip to the Northern Provinces in 1607,<sup>4</sup> very little seems to have interrupted this artist's incredibly productive working life, from which perhaps as many as fifteen hundred paintings survive.<sup>5</sup> Only one pupil registered with him during his long career,<sup>6</sup> probably because he was fully occupied with running a large workshop staffed principally by family members.<sup>7</sup> Frans Francken II appears to have called himself "the Younger" until the death of his father in 1616, and in 1628 he took on the suffix "the Elder" to distinguish himself from his painter son.<sup>8</sup> For the most part he made small-figured history paintings and genre scenes, enjoying considerable prosperity until his death in 1642, at the age of sixty-one.

In this small, jewel-like scene painted on copper, Francken has depicted the four Latin Church Fathers: Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory. They received this appellation for their significant contributions to doctrine and church polity, which rank above those of other figures of the early Church.<sup>9</sup> Jerome (Dalmatia around 345 – Bethlehem 420), who received a literary education in Rome, adopted an ascetic life and travelled widely. Following a second, troubled stay in Rome, he made a pilgrimage to Bethlehem and eventually retreated to a monastery there.<sup>10</sup> He remains best known for the Vulgate, his epoch-making translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin. Anachronistically, Jerome is frequently depicted as a cardinal and shown – as here,





Fig. 78a. Jacob Jordaens, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Latin Fathers of the Church*, around 1630, oil on canvas, 209 × 252 cm. Location unknown.

second from left – with the red cape and flat red hat of this office. Ambrose (Trier around 340 – Milan 397), who was the son of the Roman prefect of Gaul, where he was born, received an education in letters and the law in Rome.<sup>11</sup> Early in his career he was appointed consular governor in Milan, where he was elected bishop by popular acclaim. Ambrose was a great advocate of virginity. He championed the Trinity in opposition to the Arians, and persuaded Emperor Theodosius to subject Roman state power to the Church, even chastising him on one famous occasion. He is shown here on the far right, accompanied by his traditional attribute of a beehive – a reference to the legend that a swarm of bees once landed on his mouth when he was a child, prophesying his later eloquence. Behind Ambrose is Augustine (Tagaste 354 – Hippo Regius 430), of North Africa.<sup>12</sup> Converted by his Christian mother, Augustine abandoned the sensual and decadent life of his youth and dedicated himself to the priesthood, rising to the office of bishop. He championed celibacy and shaped the practice of the secluded life for monks and nuns. His books *City of God* and *Confessions* secured his status as the greatest of the Latin Church Fathers. In the left foreground, wearing a papal tiara, is Gregory the Great (Rome before 540 – Rome 604), the most historically recent figure of the group.<sup>13</sup> A prefect of Rome, he left public life for the cloister but was once again pressed into Rome's service – first as papal ambassador to Constantinople and ultimately as pope. In this highest office he shaped many aspects of the Church and its organization, notably the enforcement of celibacy amongst the clergy, and he also intervened to protect Rome against occupation by the Lombards and Franks.

The contribution to doctrine of all four of these figures is signalled in Francken's painting by the large books on their laps, and by the pens that three of them are holding. The men engage each other with glances and gestures, making this lively scene a modified version of a *sacra conversazione*. The encounter is, of

course, imaginary: only two of the four figures – Ambrose and Augustine – actually met in real life. A long tradition of picturing them together preceded Francken's image,<sup>14</sup> which nevertheless fitted perfectly into the Counter-Reformation context of the Spanish Netherlands, emphasizing the great tradition of doctrinal orthodoxy that had guided the Church for more than a thousand years. The most famous tribute to this tradition would be Gianlorenzo Bernini's decorative ensemble for the *Cathedra Petri* in St. Peter's, Rome, of 1656-1666.<sup>15</sup> Francken's scene was copied several times and, as David McTavish has indicated, even provided a model for Peter Paul Rubens, whose painting of the subject is known through a copy by Jacob Jordaens (fig. 78a).<sup>16</sup> The figures of the four Church Fathers also appear in an *Institution of the Holy Eucharist*, in Troyes, which was likely the product of Francken's workshop.<sup>17</sup>

The deft handling of impastoed paint in strong colours lends this scene an engaging vivacity that projects strongly through the large figure scale. Not known to Ursula Härting, author of a major monograph on Francken, this work can be related to a group of his paintings from around 1612-1620. The figures compare most closely to those in his *Jesus and the Adulteress* last in London, which Härting dates to around 1620.<sup>18</sup> The London picture combines aspects of an earlier interpretation of the same theme<sup>19</sup> and of a scene of John the Baptist preaching, both executed in or around 1612.<sup>20</sup> Although the signature on the present work does not provide evidence of a date,<sup>21</sup> it can be placed around 1620 on the basis of its style.

1. Härting 1989, p. 9.
2. Ibid.
3. For his entry into the guild, see Liggeren, vol. 1, p. 430. For his service as dean, see Liggeren, vol. 1, pp. 504, 512, 519 and 524. For his continued membership in 1641, see Liggeren, vol. 2, p. 136.
4. See Marcel de Maeyer, *Albert en Isabella en de Schilderkunst* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1955), p. 227.
5. Härting 1989, p. 32.
6. Daniel Hagen (1603-?): see Liggeren, vol. 1, pp. 530, 624.
7. Härting 1989, p. 12.
8. Ibid., p. 28.
9. LTK, vol. 6, cols. 272-274.
10. Ibid., vol. 5, cols. 326-329; LCI, vol. 6, cols. 519-529.
11. LTK, vol. 1, cols. 427-430; LCI, vol. 5, cols. 115-120; and Voragine, vol. 1, p. 229.
12. LTK, vol. 1, cols. 1094-1101; LCI, vol. 5, cols. 277-290.
13. LTK, vol. 4, cols. 1177-1181; LCI, vol. 6, cols. 432-441.
14. LCI, vol. 2, cols. 529-538.
15. Ibid., cols. 532, 537 (ill.); Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Cathedra Petri*, 1656-1666, coloured marble, gilt bronze, gilt stucco, Rome, St. Peter's Basilica; see Rudolf Wittkower, *Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, 4th edition (Milan: Electa, 1990), pp. 278-280, no. 61 (ill.).
16. See exhib. cat. Kingston 1988-1991, p. 60. This work last appeared on the market in 1996: sale, London (Christie's), 13 December 1996, lot 40 (colour ill.).
17. Workshop of Frans Francken II?, *The Institution of the Holy Eucharist*, oil on copper, 53 × 42 cm, Troyes, Musée d'Art d'Archéologie et de Sciences Naturelles Troyes, inv. 850.1.15; see C. Rouquet and Jacques Foucart, *Tableaux flamands et hollandais. Collections du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Troyes*, collection cat. (Troyes: Musée des beaux-arts de Troyes, 1990), pp. 76-78.
18. Frans Francken II, *Jesus and the Adulteress*, oil on copper, 41 × 55 cm, around 1620, London, with Johnny van Haften, in 1988; see Härting 1989, pp. 251 (colour ill.), 267, no. 136.
19. Frans Francken II, *Jesus and the Adulteress*, 1612, oil on panel, 49 × 66 cm, signed, Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. GKS 1152; see Härting 1989, pp. 27 (ill.), 267, no. 135.
20. Frans Francken II, *The Preaching of John the Baptist*, around 1612, oil on panel, 125 × 117 cm, Vienna, Sammlungen des Regierende Fürsten von Liechtenstein, inv. 591; see Härting 1989, p. 257, no. 88 (ill.).
21. The artist did not systematically adopt new signature forms at different phases of his career, as once thought; see *ibid.*, pp. 28-32. ◆





79.

Maerten van der Fuijck (Den Briel around 1634 – Den Briel 1694)

*Tobias and the Angel Roasting the Fish*

1663

Oil on canvas, 106.7 × 119.4 cm

Signed and dated lower right: *M. Fuijck 1663*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.04

#### PROVENANCE

Paris, collection of A. de Hevesy, in 1936; New York, Christophe Janet; purchased by Alfred and Isabel Bader in 1983; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Gerson 1936, p. 115, no. 119 (as by Philips Koninck); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1534-1535, 1537 (colour ill., as by Maerten van der Fuijck), and vol. 6, p. 3619; Alfred Bader, *Aldrichimica Acta* 21, no. 1 (1988), p. 1 (cover ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1989, pp. 16-17, no. 5 (ill.)

**MAERTEN VAN DER FUIJCK** was first brought to scholarly attention in an article published in 1936.<sup>1</sup> Its author, H. P. Schaap, traced the artist's parentage to Abraham Maertensz. and Fytjen Theunis of Den Briel, who married in 1633, indicating a likely birth date of around 1634.<sup>2</sup> Van der Fuijck's father was a compass maker who was familiar with art, and it was likely he who put the young Maerten on the path to his career.<sup>3</sup> To judge by his style, the artist

seems to have completed his training in Amsterdam or Haarlem, but by 1660 he was back in his native city, where he painted a series of Civic Guard portraits.<sup>4</sup> His search for a market then took him to the city of Delft, where he registered in the St. Luke's Guild in January 1663.<sup>5</sup> A number of portraits by him of members of the Van der Goes family suggest that he attracted patrician patronage soon after his arrival.<sup>6</sup> By 1667 he had returned to his family in Den Briel, and he married Maria van Broekhoven in Rotterdam in that year. Schaap observed that Van der Fuijck's subsequent trajectory strongly suggests that he was not dependent on painting for his livelihood.<sup>7</sup> Certainly, although he seems not to have produced many paintings, he established himself very well in Den Briel, rising in the city's social hierarchy from the position of alderman in 1676 to that of burgomaster by 1683.

Formerly attributed to Philips Koninck (until the signature was revealed in a recent cleaning), the present work is the only history painting securely attributed to Maerten van der Fuijck. It is based on an episode from the apocryphal Book of Tobit (6:1-5), which enjoyed great popularity as a thematic source among Dutch artists. However, Van der Fuijck has here chosen a scene that was almost never depicted and for which he had no direct precedent. The Book of Tobit tells how, on a journey to Rages, Tobias was threatened by a large fish. On instruction from his companion Azarias (the archangel Raphael in disguise), he captures the fish, removes its heart, liver and gall, and then roasts



the rest for a meal. Curiously, the present work shows the angel taking over the cooking, while Tobias offers praise to God, raising his arms and looking heavenward – a prayer not mentioned in the text. With his interpretation Van der Fuijck has seized upon one of the Book of Tobit's many vernacular scenes (a key to its popularity with various religious denominations) but, through Tobias's gesture, has imbued the everyday action of preparing food with a strong spiritual overtone. This seems to connect the scene to altarpiece themes evoking the Eucharist as a commemoration of the Last Supper, and it is possible that the work was aimed at the Catholic art market in Delft.

Van der Fuijck has further departed from tradition by casting the scene at night. With its half-length figures lit by artificial light against a dark backdrop, it pursues the aesthetic established by the Utrecht followers of Caravaggio, although with its date of 1663 it represents a late phase in the style. In the crisp, precise description of drapery and the smooth, broad handling of flesh, the work exemplifies the classicizing transformation of this manner that took place in various centres including Utrecht and The Hague, but also in Haarlem, in the work of Pieter Frantz. de Grebber and Salomon and Jan de Bray. The slender proportions and angular features of the figures connect the painting most closely to the style of Jan de Bray, as seen for example in his 1661 work *Moses Discovered by Pharaoh's Daughter*, in Rotterdam (see fig. 41a).<sup>8</sup> De Bray's penchants for profiles and for faces cast in shadow, both reflected in the Rotterdam picture, seem to have prompted Van der Fuijck to attempt these virtuoso devices, albeit with less success. It is possible that Van der Fuijck studied with Jan de Bray, who, like him, made history paintings, as well as individual and group portraits. There is evidence, moreover, that a connection existed between the artists of Haarlem and Van der Fuijck's father as early as 1644.<sup>9</sup>

1. Schaap 1936. Van der Fuijck is mentioned by Van Alkemade and Van der Schelling in *Beschrijving van de Stad Briele en den Lande van Voorn* (Rotterdam, 1729), as the painter of the "Oranje Vendel of 1662," and Schaap identifies two other Civic Guard portraits in the same hand, also in the Historisch Museum Den Briel (on loan from the City of Den Briel).

2. Schaap 1936, p. 266.

3. Ibid., pp. 266–267. Schaap refers to a Haarlem artist with a last name of Ferdinandus, who left paintings on deposit with Maerten's father in 1644. This document was previously cited in Bredius 1915–1922, vol. 2, p. 2072.

4. On the three Civic Guard portraits, see Schaap 1936, *passim*.

5. Obreen Archief, vol. 1, p. 68: "Schilder. Januarij 1663. Maerten van der Fuijck laet hem aantekenen als mester Schilder, recht betaeld, sijnde vreemt, 12.0.0 (Maerten van der Fuijck has himself registered as Master Painter, fees paid, being from elsewhere, 12.0.0)"; see Schaap 1936, p. 265.

6. His signature appears on a pastel portrait of a Delft patrician woman, which bears an illegible date: *Portrait of Magdalena Doublet van der Goes (?-1652)*, pastel drawing on paper, 36.5 × 30 cm, signed, Delft, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, inv. G 18a (on loan from the Van der Goes van Naters Family). It is paired with a painted portrait of her husband that reflects the fashion of the 1660s, with a long collar and mid-length hair: *Portrait of Andries van der Goes (1619-1669)*, oil on canvas, 35 × 29 cm, Delft, Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, inv. G 17a (on loan from the Van der Goes van Naters Family). Magdalena Doublet van der Goes died in 1652, and Van der Fuijck's portrait is likely a posthumous copy, done after his arrival in Delft in 1663. See Dirck van Broekhuizen, *De Aert van de familie Van der Goes van Naters*, exhib. cat. (Delft: Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, 2000), p. 36 (ills.).

7. Schaap 1936, p. 267.

8. See cat. 41, fig. 41a and note 9.

9. See note 3 above. ♦



## 80.

Jakob van Geel (Middelburg around 1585 – Dordrecht after 1638)

### *Travellers near the Edge of a Wood*

Around 1638

Oil on panel, 51.5 × 67.2 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Switzerland, private collection; sale, Zurich (Koller), 28–29 May 1976, lot 5145, purchased by Lillemor Herweg (with F.C. Bûtöt the underbidder); collection of Lillemor Herweg; sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 December 2005, lot 131 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Amsterdam 1984, pp. 256–257, no. 70 (ill.)

JACOB VAN GEEL was born around 1585 in Middelburg, capital of the coastal province of Zeeland,<sup>1</sup> and is recorded as being a member of the local St. Luke's Guild in 1615.<sup>2</sup> In 1626 he moved to Delft, entering the guild there two years later.<sup>3</sup> By 1633 he had moved on to Dordrecht, where he registered in the painter's guild the following year.<sup>4</sup> Van Geel specialized in modest landscapes with trees, employing a style in his early work that was indebted to those of Jan Brueghel the Elder<sup>5</sup> and Hercules Seghers<sup>6</sup> but gradually developing an idiosyncratic approach that emphasizes fantastical cauliflower-like clumps of trees. Documentary evidence points to a private life ridden with conflict and debt,<sup>7</sup> and nothing is known of him after 1638 – the year of his latest dated painting.<sup>8</sup>

In this composition by Van Geel,<sup>9</sup> a male traveller with a walking stick stops and doffs his hat to a young woman carrying a basket. They stand in the lower left foreground of the composition, on a path leading into the cluster of imposing trees that borders the wood behind them. The vista on the right opens onto a flat landscape with patches of water, punctuated in the far distance by trees of varying shapes. Two more figures rest by a tree in the centre foreground, while others make their way down a slope further to the right. The sky is bright, and its glow penetrates the



trees from the left, creating a play of light and shadow and illuminating the foreground pair. The most distinctive aspect of this scene is the dynamic handling of the trees, which have been given the fancifully winding and swelling forms seen elsewhere among this artist's late works. Similar trees appear, for example, in the 1638 painting mentioned above – a landscape in a private collection in Stockholm. This picture also shows a comparable overall organization of the trees into monumental masses that fill the frame, another trait that seems to mark this period of Van Geel's oeuvre. The present painting can thus likewise be dated to around 1638.

1. See Cornelius Müller and I. Q. van Regteren Altena, "Der Maler Jacob van Geel," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931), p. 182.
2. Obreen Archief, vol. 6, p. 260.
3. On Van Geel's presence in Delft in 1626 and his entry into the guild there in 1628, see Bredius 1899, p. 125, and exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1984, p. 113.
4. See Bredius 1899, p. 126.
5. Bol 1957, p. 116.
6. Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 2, p. 64.
7. See Bredius 1899, p. 126.
8. Jacob van Geel, *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1638, oil on panel, 27.5 × 38 cm, signed, Stockholm, collection of Einar Perman, in 1957; see Bol 1957, p. 33 (fig. 20), p. 38, no. 20.
9. The attribution was made by Walther Bernt in Munich, in a certificate of 14 April 1976; Bader Collection work files. ◆

81.

Wybrand de Geest (Leeuwarden 1592 – Leeuwarden after 1667)

*Portrait of a Woman*

Around 1625

Oil on canvas, oval, 75 × 60.2 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

London, with Johnny van Haeften; New York, with Otto Naumann; purchased by Alfred Bader in 2001; presented as a gift to Isabel Bader by Alfred Bader

WYBRAND DE GEEST was the dominant portraitist in the Frisian capital of Leeuwarden for a good part of the 17th century. Son of a Flemish émigré stained glass painter, Symon Juckes de Geest, he was born in 1592, as indicated by an annotation on the verso of his *Self-portrait* in Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> After early training in Utrecht around 1613, he undertook a journey through France to Italy, part of it in the company of Leonard Bramer.<sup>2</sup> In Rome he became a member of the Schildersbent and received the Bent-name *De Friesische Adelaar* (The Frisian Eagle).<sup>3</sup> By 1621 he was back in his native city, where he married Hendrickje Uylenburgh,<sup>4</sup> whose sister Saskia would later become Rembrandt's wife. Although Houbraken claimed that De Geest also specialized in history painting, he is known almost exclusively for his portraits.<sup>5</sup> He developed an extremely prosperous practice, receiving commissions from the Frisian branch of the House of Orange and members of the local nobility into the 1660s. Curiously, the death of this prominent artist has gone unrecorded.

Although De Geest is often identified as a pupil of Abraham Bloemaert,<sup>6</sup> his smooth, refined handling more closely approximates that of Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638). An important document of his early style is the signed and dated *Portrait of Lucia van Walta* (1609-1674) of 1625 (fig. 81a). The formal rigidity of the pose in that portrait harkens back to the 16th-century tradition that was still alive in Moreelse's work. The pose, handling and even the costume correspond closely to those of the present painting, and the two works were clearly executed around the same time. In both, the facial features are smoothly rounded and



Fig. 81a. Wybrand de Geest, *Portrait of Lucia van Walta* (1609-1674), 1625, oil on canvas, 102 × 80 cm, inscribed: AETAT 16 A°. The Netherlands, private collection.





abstracted, yet presented boldly. The costume is articulated in detail, with decisive touches of the brush. And both subjects wear an impressive lace collar that stands up from the bodice at the back, arching behind the head and framing it. In the present painting the trapezoidal panels on either side of the V-shaped neckline are set off with a string of brilliant red beads, and the raised fan of the collar is enlivened with rippled pleats and a zigzag border. The lower part of the gown, worked with embroidery and slashes, is described broadly and without the same deftness and sensitivity, suggesting that De Geest may have already engaged assistants to ensure his studio production. The imposing presentation and exquisite finish, which suggest a noble sitter, speak of the international experience acquired by the artist during the preceding decade.

1. Wybrand de Geest, *Self-portrait*, 1629, oil on canvas, 71.2 × 54.7 cm, signed, inscribed on verso: *Wybrand de Geest Geboren in't Jaar 1592 den 16 van Oostmaent*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1780; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, p. 237 (ill.). The annotation was first published in Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 1, p. 572. For further biography, see Lyckle de Vries, in *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 12, p. 233.
2. See Hofstede de Groot 1889, pp. 235 and 239.
3. See Houbraken, p. 147.
4. Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, in *Thieme-Becker*, vol. 13, p. 331.
5. Houbraken, p. 147.
6. Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, in *Thieme-Becker*, vol. 13, p. 332. ◆





82.

Aert de Gelder

(Dordrecht 1645 – Dordrecht 1727)

*Judah and Tamar*

1681

Oil on canvas, 104.5 × 149 cm

Signed and dated lower right: *A de Gelder 1681*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 2001, acc. no. 44-009

#### PROVENANCE

Collection of the Earl of Miltown; Amalie Princess of Bavaria et al. sale, London (Christie's), 2 July 1965, lot 137 (ill., to Bailey); Rheinbach bei Bonn, collection of Corinne Pütz; Bournemouth, with Rudolph Holzapfel Ward; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1970; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Van Fossen 1968, pp. 92-94, 102-104, 164-166, 241, no. 28 (as *Esther*); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 4, no. 1 (1971), inside cover (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1161, no. 729, p. 1189 (colour ill.); Renate Trnek, in *Dutch and Flemish Masters: Paintings from the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts*, exhib. cat. (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Museum of Fine Arts; Houston: Museum of Art; San Diego: San Diego Museum of Fine Arts, 1985), pp. 46, 100; *A Selection of Dutch and Flemish Seventeenth-century Paintings*, exhib. cat. (New York: Hoogsteder-Naumann Ltd., 1983), p. 57 (ill.); exhib. cat. The Hague and San Francisco 1990-1991, p. 235; Von Moltke et al. 1994, pp. 17, 23, 24, 62, 67, no. 13 (ill.); exhib. cat. The Hague 1992, p. 166; Guus Sluiter, review of Von Moltke et al. 1994, *Oud Holland* 111 (1997), p. 71; Tümpel 2004, p. 214 (colour ill., fig. 1), pp. 222, 226, 230

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 48-49, no. 19 (ill.); Dordrecht 1992, p. 164, no. 34 (ill.); *Biblical Paintings in Rembrandt's Holland* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1993); Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999, pp. 67, 97, 142-143, no. 9 (colour ill.), p. 144

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 14 (ill.)

FOLLOWING IN THE footsteps of a number of young art students from Dordrecht, Aert de Gelder travelled to Amsterdam to finish his training with Rembrandt. His choice possibly reflects an artistically conservative leaning in Dordrecht, since by this time – the early 1660s – Rembrandt no longer represented leading artistic fashion. De Gelder was one of Rembrandt's two last known pupils (the other was Godfrey Kneller) and is traditionally seen as a champion of his master's style in the decades before and after the turn of the 18th century, when neoclassicism was the reigning mode. He was born in Dordrecht in 1645, and according to Houbraken trained there first under the Rembrandt pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten before proceeding to Amsterdam

around 1662 to study under the master himself.<sup>1</sup> De Gelder later returned to establish a career in his native town,<sup>2</sup> remaining there until his death in 1727.<sup>3</sup>

Houbraken claimed that of all Rembrandt's pupils De Gelder was the most successful in imitating his master's style.<sup>4</sup> The biographer was friendly with De Gelder, however, and this may have been mere idle flattery, for elsewhere he expressed disdain for the loose, rough manner of both artists.<sup>5</sup> It is also possible that Houbraken's impression of Rembrandt was gained largely from De Gelder's work. Certainly, De Gelder derived his free, loose style from the late manner of his master, maintaining it throughout his career. It was possibly his personal affluence that enabled him to do this, since it would have left him free to ignore the demands of the market. As the inventory taken after his death indicates, many of his paintings remained unsold and in his possession.<sup>6</sup> Nothing is known of the critical first decade of his career – the 1670s – and his early oeuvre may include many paintings formerly ascribed to the late Rembrandt. The earliest securely attributed paintings by him, which include the present canvas, date to the following decade.

This depiction of Judah and Tamar illustrates clearly how De Gelder focused on Rembrandt's late technique, incorporating open strokes, daubs of thick impastoed paint, and a build-up of semi-transparent layers to yield rich textural effects. A comparable emphasis on fabric patterns and textures can be seen in Rembrandt's famous painting known as *The Jewish Bride*, likely depicting Isaac and Rebecca (fig. 82a),<sup>7</sup> which dates from around 1665, when De Gelder was probably still studying with him.

*The Jewish Bride* seems to have had considerable influence on De Gelder in his representation of Judah and Tamar, not only stylistically but also with respect to theme: both images portray an amorous couple from the Old Testament. But instead of the





Fig. 82a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Jewish Bride (Isaac and Rebecca)*, around 1665, oil on canvas, 121.5 × 166.5 cm, signed. Amsterdam, City of Amsterdam, on loan to the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. SK-A-216.

restrained, loving tenderness conveyed by Rembrandt's picture, De Gelder's protagonists evoke shallow and cynical calculation. Chapter 38 of the Book of Genesis (1-26) tells how Tamar loses her first husband, El, son of the patriarch Judah. She is then given his second son to be her husband, according to the law. This is the infamous Onan, and he dies as well, struck down by God. Judah, by this time a widower, refuses to give her his last son, fearing that he too will die, leaving him without an heir. Taking matters into her own hands, Tamar impersonates a prostitute and seduces her father-in-law "in an open place." As security against his pledge of payment of a kid, Judah gives her three personal items – his signet ring, staff and sash. Tamar then returns home and resumes her normal identity; the kid is not delivered, and she keeps Judah's belongings. When she is later discovered to be pregnant, she is condemned to death for adultery by Judah himself, the family patriarch. But when she sends the tokens identifying him as the father of her unborn child, he lifts the sentence. De Gelder has shown the critical moment when Tamar negotiates the three tokens of the pledge. As Judah reaches out to fondle her chin, she grasps his arm, halting his passionate advance and raising her other hand in a rhetorical gesture. Her calculating action and his unbridled lust represent a dual transgression of the ideal of true love.

It is not only the nature of the emotions conveyed by the two works that differ, however, but also the way they are expressed. In the De Gelder, Judah's anticipation and assurance can be unmistakably read in his curled lips and half-closed eyes, just as Tamar's sly confidence can be deduced from her restrained smile and the icy gaze she casts toward him. In this, one of his earliest known paintings, De Gelder opted for an overt and unambiguous handling of the emotions at play in his subject. Rembrandt's painting of Isaac and Rebecca, on the other hand, can serve as an emblem of the master's quest to capture inner emotion through restrained and subtle suggestions of facial expression. A crowning



Fig. 82b. Jan Steen, *Lifting the Shift*, around 1668-1670, oil on panel, 49 × 39.5 cm. The Hague, Museum Bredius, inv. 113-1946.

achievement of Rembrandt's storied career, it went unnoticed by early commentators like Houbraken,<sup>8</sup> although its approach to emotion was taken up by some of his pupils – Willem Drost and Abraham van Dijck, for example (see cats. 64, 57). Aert de Gelder may also have followed this lead initially, but since we know nothing of his early career, immediate following Rembrandt's tutelage, it is impossible to say. In any case, by the time he painted this canvas De Gelder had adopted an explicit approach to the depiction of emotion in history paintings that came much closer to the work of such popular genre painters as Jan Steen (1625/26-1679). In fact, Judah's leering face is highly reminiscent of some of the heads in Steen's paintings, especially his variations on the theme of the unequal couple (fig. 82b) – images of an older man with a younger woman that find an odd echo in the present painting.<sup>9</sup> Steen's work would later be championed in print by De Gelder's friend and fellow Dordrechtian Arnold Houbraken.<sup>10</sup> For this early Enlightenment thinker, it was essential to depict emotions clearly, using a fixed vocabulary of expressions, as Steen had done, and this view was evidently shared by De Gelder.

De Gelder's choice of theme was a slightly perilous one, although there was a tradition for depictions of Judah and Tamar, and a painting by Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman probably represented an important starting point.<sup>11</sup> As Volker Manuth has explained, the story caused some concern to theologians, who were discomfited by such bad behaviour on the part of members of Jesus' lineage.<sup>12</sup> De Gelder showed a special preference for the theme, however, depicting it at least three times.<sup>13</sup> He was probably not led to do so by an irreligious streak – like the one cultivated by Houbraken – as he showed a persistent interest in the Bible and in church life. As Alfred Bader has observed, he seems to have been drawn generally to figures of powerful and heroic women.<sup>14</sup> His favourite textual source, for instance, was the book of Esther. In this particular painting, he



displays much greater sympathy in his representation of Tamar than in that of her leering companion.

To conjure the period of biblical antiquity, De Gelder has dressed his figures in fantasy costume partially derived from contemporary Persian dress, much as his teacher Rembrandt had done before him. The bold stripes of the gown Tamar wears in her role as a prostitute actually reflect a contemporary Dutch fashion in women's clothes.<sup>15</sup> More problematic in Tamar's costume is the lack of a veil. Dutch artists generally followed the States translation of the Bible, which describes Tamar as donning a veil to disguise her identity while masquerading as a prostitute. However, Alfred Bader has pointed out that Talmudic interpretation of the original Hebrew reverses the veil's function: Tamar, who would always have worn a veil outside her home, removed it in order to take on the role of prostitute.<sup>16</sup> She would not have been recognized by Judah because he would never have seen her face before. We know De Gelder to have been interested in historical authenticity, and he may have been attracted to this alternative interpretation of the story. It is not clear how he would have come to know about it, though, and in its contravention of tradition it would certainly have perplexed most viewers. In his other versions of the theme, all later, De Gelder shows Tamar in the traditional way, with her face covered by a veil.

1. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 206.
2. Ibid., p. 207.
3. Lilienfeld 1914, p. 15, no. 61.
4. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 206.
5. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 269.
6. Of the some two hundred paintings in the artist's posthumous inventory, around seventy were by his own hand. See Lilienfeld 1914, pp. 272; Von Moltke et al. 1994, pp. 200-204; and exhib. cat. Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999, p. 16.
7. See Tümpel 1994, pp. 355-357, no. 32 (colour ill.).
8. Although Rembrandt's late approach to emotion eluded Houbraken, he did appreciate Rembrandt's achievement in rendering the passions in his early works; see Horn 2000, p. 535, with reference to Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 260.
9. See exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Washington 1996-1997, pp. 219-221, no. 37 (colour ill.).
10. Houbraken's admiration is encapsulated in his theoretically ideal painting, which would incorporate the expression of Jan Steen. See David de Witt, "Aert de Gelder, Jan Steen, and Houbraken's 'Perfect Picture,'" in *Rembrandt and Dutch History Painting of the 17th Century: Proceedings of a Symposium*, Akira Kofuku, ed. (Tokyo: National Museum of Western Art, 2004), pp. 85-94, with reference to Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 277-278.
11. Pieter Lastman, *Judah and Tamar*, oil on panel, 123.2 × 92.7 cm, New York, collection of David Arnon, in 1957; see Erik Larsen, "The Original Judah and Tamar by Pieter Lastman," *Oud Holland* 69 (1957), pp. 111-114 (fig. 3).
12. Volker Manuth, "De voorwerpen van zyn Historische vertooningen zyn meest Bybelstof..." *De bijbelse historiestukken van Arent de Gelder: keuze van onderwerpen en iconographie*, in exhib. cat. Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999, pp. 51-69.
13. Aert de Gelder, *Judah and Tamar*, oil on canvas, 64 × 86 cm, around 1680, formerly The Hague, with Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, now in a Dutch private collection; *Judah and Tamar*, oil on canvas, 98.7 × 129.5 cm, around 1681, Vienna, Akademie der bildende Künste, inv. 817 (see exhib. cat. Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999, pp. 126-127, no. 2 [colour ill.], and pp. 144-145, no. 10 [colour ill.]).
14. Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 4, no. 1 (1971), inside cover.
15. On the popularity of stripes in Dutch costume of the 1670s and 1680s, see Marieke de Winkel, in exhib. cat. Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999, p. 97.
16. Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 4, no. 1 (1971), inside cover. ◆



83.

Aert de Gelder (Dordrecht 1645 – Dordrecht 1727)

*Elisha and the Widow of the Prophet Pouring the Flasks of Oil*  
1690s?

Oil on canvas, 87 × 66 cm

Signed upper right: A. de Gelder

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Edinburgh, Walker Art Collection; Rotterdam, with D. Vaartjes; The Hague, with John Hoogsteder; sale, London (Christie's), 27 June 1969, lot 5 (as *The Wine Seller*), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 3, no. 3 (1970), p. 2 (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, pp. 1157, 1169, no. 763, p. 1223 (ill., as around 1700); Von Moltke et al. 1994, p. 72, no. 24 (pl. 24); Guus Sluiter, review of Von Moltke et al. 1994, in *Oud Holland* 111 (1997), p. 71

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 116-117, no. 53 (ill.); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, p. 85 (colour ill.), p. 185, no. 29; Milwaukee 1989, pp. 92-93, no. 41 (ill.); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 17 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 15 (ill.)

AS ALFRED BADER was the first to point out, Aert de Gelder offers here what seems to be an idiosyncratic depiction of an episode from the life of the prophet Elisha.<sup>1</sup> The Second Book of Kings (1-7) tells of the widow of a prophet whose poverty has reached the point that her creditor is about to take her two sons into slavery. Elisha rescues her from this desperate state by working a miracle: he first has the widow borrow as many vessels as she can and then instructs her to pour oil into them from her one remaining jar. The jar does not run dry until the last vessel is filled, and the widow is then able to sell the bounty and pay her debt, rescuing herself and her children from destitution. Elisha's power to conjure miracles signalled direct contact with God and underscored his unique status as the foremost prophet of his age. But this narrative also emphasizes the moral duty to protect and



support prophets and their families, which in the 17th century would have been transposed to preachers and clergymen. This concern for the succouring of prophets underlies the Jewish tradition that identifies the widow's former husband as the prophet Obadiah, who before his death had gone deeply into debt supporting the prophets persecuted by King Ahab.<sup>2</sup>

De Gelder's hushed drama does not follow the text literally. There, the widow pours the oil with the help of her two sons, and the story ends with Elisha telling her to sell it in order to pay her debt. The sons are absent from the present painting, and it is Elisha who pours the oil. The widow has clearly already gone out, and here returns with the money gained from selling an earlier batch. Yet this biblical story is the only feasible interpretation of De Gelder's picture.<sup>3</sup> The artist seems to have collapsed several different moments into one scene, juxtaposing the pouring of the oil with the widow's surprised relief at her financial rescue. The fantasy costumes point to a biblical setting, which accords with the major part of the artist's output. Also, the genre-like quality of the scene, which emphasizes the spontaneous emotional reactions of the widow and Elisha – their almost conspiratorial interaction – is consistent with De Gelder's candid, informal interpretation of many biblical themes, which was shaped by the powerful influence of genre painting, especially that of Jan Steen. De Gelder often took liberties in interpreting his text, a freedom permitted by his financial independence and resulting indifference to market demands for conformity to tradition.

While the attribution of the picture to De Gelder is uncontested, there is little evidence regarding its date. Von Moltke dismissed Sumowski's proposal of the relatively late date of around 1700, connecting the work instead with earlier history paintings from around 1685.<sup>4</sup> Yet the scene's quiet, gentle tone is more consistent with De Gelder's later works, which are generally more sober and reduced. De Gelder has not employed the flamboyant techniques used to describe textures and fabrics in his 1681 painting *Judah and Tamar*, in Kingston (cat. 82), which were typical of this earlier period. It should be noted that De Gelder's oeuvre does not show a distinct stylistic development, possibly because he strove explicitly to maintain an outmoded manner – that of the late Rembrandt. One aspect of Rembrandt's late work he appears to have initially foregone is its emotional reserve, but with time he seems to have embraced it. Here, the expressions of the widow and prophet are explicit but not extreme, apparently reflecting the restraint adopted latterly by De Gelder. This impression is consistent with the muted colour scheme and subdued pictorial surface. Because it retains some of De Gelder's earlier clarity and boldness, the painting could be tentatively dated to the period between 1690 and 1700.

1. Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 3, no. 3 (1970), p. 2 (cover ill.).

2. See Alfred Bader, in exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1976, p. 116, and Ginzberg 1968, vol. 4, pp. 240–242.

3. For discussion of the theme, see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 1169, and Von Moltke et al. 1994, p. 72.

4. For their views on the dating, see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 1169, and Von Moltke et al. 1994, p. 72. ◆



#### 84.

Aert de Gelder (Dordrecht 1645 –Dordrecht 1727)

*Hannah Presenting Samuel to Eli*

Around 1710

Oil on canvas, 79.7 × 97.8 cm

Signed lower right, on the column base: *A. Gelder*

Formerly falsely signed, bottom centre: *Rembrandt 1646*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Phillips), 14 December 1999, lot 47 (colour ill., as *The Banishment of Hagar and Ishmael*), purchased by Alfred Bader

IN A MONUMENTAL interior structured by columns and arches, a group on the left, consisting of a couple and their child, focuses on an enthroned man at the centre right. This figure wears a costume featuring a breastplate set with stones, which is held by a vestment resembling an apron – the “ephod” described in chapter 28 of the Book of Exodus as part of the accoutrements of the high priest of the Temple. Draped over the man’s shoulders is the “brodered coat” also prescribed for the same office. Although this painting appeared at auction as *The Banishment of Hagar and Ishmael*, it actually represents Hannah Presenting Samuel to Eli.<sup>1</sup> The First Book of Samuel begins with the story of Hannah, the childless wife of Elkanah, praying in the Temple for a son. After receiving a blessing from the high priest Eli, she conceives and gives birth to Samuel. Once the child is weaned, she takes him to the Temple to serve God, fulfilling the pledge she had made. (Samuel would ultimately assume the office of high priest himself, following the demise of Eli and his corrupt sons.) Here, De Gelder seems to have depicted Hannah, accompanied by Elkanah, presenting the toddler Samuel to Eli, who looks quizzically toward the group. Hannah is apparently in the midst of her explanation to Eli, and the image includes a sheep, presumably destined for sacrifice. However, De Gelder has not given a precise rendering of the text, which specifies that Hannah took





Fig. 84a. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Samuel Being Presented to Eli*, around 1665, oil on canvas, 117 x 143 cm, signed. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1267.

with her flour, wine and a bull, which was sacrificed beforehand.

De Gelder probably knew and followed one or more of the depictions of this subject by fellow Rembrandt pupils. In composition, figure scale and painterly style his work most closely approaches the version by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, now in the Louvre (fig. 84a).<sup>2</sup> Although Eli's garb varies in these interpretations, especially in the headdress, both artists have carefully represented the breastplate, and in a very similar manner. Van den Eeckhout, however, has depicted the offerings brought by Hannah with textual accuracy, showing a container of flour and a flask of wine in the centre foreground, and a bull being led in from the right. In composing his version, De Gelder evidently failed to review the source, thus overlooking the thematic relevance of these attributes. Interestingly, the artist showed himself to be attuned to the accuracy of historical detail in his late Passion series.<sup>3</sup> In that case, however, he had a recent publication to guide him,<sup>4</sup> whereas with the present painting he simply adapted an existing pictorial tradition.

In his astonishing range of technique, amply represented here, De Gelder owed much to his teacher. There is considerable evidence of his use of the butt end of the brush to scrape away overlying paint in drawn lines – in the stairs, Elkanah's clothing and especially in the costume worn by Eli. Along with the summary rendering of the figure of Elkanah and the interior space, this element can be related to the free handling of De Gelder's late works. A date of around 1710 is also supported by the feature of the shallow stairs leading up to Eli's throne, which echoes the setting of several scenes in the Passion series, which De Gelder worked on between around 1710 and his death in 1727.<sup>5</sup>

1. Alfred Bader was the first to identify the theme correctly.

2. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 738, no. 455, p. 818 (colour ill.).

3. See Hecht 1996.

4. Antonius Bynaeus, *Gekruiste Christus* (Dordrecht: Dirck Goris and the Widow of Jasper Goris, 1688).

5. De Gelder's series consists of ten paintings on canvas, each measuring 71 x 59 cm or thereabouts. They span the Gospel narrative from the Agony in the Garden to the Resurrection and are divided between the Gemäldegalerie in Aschaffenburg and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, pp. 1170-1172, nos. 767-777, pp. 1227-1238 (ills.). ♦



85.

Aert de Gelder (Dordrecht 1645 – Dordrecht 1727)

*The Artist's Studio*

Around 1710-1715

Oil on canvas, 48.9 x 57.8 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Thomas Shwencke et al. sale, The Hague, 6 October 1767 (Lugt 1640), lot 28 (*Een Schilders-Kamer zeer uitvoerig door denselven* [A Painter's Studio, by the same (De Gelder)], 18 1/2 x 22 duim [47.5 x 56.5 cm]);<sup>1</sup> Danoot sale, Brussels, 22 December 1828 (Lugt 11890), lot 29;<sup>2</sup> sale, London (Sotheby's), 22 July 1903, lot 11; M. H. Colnaghi sale, London (Robinson and Fischer), 22 October 1908 (Lugt 66833), lot 216; Lord Amherst of Hackney et al. sale, London (Christie's), 12 December 1908 (Lugt 67056), lot 65; Munich, with J. Böhrer; Vienna, collection of Oscar Bondy; Bondy sale, New York (Kende Gallery), 3 March 1949, lot 72; New York, with Van Diemen-Lilienfeld Galleries; New York, with Knoedler; Sarasota, collection of Mrs. John Koch; New York, with Christophe Janet, in 1984; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Lilienfeld 1914, pp. 187-188, no. 144 (as possibly representing De Gelder in his studio); Van Fossen 1968, p. 287, no. 111 (as a late work by De Gelder); A. Hyatt Mayor, "Rembrandt and the Bible," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 36 (1979), p. 4, no. 2 (ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1176, no. 797, p. 1257 (ill.); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 18, no. 2, 1985, p. 1 (cover ill.); Von Moltke et al. 1994, p. 98, no. 81 (colour pl. 81); Guus Sluiter, review of Von Moltke et al. 1994, in *Oud Holland* 111 (1997), p. 71

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Sarasota 1980-1981, unpaginated, no. 22 (ill.); Hempstead 1988, unpaginated, no. 6 (ill.); Dordrecht 1992, pp. 43 note 52, 174, 166-167, no. 35 (colour ill.); Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999, pp. 230-231, no. 46 (colour ill.)

THE PRESENT PAINTING depicts an artist and pupil at work in a large, sparsely furnished studio. Spare palettes and other equipment, including a T-square, hang on the walls. In a rear corner of the studio, the pupil prepares pigments at a table. The master sits before an easel, where he works at a large, arched panel. Although he appears at first glance to be painting the portrait of the man seated opposite him, the picture actually looks more like a multi-figured history painting. If this is the case, the





Fig. 85a. Aert de Gelder, *Self-portrait as Zeuxis*, 1685, oil on canvas 142 × 169 cm, signed. Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, inv. 1015.

man seated in the chair would simply be a visitor to the studio – a notion supported by the fact that he seems to be gesturing rhetorically.

De Gelder's *Artist's Studio* is a descendant of the pictorial tradition that dates back to the later Middle Ages, with images of the Evangelist Luke painting the portrait of the Virgin and Child in a studio setting.<sup>3</sup> Developing during the Renaissance and Baroque periods to include self-portraits of artists at work (occasionally accompanied by their pupils and assistants), the theme enjoyed a certain popularity in Netherlandish art of the 17th century. By including a visitor, De Gelder would also have been invoking a related pictorial tradition – that of the studio visit. Seen as integral to the role of the educated gentleman, this time-honoured activity went at least as far back as Alexander the Great's visit to the studio of Apelles, itself the subject of numerous paintings. The fashionable dress of the visitor seen here suggests that his presence in the artist's studio had a definite social dimension.

The high, almost empty room depicted here offers a number of clues about the artist's practice. The viewer's eye is caught immediately by several devices used to manipulate the influx of daylight: the gauzy curtain looped back from the upper left corner of the window, the frame of oiled paper or fabric that covers the upper half of the window, and the large piece of heavy fabric hanging from the ceiling. Such devices, all mentioned in artists' manuals of the period, seem to denote an overriding concern for light manipulation that accords with De Gelder's approach to painting.<sup>4</sup> In his work in general, De Gelder eschewed the sharp contours and crisp, defined shapes aspired to by many of his late 17th-century and early 18th-century contemporaries. He aimed rather to suggest the substance of his forms using thickly applied paint and visible brushstrokes. The diffuse quality of light evident in many of his figural scenes and portraits, including the present work, would have resulted from the indirect ambient light created by the strategies pictured here.

Marjorie Wieseman has suggested that De Gelder's painting, with its airy, spacious setting and the diminutive size of its figures, is in the lineage of Rembrandt's pictures of scholars in lofty rooms, especially the *Painter in His Studio* of around 1629.<sup>5</sup> But there are also several notable differences. Rembrandt's picture directs our attention to the artist surveying his handiwork. De Gelder does not focus on the artist, or indeed on any single element in the process of producing a painting. We register a number of things: the pupil, the visitor in his interactive role, certain features of the training and tasks of an artist's apprentice, some of the master's working methods. This balance between various points of interest demonstrates the impact of the developing field of genre painting on De Gelder, a specialist in historical scenes.

The financially independent De Gelder often flew in the face of convention in terms of the subject matter he chose to explore, and the manner and style in which he portrayed it. For example, his 1685 *Self-portrait as Zeuxis* (fig. 85a),<sup>6</sup> now in Frankfurt, seems to be a sardonic comment on the nature and practice of portrait painting in the Netherlands during the 17th century. The present work, much softer in tone, displays many similarities with examples of De Gelder's later oeuvre, including his Passion series.<sup>7</sup> It was likely painted between 1710 and 1715.<sup>8</sup>

1. See Hoet and Terwesten 1770, p. 645.

2. The present work should not be confused with a decisively smaller composition (around 41 × 44 cm) reported in France in the second half of the 18th century, which does not include a visitor; see Lilienfeld 1914, p. 188, no. 146, and Von Moltke et al. 1994, pp. 139–140, no. L126.

3. See Volker Manuth in exhib. cat. Dordrecht and Cologne 1998, p. 231.

4. See the discussion by Manuth, *ibid.*

5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Painter in His Studio*, around 1629, oil on panel, 25.1 × 31.9 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 38.1838; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 208–213, no. A18 (ill.). For Wieseman's observations, see exhib. cat. Dordrecht 1992, p. 167.

6. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1166, no. 749, p. 1209 (fig. 1).

7. Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, pp. 1170–1172, nos. 767–777.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1176; see also exhib. cat. Dordrecht 1992, p. 166. ♦





86.

Philip Cyselaer (Antwerp around 1620 – ? after 1643)

*Vashti before Ahasuerus?*

Around 1643

Oil on panel, 47 × 62.9 cm

Signed lower right: *P. Cyselaer f*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

New York, collection of Gerald Paget, by 1940; purchased from him by Alfred Bader in 1975

#### LITERATURE

Van Fossen 1968, pp. 194, 249, no. 8 (fig. 13, as by De Gelder, 1660s); *La Chronique des Arts* (supplement to *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*), no. 1296 (January 1977), p. 11 (fig. 10); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 11, no. 1 (1978), p. 1 (cover ill., as not by De Gelder); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1158 note 7; Von Moltke et al. 1994, p. 172, no. R 13 (fig. 72, as not by De Gelder)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 126-127, no. 58 (colour ill.); South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 6 (ill.); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 28-29, no. 11 (ill.)

THIS PAINTING HAS traditionally been interpreted as a depiction of Queen Esther before Ahasuerus. As recounted in the biblical book bearing her name, Esther rescues her people, the Israelites, by denouncing to her husband Ahasuerus, King of the Medes and Persians, the decree engineered by his courtier Haman to have all the Jews in the kingdom exterminated. This

painting might depict the scene when Esther first gains an audience with Ahasuerus with the purpose of inviting him and Haman to a banquet, at which she will deliver her protest (Esther 6:6-8). Ahasuerus reclines on his throne, his brow furrowed – possibly as he considers the invitation. The man in armour, tugging at the King's arm, could be Haman, reacting in suspicion. However, the biblical text does not mention any doubt on Haman's part, only joy at the flattery of such an invitation. Even less likely is the possibility that the painting shows the later episode when Esther accuses Haman (7:6), as there is no evidence of the banquet that she is said to have prepared.<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, the artist may have depicted a moment right at the start of the Book of Esther (1:12), when Vashti, Ahasuerus's previous queen, refuses the King's command to appear before him and his guests during a grand feast. According to the text, he specifies that she wear her royal crown, an order traditionally interpreted as implying that she wear nothing else. Her refusal is thus not altogether surprising. Although the text does not have Vashti appear personally before Ahasuerus with her refusal, it appears likely that the artist has conjured such a confrontation in this painting. This would certainly account for the emotions displayed by the main figures: the frowning consternation of Ahasuerus, the anxious and hostile expressions of the courtiers, the confident pride of Vashti. The aloof pose of the woman standing on the right and gazing coolly out at the viewer corresponds more closely to the



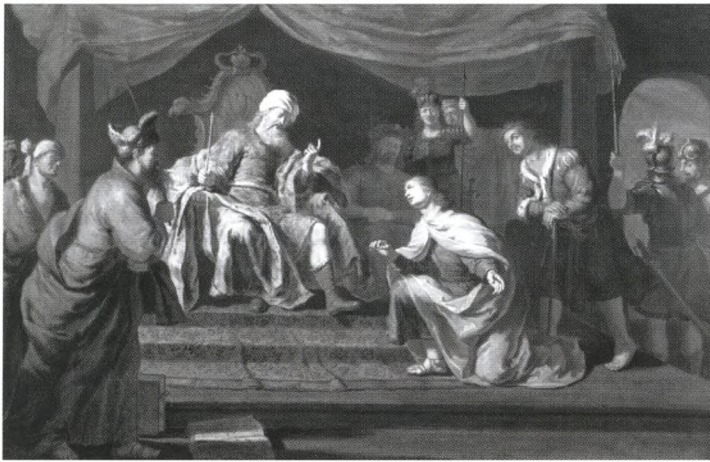


Fig. 86a. Philip Gyselaer, *Joseph Explaining the Dreams to Pharaoh*, 1643, oil on panel, 33 × 51.3 cm, signed. New York, with Daphne Alazraki, in 1995.

traditionally negative image of Vashti than to the more sympathetic view of Esther.

When this painting entered the Bader Collection, it still bore an attribution to Rembrandt's late pupil Aert de Gelder, first made by Abraham Bredius in 1940<sup>2</sup> and later supported by David van Fossen.<sup>3</sup> This opinion was based principally on the remains of a signature at the lower right. The refined handling and bright palette proved difficult to reconcile with De Gelder's famously loose technique and warm colour schemes, however, and in 1996 Josua Bruyn suggested that the author might be Philip Gyselaer, a little-known Flemish painter specializing in historical subjects whose name fits the traces of signature exactly.<sup>4</sup> While Gyselaer's years of birth and death are not known, he is recorded as training in the studio of the still-life specialist Adriaan van Utrecht in 1634.<sup>5</sup> Quite recently, a depiction of *Joseph Explaining the Dreams to Pharaoh* bearing this artist's signature and a date of 1643 surfaced on the art market (fig. 86a). It shows a remarkably similar composition and handling of figures, securing the attribution of the present painting to Gyselaer and pointing to a similar dating. The small-figured compositional style, with its sturdy, rounded physiques, hearkens back to the practice of a number of painters in Antwerp around the turn of the century, including Hendrick van Balen (1573-1632), Frans Francken II (1581-1642) and, slightly later, Willem van Herp (1613-1677). It appears that in the 1640s there was still a market in the Netherlands for this detailed, rich style, alongside the monumental idiom of Rubens. A few elements of the great master's manner can nonetheless be seen here – in the muscular figures of the soldiers on the left, and in the fluid handling in passages of fabric.

1. Some doubt about this traditional interpretation was expressed by Joachim Wolfgang von Moltke in a letter of 12 November 1976 to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
2. Abraham Bredius, expertise of 20 November 1940; Bader Collection work files.
3. Van Fossen 1968, p. 249, no. 8.
4. Letter of 10 March 1996 from Josua Bruyn to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
5. Liggeren, vol. 2, p. 65; see also De Maere and Wabbes 1994, vol. 1, p. 190, no. 522. ◆



87.

Matthijs Harings (Leeuwarden around 1595 – Leeuwarden around 1650)

*Portrait of a Woman with Long Hair*

1645

Oil on panel, 66 × 55.2 cm

Dated upper right: A° 1645

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

New York, with Otto Naumann (as by Wybrand de Geest); purchased by Alfred Bader in 1983

A YOUNG WOMAN with full features and a detached expression is portrayed here in a half-length view. She wears a satin and lace collar that entirely covers her shoulders, over a pink-grey dress whose sleeves are ornamented with metallic ribbon. The top of the dress appears to take the form of a fitted bodice trimmed with buttons and loops in metallic thread. The collar of the woman's underblouse rises part way up her neck and is held in place by a cord tied at the front, from which hangs a gold pendant set with pearls. A double string of pearls encircles her neck lower down, and she wears very large earrings, also of gold set with pearls. The focal point of her costume, however, is the large pendant attached to two looped ribbons embroidered with metallic thread, which sits at the centre of her chest, holding together the two edges of the collar. She also wears a hair decoration set with a row of precious stones. The collar, with its double scalloped lace fringe (triple on the shoulders), reflects a





Fig. 87a. Matthijs Harings, *Portrait of Gijsbert Japicx*, 1637, oil on panel, 67 × 55 cm. Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, inv. S00579.

style fashionable during the early 1640s in the Netherlands, also famously pictured in Rembrandt's *Portrait of Agatha Bas* of 1641.<sup>1</sup> Both Rembrandt's sitter and the woman seen here follow the contemporary fashion for wearing the hair pulled back off the forehead and falling loose on either side of the face.

Rejecting an earlier attribution to Jan Jansz. de Stomme (1615-1658), Willem van de Watering proposed instead the name of another Frisian portraitist, Matthijs Harings.<sup>2</sup> Harings was born in Leeuwarden to the sawyer Haringh Wilckes and his wife Griet Tijdsdr., probably around 1595. His 1611 entry in Wijbrand de Geest's *album amicorum* appears to indicate that he had just completed a three-year period of study under this artist.<sup>3</sup> We know that he married Lysbeth Levertsdr. Flasman in 1621,<sup>4</sup> but aside from the record of payment for a painting in 1622 no further documentary trace of this artist has come to light.<sup>5</sup> His works range in date from the early 1630s to the late 1640s. He is best known for his 1637 portrait of the prominent Frisian poet Gijsbert Japicx, now in the museum in Leeuwarden (fig. 87a).<sup>6</sup> Its attribution to Harings is confirmed by a print after the painting,<sup>7</sup> and two other portraits, a pendant pair, are given to him on the same basis.<sup>8</sup> There are no known signed works by the artist: he appears to have chosen only to date his works, usually with the same type of mechanically-drawn block numbers. A number of portraits can, however, be assigned to him on the basis of style, including the present one. They are characterized by an element of smooth and generalizing abstraction, a soft modulation of tone and subtly varying colour, and a conspicuous emphasis on the eyes. These traits mark the portrait of Japicx and several others attributed to Harings, including the ones of Gemme van Burmania and his wife Rintkje van Eysinga, both dated 1646.<sup>9</sup>

Harings diverged early on from his teacher's style and adopted a more muted palette. In contrast with De Geest's dynamic sensibility, he pursued a gentle and refined effect of balanced asymmetry in his portrait compositions, paying particular attention to contours, negative space and contact points with the edges. His approach is mildly reminiscent of the Haarlem master Johannes Verspronck (1606/09-1662), although there is no evidence of contact between the two artists.

1. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Agatha Bas*, 1641, oil on canvas, 104 × 82 cm, signed, London, Buckingham Palace, collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, inv. 1157; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 424-429, no. A145 (ill.).
2. Letter from Willem van de Watering, May 1986, on file with the owner.
3. This document is in the Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, Leeuwarden, cat. no. 506 Hs; see Wassenbergh 1967, p. 42. Although Harings's year of birth has previously been estimated as 1590, he would likely have been around sixteen or seventeen at the completion of his training in 1611, rather than twenty-one.
4. Wassenbergh 1967, p. 42, and D. J. van der Meer, "Sibben fan Cysbert Japicx, Syke Salviusdr. en Margaretha de Heer," *It Beaken* 26, no. 1 (1964), p. 42, 19 September 1621.
5. Wassenbergh 1967, p. 42.
6. See Wassenbergh 1967, p. 42 (fig. 114).
7. P. Velyn, after Matthijs Harings, *Portrait of Gijsbert Japicx*, 1637, etching; see Hollstein, vol. 8, p. 220, no. 2, and Wassenburgh 1967, p. 42.
8. Willem Jacobsz. Delff, after Matthijs Harings, *Portrait of Ripertus Sixtus*, 1631, etching, state I/II, 24.9 × 14.8 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 5, p. 217, no. 81 (ill.), and Wassenbergh 1967, p. 42 (fig. 115).
9. Matthijs Harings, *Portrait of Gemme van Burmania (1626-1671)*, 1646, 71 × 60 cm, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, inv. 1951-145, and *Portrait of Rintkje van Eysinga (1622-1652)*, 1646, 71 × 60 cm, Leeuwarden, Fries Museum, inv. 1951-156. ◆





88.

Hendrik Heerschop (Haarlem 1626/27 – Haarlem 1690)

*The Alchemist*

1671

Oil on panel, 55 × 44 cm

Signed and dated lower left: *Hheerschop/1671*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Marie Vischer sale, Amsterdam (Mak), 27–30 May 1924 (Lugt 86969), lot 36 (as a pendant to a *Herbalist*); H. de Steurs sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 21–25 October 1947, lot 3000 (together with an *Alchemist and His Assistant*, also signed, of the same dimensions); sale, London (Sotheby's), 4 April 1984, lot 150 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Hempstead 1988, p. 22, no. 7 (ill.); Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 90–91, no. 38 (ill. and colour ill., p. 30, pl. 4)

HENDRICK HEERSCHOP has long been classified as a pupil of Rembrandt. However, the only documentary evidence for this connection is a likely apocryphal inscription on a drawing, which Sumowski declares to be doubtful since it gives the year of Heerschop's birth – which Sumowski surmises to be around 1620 – as 1627.<sup>1</sup> But recent documentary research by Irene van Thiel-Stroman has revealed his year of birth to be around 1626–1627.<sup>2</sup> He was probably born in Haarlem, where he started training with the still-life painter Willem Claesz. Heda in 1642.<sup>3</sup> He also entered the Haarlem artists' guild in 1648,<sup>4</sup> remaining a member until at least 1661.<sup>5</sup> His latest work appears to date to 1687, and the year of his death was recently discovered to be 1690.<sup>6</sup> Heerschop developed well beyond his master's specialty of still life, becoming a practitioner of both history and genre painting. His ambitious, large-figured historical scenes exhibit the style of the De Grebber<sup>7</sup> and De Bray studios that prevailed in Haarlem at this

period, and his genre scenes continue the city's rich tradition with the same classicizing aesthetic of clarity, smooth facture and high-key colours.

Here, we see an alchemist sitting in his laboratory. On a stone oven before him is an arrangement of distillation vessels, one of which drains into a narrow-necked glass jar. By his knee stands an anvil mounted on a bench made from a solid log. Against this leans the hammer used to break and crush rocks to obtain the raw materials for different alchemical processes. In the lower right corner is a pair of bellows, a standard alchemists' attribute and the source of their pejorative nickname of "puffer."<sup>8</sup> The scholarly tradition behind alchemy is represented by the books piled on the table at the painting's left edge. Heerschop's image maintains the tradition for representing alchemists negatively, which was initiated by the important print designed in 1558 by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (fig. 145a).<sup>9</sup> The present picture shares the main message of the Bruegel – that alchemy leads to the poorhouse – by placing particular emphasis on the man's bare knee, a clear sign that he can no longer afford to clothe himself properly.<sup>10</sup> However, its didactic tone is less shrill: the clutter is orderly, and the figure seems relaxed and content – his state is not yet close to desperate. He even seems to fit among a number of representations by Heerschop of more respectable professions, including a *Geographer*,<sup>11</sup> a *Scholar Cutting His Pen*,<sup>12</sup> an *Artist in His Studio*.<sup>13</sup> When Heerschop's *Alchemist* appeared at auction in 1924 and again in 1947, it was paired with another work identified respectively as a *Herbalist* and an *Alchemist with His Assistant*. Unfortunately this picture cannot be traced, and its subject matter therefore remains unconfirmed.<sup>14</sup> The critical view the present image offers of its subject is underlined by the man's pipe and the smoke escaping from his mouth. With its quality of quickly vanishing into thin air, smoke was used as a reminder of the transience of life and the vanity of earthly pursuits in countless still-life paintings during the 17th century. Here, it also alludes to the evanescent fortune of the blissfully ignorant practitioner of alchemy.

1. Van Eynden and Van der Willigen 1816–1840, vol. 1, p. 65; see also Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 83, and Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 277, no. 1649/11.

2. Van Thiel-Stroman 2006, pp. 203–204.

3. See Miedema 1980, vol. 1, p. 532.

4. Ibid., p. 1035.

5. Ibid., p. 1041.

6. Hendrick Heerschop, *An Explosion in an Alchemist's Laboratory*, 1687, oil on canvas, 58.5 × 48 cm, signed, London, with Van Duren, in 1928. On Heerschop's year of death, see Van Thiel-Stroman 2006, p. 204.

7. Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 83.

8. See John Read, *The Alchemist in Life, Literature and Art* (London: T. Nelson, 1947), p. 69.

9. Attributed to Philips Calle, after Pieter Bruegel the Elder. *The Alchemist*, 1558, engraving, 5 states, 34.2 × 44.9 cm; see Van Bastelaer 1992, pp. 263–265, no. 197 (ill.); and exhib. cat. Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 82–83, no. 34 (ill.).

10. See Diana Beaufort, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996–1997, p. 90.

11. Hendrick Heerschop, *A Geographer*, oil on panel, 55 × 42 cm, sale, Berlin (Graupe), 25–26 June 1934, lot 38 (ill.).

12. Hendrick Heerschop, *A Scholar Cutting His Pen*, oil on panel, 55.6 × 45.5 cm, sale, London (Sotheby's), 7 July 1999, lot 516 (ill.).

13. Hendrick Heerschop, *An Artist in His Studio*, oil on panel, 55 × 44.8 cm, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, inv. 2647; see Gregor Weber, "Zusammenklang von Tönen, Farben und Herzen: Thema und Variationen niederländischer Musikikonographie," *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz* 25 (1993), pp. 140–141 (fig. 5). These works do not form part of a series, however; their similar dimensions simply reflect a standard panel size.

14. See under Provenance at the head of this entry. ♦





Fig. 89a. Abraham Hondius, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1671, oil on panel, 76.5 × 61 cm, signed. Bordeaux, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. Bx 1988.1.1.

89.

Abraham Hondius

(Rotterdam around 1631 – London 1691)

*Manoah's Sacrifice*

Around 1671

Oil on panel, 89 × 69 cm

Signed lower right: *A-HONDIVS*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Munich, with Michael Rohe; purchased by Alfred Bader in 2000

THE CAREER OF THE painter Abraham Hondius comprises two distinct phases. Born in Rotterdam to the mason Daniel Abrahamsz. de Hont and Crijntjen Alewijnsdr., Hondius first established himself as an artist in his native city, marrying there in 1653.<sup>1</sup> He painted histories and hunting scenes, and may have

received commissions from fellow Catholics for altarpieces in their clandestine churches.<sup>2</sup> Then in 1671 he moved to London, henceforth producing hunting scenes almost exclusively. Some of his commissions came by way of Robert Hooke, the well-known architect, City Surveyor and member of the Royal Society.<sup>3</sup> Both Hooke and the biographer Jacob Campo Weyerman reported on the artist's contrary personality, which may have prevented him achieving the success that his talent seemed to promise.<sup>4</sup>

The removal of a false Rembrandt signature and the discovery of Hondius's have recently confirmed Marijke Peyser-Verhaar's opinion that he is the author of this painting. She places it in the 1660s, before Hondius left for England, pointing to several connections to other pictures from this decade.<sup>5</sup> For instance, she compares the angel to one in Hondius's 1663 *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in the Rijksmuseum,<sup>6</sup> and the round temple and the



altar to those in his 1667 *Jesus and the Adulteress*.<sup>7</sup> However, the impastoed handling and numerous wavy edges – even the figure of the angel – compare more closely to Hondius's *Adoration of the Shepherds* of 1671, now in Bordeaux (fig. 89a).<sup>8</sup> This allows for a dating of the present painting to around that year, immediately before the artist's departure for England. By this time Hondius had moved away from his smooth, classicizing treatment and had developed a flamboyant, energetic use of undulating lines, dramatic light effects and extreme emotional expressions – elements that apparently revived aspects of the styles of both Rembrandt and Peter Paul Rubens. This choice, an eccentric one for the period, is reminiscent of the isolated position of Aert de Gelder, who also carried the Rembrandt idiom forward very late, albeit in a calmer manner. It is tempting to relate Hondius's choice to his wilful character, cited above.

In the present work Hondius has depicted a scene from the story of Samson, the Hebrew battle champion and ruler, recounted in the Book of Judges (13:1–20). Samson's birth is originally announced to his mother by an angel disguised as a young man, who also dictates the rules for the child's lifestyle as member of the order of the Nazirites. The woman's husband, Manoah, somewhat skeptical, demands to hear the revelation as well and to meet the visitor. After the convinced couple sacrifices a kid, the man reveals himself as an angel, rising up in the flames from the altar. Although nominally a neutral scene, acceptable to various religious denominations, Manoah's Sacrifice bore some connection to traditional altarpiece subject matter, especially in its inclusion of an altar bearing a sacrifice. Samson traditionally belonged to the typology of Jesus, but the present scene combines allusions to the Ascension of Christ and the Annunciation to the Virgin.<sup>9</sup> Hondius may well have produced such a work for members of his own Roman Catholic community in Rotterdam.

1. Peyser-Verhaar 1998, pp. 151–153.

2. Ibid., p. 153.

3. Ibid., pp. 153–154.

4. *The Diary of Robert Hooke, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. (1672–1680)*, Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, eds. (London: Taylor & Francis), 1935, p. 115; Weyerman, vol. 3, p. 157–158.

5. The panel support is also significant, as Hondius turned to painting on canvas after leaving for England; letter of 27 November 1999 from Marijke Peyser-Verhaar to Alfred Bader (Bader Collection work files).

6. Abraham Hondius, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1663, oil on panel, 79 × 64 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1918; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, p. 284 (ill.).

7. Abraham Hondius, *Jesus and the Adulteress*, 1667, oil on panel, 37 × 49.5 cm, signed, sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 8 May 1995, lot 79 (ill.).

8. See collection cat. Bordeaux 1990, pp. 162–165, no. 41 (colour ill., colour detail on dust jacket).

9. LTK, vol. 9, col. 302, s.v. "Samson, Christliche Kunst und Symbolik." ♦



90.

Gerrit Willemsz. Horst (Muiden around 1612/13 – 1652 Amsterdam)

*Portrait of a Young Man in a Red Beret (Self-portrait?)*

Around 1633–1635

Oil on panel, 41 × 36.3 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's Olympia), 8 April 2003, lot 142 (colour ill., as Manner of Rembrandt); London, collection of William Walker; London, with Johnny van Haften; purchased by Alfred Bader, in 2006

GERRIT WILLEMSZ. HORST was born in Muiden around 1612/13 and went to nearby Amsterdam to study with Antoni Hendricksz. de Lust in 1626, moving on to Rembrandt during the master's first years in that city.<sup>1</sup> A signed painting dated to 1633 marks the beginning of Horst's career.<sup>2</sup> Although there is no documentary evidence related to his study, the monochromatic palette, bulky figure types and penchant for Old Testament themes of his early paintings clearly show the impact of Rembrandt's work from that period. Horst went on to develop an approach marked by a distinctively flat, smooth modelling of forms, rounded shapes and a tendency toward small, slit-like eyes – stylizations that sometimes lend his works an otherworldly quality.

In this portrait, a young man wearing a dark jacket and a floppy red beret looks out at the viewer, a slight grin breaking across his smooth features. His eyes squint lightly, and strong light coming from his left casts the opposite side of his face in shadow. The dry, scratchy technique employed to apply the thin, semi-transparent paint has left visible hatched brushstrokes. In





Fig. 90a. Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, *Scholar Writing at His Desk*, around 1635, oil on panel, 67.5 × 52 cm, traces of a signature. Location unknown.

dismissing a suggested attribution of this work to the Rembrandt pupil Samuel van Hoogstraten, Albert Blankert has described the effect as “woolly.”<sup>3</sup> This type of facture is actually more closely related to the early works of another pupil of the master’s, Gerrit Willemsz. Horst. A similarly stark effect of harsh lighting characterizes his *Scholar Writing at His Desk* last in Berlin (fig. 90a).<sup>4</sup> In both works, the eyelids show the same curious, tightly bulging form. The *Scholar Writing at His Desk* was dated by Sumowski to around 1633 on the basis of its connection to a panel in Calais, of the same format and a similar theme, bearing this date.<sup>5</sup> However, like the present painting, the Berlin *Scholar* shows greater focus and force than the Calais work, likely reflecting some development and a date closer to 1635.

The beret worn by the sitter raises the possibility that this panel is a self-portrait. Long outmoded as far as the general population was concerned, this item of headgear enjoyed continued popularity among artists during the 17th century, as Marieke de Winkel has observed.<sup>6</sup> The sitter’s distinctive features, with the smooth but slightly swollen area below the eyebrows, straight nose, pointed chin and fleshy lips, also appear in another painting attributed to Horst – a fragment depicting an angel, for which he may have used himself as a readily available model.<sup>7</sup> The pose here does not include the over-the-shoulder glance favoured by many artists for depictions of themselves, but there is a similar suggestion of quick wit projected by the amused, half-laughing expression, which likewise breaks from the more stiffly formal conventions governing portraits of paying patrons. However, in the absence of artistic attributes or a firmly identified self-portrait by Horst, this possibility will have to remain a matter for speculation.

1. Thieme-Becker, vol. 17, p. 533.
2. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1387.
3. “The woolly execution of most details makes me however wonder if it can be autograph or may have suffered too much”; letter of 23 February 2006 from Albert Blankert to William Walker, commenting on the attribution to Van Hoogstraten (Bader Collection work files).
4. Formerly Berlin, collection of Frau. Dr. Gottscheffski; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1392, no. 919, p. 1409 (ill., as around 1633).
5. Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, *Scholar with Books*, 1633, oil on panel, 67.6 × 52.5 cm, signed, Calais, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. 51.14.1; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1392, no. 918, p. 1408 (ill.).
6. De Winkel 1998, p. 332.
7. Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, *An Angel*, oil on canvas, 66.2 × 54.2 cm, Bremen, Bremen Kunsthalle, inv. 924-1966/6; Bol; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1392, no. 920, p. 1410 (colour ill.) ◆





91.

Gerrit Willemsz. Horst (Muiden around 1612/13 – Amsterdam 1652)

*Tobias Cleaning the Fish*

Around 1652

Oil on panel, 115.2 × 84.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Belgium, private collection, 1951; sale, London (Sotheby's), 17 December 1998, lot 158 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1391, no. 916, p. 1406 (ill.)

#### EXHIBITIONS

Antwerp, Rockox Huis, 1951

ACCORDING TO THE apocryphal Book of Tobit (6:1-6), Tobit's son Tobias is on his way to Rages accompanied by the archangel Raphael when a fish jumps out of a stream, startling the youth. The angel instructs Tobias to catch the fish and remove its internal organs. The gall of the fish would later cure Tobit's blindness, and its heart and liver would dispel the evil spirit that had killed the seven previous husbands of Tobias's future wife, Sarah. Several pictures based on this text survive from the hand of the Rembrandt pupil Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, who seems to have had a special interest in the story.



Fig. 91a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Tobias Disembowelling the Fish*, around 1646-1647, pen and bistre wash, 16.5 × 18 cm. Formerly Providence, Rhode Island, collection of Marsden J. Perry.



Fig. 91b. Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, *Tobias Cleaning the Fish*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 88 × 112 cm. Coburg, Schloss Ehrenburg.

In this version, Horst has depicted Tobias as a young boy. On his knees at the water's edge, he bends over to disembowel the fish. As the boy grips the fish and cuts its underbelly, Raphael looks on attentively, loosely holding the walking stick that signals their status as travellers. He is portrayed with long golden hair, a white gown and wings, although the text clearly relates how Raphael disguises himself as a young man, Azarius, and only reveals his angelic identity much later. In this, however, Horst was following the conventional undisguised depiction of Raphael, which made the subject of the image clear to its viewers.

Horst's interest in the book of Tobit as a thematic source likely arose out of his familiarity with Rembrandt's drawings of scenes from this text. In fact, Horst seems to have borrowed from several of the master's drawings for the figures and composition seen here. The unusual motif of Tobias disembowelling the fish derives from a drawing by Rembrandt of around 1646-1647 (fig. 91a).<sup>1</sup> Horst adapted Tobias's pose from this sheet, rotating the figure so it faces to the right. The relaxed pose of Horst's Raphael, with his hanging arm and tilted head, has its origins in a Rembrandt drawing on a different theme – *The Angel by Christ's Tomb*, dated around 1647-1648.<sup>2</sup> These drawings not only allow for a dating of the present painting to the period immediately following, but also attest to the continuing influence exercised over Horst by his teacher many years after his training was complete, and possibly also to continued contact with the master's studio.

Sturla Gudlaugsson was the first to recognize the present picture as the work of Gerrit Horst.<sup>3</sup> His attribution was supported



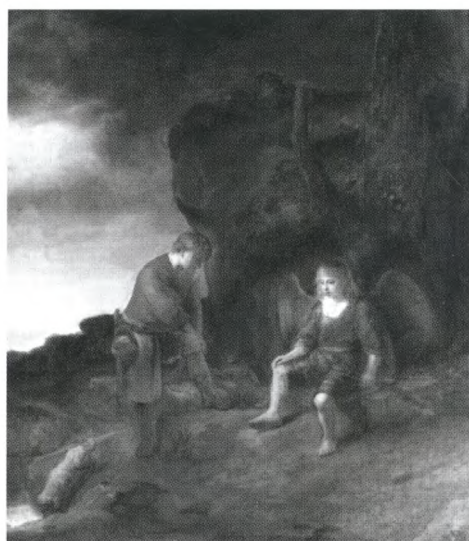


Fig. 91c. Abraham van Dijck, *Tobias Cleaning the Fish*, around 1652, oil on canvas, 86 x 74 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie alte Meister, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 828 N.

by Werner Sumowski's comparison to another painting on the same theme, now in Coburg, that also shows Horst's hand (fig. 91b).<sup>4</sup> The two pictures display the same simple pyramidal grouping in the centre, although the present work adopts a vertical composition rather than the horizontal format of the Coburg picture. It also leaves out the details of Tobias's travel gear, and the dog is smaller and less distracting. These changes yield a more tranquil and focused interpretation, suggesting that the Bader painting is a later reworking of the one in Coburg. Sumowski dates the Coburg work to around 1650 and the present painting to around two years later. He suggests that Horst's revisions may have been inspired by Abraham van Dijck's compelling depiction of the same theme, which he assigns to the same period, around 1652 (fig. 91c).<sup>5</sup> Despite its small figure scale, Van Dijck's painting, now in Berlin, displays that artist's characteristic intensity and monumentality, and it was likely this effect that caught the attention of the less gifted and original Horst. The present picture is certainly more cogent and evocative than is typical for Horst, who often cluttered his compositions.

This tendency in Horst's work had its origins in his period of study under Rembrandt at a time when the master was continuing to draw from the model of his own teacher, Pieter Lastman. Lastman often deliberately incorporated a wide range of detail in his pictures in an effort to achieve an effect of richness. In the present picture, the clump of foliage to the right of the group carries echoes of Lastman, who often filled the lower corners of his compositions with foliage, as a framing device. Horst, like Rembrandt himself, evidently continued to draw sustenance from this older and still much admired master.

*Raeme Lockington and David de Witt*

1. See Benesch 1973, vol. 3, p. 158, no. 582 (fig. 753).
2. Rembrandt, *The Angel by Christ's Tomb*, around 1647-1648, pen and bistre with corrections in white body colour, 15.4 x 9.4 cm, Barnsley Park, Cirencester, collection of Lord Faringdon; see Benesch 1973, vol. 3, p. 162, no. 597A (fig. 758).
3. Gudlaugsson's attribution is recorded in a note with a photograph of the work at the RKD.
4. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1391, no. 915, p. 1405 (colour ill., as around 1650).
5. See *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 668, no. 355, p. 676 (ill.). ♦



92.

Attributed to Gerrit Willemsz. Horst  
(Muiden 1612/13 – Amsterdam 1652)

*Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob*

Around 1640

Oil on canvas, 109.2 x 91.4 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader

THE BOOK OF GENESIS (25:29-34) tells how the patriarch Jacob obtained the birthright that rightfully belonged to his elder brother Esau. Returning home famished from a day outdoors, Esau asks Jacob to give him some of the stew that he has prepared. In exchange, Jacob demands the birthright, which Esau willingly relinquishes – to his later regret. Here, Esau is shown standing to the left, leaning forward and reaching toward his brother, while the seated Jacob restrains him with one hand and grasps the bowl of food in the other. Jacob appears to have just settled down to his meal, for he sits at a table set with plates and a drinking cup. The scene is apparently taking place in a rich house, with some architectural details visible to the upper left. On the right, a curtain of rich green fabric has been pulled aside to reveal a landscape beyond, a subtle allusion to Esau's identity as a hunter and denizen of the outdoors, which in the biblical text is contrasted with Jacob's domesticity. Rather oddly, the artist has chosen to characterize Esau's active nature by dressing





Fig. 92a. Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, oil on canvas, 155 × 218 cm. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, inv. 807.

him in contemporary Polish garb, consisting of a yellow coat and a tall, fur-lined hat very similar to those seen in the famous *Polish Rider* by Rembrandt and his workshop.<sup>1</sup>

Both Ellen Bernt<sup>2</sup> and Christian Tümpel<sup>3</sup> have suggested a connection to the work of Gerrit Willemsz. Horst. The painting combines a lavish description of fabrics and still-life elements with an awkward yet smooth rendering of the figures and faces – an unusual mix encountered in many of Horst's paintings, including the scene from the Book of Tobit in the Bader Collection (cat. 91). The present image can be usefully compared to a now lost depiction of *Isaac Blessing Jacob* formerly in Berlin (fig. 92a).<sup>4</sup> The head of Jacob has been rendered in a similarly unresolved manner in the two paintings, and here Esau's head and pose are reminiscent of those of the Rebecca figure in the work formerly in Berlin. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, at the right edge of the lost canvas is a still life that includes a pewter plate and cup remarkably similar in design and treatment to those seen here, also accompanied by a rumpled white cloth. The Berlin painting has been plausibly assigned by Sumowski to Horst and dated to around 1640 on the basis of a comparison with a signed depiction of the same theme last recorded in Switzerland.<sup>5</sup> The present painting can therefore also be dated to around 1640, its approach to the figure still reflecting Horst's early development. The type of Polish costume worn by Esau generally only appears in Dutch paintings from the 1650s or later, reflecting Dutch admiration for Polish victories against the Turks.<sup>6</sup> This does not preclude an earlier date here, however, especially in light of the longstanding trading relations between Poland and the merchants of Amsterdam, where Horst lived.

Although this theme had previously been explored in a 1549 print by Maerten van Heemskerck,<sup>7</sup> it remains relatively unusual for Dutch art. It is the subject of a drawing by Rembrandt<sup>8</sup> but



Fig. 92b. Johan Moreelse, *Esau Selling His Birthright to Jacob*, by 1634, oil on canvas, 122 × 132 cm. Milwaukee, private collection.

was not taken up by any other pupils of the master, and Rembrandt's drawing actually postdates the present painting and shows a different conception of the scene, with the Esau figure also seated. The artist may have been aware of a now-lost painting by Paulus Moreelse (1571-1638), of 1609, or the print after it by Willem Swanenburg,<sup>9</sup> which shows Esau similarly reaching forward. The compact half-length arrangement of the figures, however, clearly draws on the work of the Caravaggist artists in Utrecht and Amsterdam, and the composition seems to relate directly to that of a painting attributed to Johan Moreelse (around 1602-1634), who was Paulus's son (fig. 92b). This work apparently served as model for the scale and relative position of the two figures and the table, and also the profile view of the head of Jacob. However, the somewhat effeminate presentation of the Jacob figure, with its delicate features, slender build and flowing coiffure, appears to be Horst's own invention, derived from the biblical characterization of the patriarch in his youth.

1. Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop, *The Polish Rider*, 1659, oil on canvas, 116.8 × 134.9 cm, signed, New York, Frick Collection.
2. Letter of 3 March 1993 from Ellen Bernt to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
3. Letter of 27 February 1994 from Christian Tümpel to Alfred Bader; *ibid.*
4. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1390, no. 909, p. 1399 (ill.).
5. Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, around 1640, oil on canvas 108 × 122 cm, monogrammed, formerly Hedingen, Switzerland; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1390, no. 907, p. 1397 (ill.).
6. See Ben Broos, "Rembrandt's Portrait of a Pole and His Horse," *Simiolus* 7 (1974), pp. 193-218.
7. Maerten van Heemskerck, *Esau Selling His Birthright*, 1549, engraving, 24.7 × 19.4 cm; see Veldman 1993, vol. 1, pp. 35-36, no. 23 (ill.).
8. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Esau Selling His Birthright*, around 1650, pen and bistre, wash, heightened with white, 15.9 × 20.3 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 5265; see Benesch, vol. 3, p. 173, no. 647 (fig. 827).
9. Willem Swanenburg, after Paulus Moreelse, *Esau Selling His Birthright*, engraving, 28 × 36.8 cm, inscribed lower left: *P. Moreelse inven. 1609 W. Swanenburg sculp et exc.*; see De Jonge 1938, pp. 75, no. 3 (fig. 8). ♦





93.

Attributed to Gerrit Willemsz. Horst

(Muiden around 1612/13 – Amsterdam 1652)

*A Young Man in Profile, in Fancy Costume*

Around 1645–1650

Oil on canvas, 73 × 59.1 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Italy, private collection; Limnerlease, Compton, collection of George Frederick Watts (1817–1904); by descent to Ronald Chapman (son of Watts's adoptive daughter); by descent to Mrs. Chapman; London, with Matthiesen; London, with Thomas Agnew, by January 1942; London, collection of A. Rofe, by November 1942;<sup>1</sup> sale, London (Sotheby's), 24 June 1970, lot 66 (as by Willem Drost), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1957–1958, pp. 237, 272 (pl. 100, as by Carel Fabritius); Middeldorf 1973, pp. 39, 42, 43 (pl. 9); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 8, no. 3 (1975), p. 25 (cover ill.); Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 3, p. 2836, with no. 1278 (as possibly by Drost, around 1650); Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, pp. 608, 613, no. 316, p. 625 (colour ill., as by Drost, *The Young Isaac*), and vol. 6, p. 3598; Bikker 2005, pp. 146–147, no. R14 (ill., as by Horst)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

London 1946, p. 10, no. 17 (ill., as by Carel Fabritius); London 1953, unpaginated, no. 31 (ill., as attributed to Carel Fabritius); London 1963, no. 29 (ill., as by Carel Fabritius); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 12 (ill., as attributed to Willem Drost, *Profile Portrait of a Woman?*); Kingston 1984, pp. 44–45, no. 18 (ill., as by Drost); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986–1987, p. 75 (colour ill., as by Drost), pp. 137–138, 156, no. 19

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 8 (ill., as *Portrait of a Woman?*)

IN THIS HALF-LENGTH portrait a young man is shown in strict profile, facing left, his forearm resting on the balustrade that runs across the bottom of the composition. He wears a striking costume, with a doublet open at the chest over a long-sleeved shirt, and a spectacular turban-like hat known as a “chaperon,” consisting of a hemispherical crown encircled by a deep tubular band. The hat’s brightly-coloured tail, or “liripipe,” falls onto the man’s right shoulder, passes around the back of his neck to the left and then runs down over the chest, where it loops up and is apparently attached in some way. The exoticism of the headgear is reinforced by the pearl earring hanging from the sitter’s left earlobe, which catches the light coming in from the left and stands out against the shaded part of the neck. Ulrich Middeldorf pointed out the similarity of the pose and costume to those in a medallion *Portrait of Don Inigo de Avalos* by Pisanello (around 1395–around 1455) (fig. 93a).<sup>2</sup> That such medallions were known in the northern Netherlands is demonstrated by drawings after them by Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629).<sup>3</sup> Likely through the intermediary of Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the stadholder, De Gheyn was known to Rembrandt, who made portraits of both men’s sons. It may have been through a drawing by De Gheyn that Rembrandt knew another of Pisanello’s medallions, from which he appears to have taken the figure of a horse and rider for his famous etching entitled *The Three Crosses*.<sup>4</sup> The present painting thus reflects a familiarity with Pisanello’s medallions among Rembrandt’s circle.

Once owned by the Victorian Symbolist painter George Frederick Watts, who believed it to be a Rembrandt, this fantasy image of a young man was ultimately recognized as the work of one of the master’s pupils or followers. First assigned to Carel Fabritius, it was later given by Werner Sumowski to Willem Drost – an attribution rightfully not supported by Jonathan Bikker, who pointed instead to Gerrit Willemsz. Horst.<sup>5</sup> Sumowski had already related the painting to the figure of Isaac in a drawing from around 1645, now in Stockholm, of *Abraham and Isaac before the Sacrifice* (fig. 93b).<sup>6</sup> He had attributed this drawing to Horst on the basis of a comparison with another drawing, in Besançon, depicting King David on his deathbed, which he connected to a painting in Dublin apparently signed by Horst and dated 1643. The painting has since been returned to Ferdinand Bol’s name, as has the Besançon drawing.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, the Stockholm drawing is not by Horst but by Bol, and is stylistically closely related to his well-known compositional sketch of *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of the Baker and Butler*, in Hamburg, of around 1645–1650.<sup>8</sup> Bol’s drawing of *Abraham and Isaac* is clearly derived from a print by Rembrandt of the same theme, of 1645.<sup>9</sup> It has not hitherto been noted that Isaac’s exotic headdress is adapted from that worn by Abraham in Rembrandt’s print, which Rembrandt evidently derived from Pisanello’s medallion. The abstracting simplicity of the present head, apparently a trait of Horst’s approach, is also evident in his *Tobias Cleaning the Fish* (cat. 91). He was likely influenced by artists like Bol – a Rembrandt pupil who by the mid-1640s had adopted a smoother, more idealizing





Fig. 93a. Antonio Pisano, called Pisanello, *Portrait of Don Inigo de Davalos*, 1448-1449, bronze, 7.8 cm (diam.). Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1957.14.614.



Fig. 93b. Ferdinand Bol, *Abraham and Isaac before the Sacrifice*, around 1645-1650, pen and brown ink over lead point, 23.4 × 19.7 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. 2052/1863.



Fig. 93c. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, 1640, oil on canvas, 102 × 80 cm, signed. London, National Gallery, inv. 672.

approach to the figure. The presentation of the head in a strong, raking light compares closely to that of a soldier in profile in a scene of *Soldiers Playing Dice*, given to Horst and datable, like the present work, to 1645-1650.<sup>10</sup> The stylized, narrow rendering of the eye is also common to both. However, the virtuoso impastoed handling of the sleeve departs from the thin, smooth, rather straightforward rendering of fabric typical of Horst and may reflect an isolated attempt to emulate Rembrandt's achievement in this area.

Here, Horst has clearly adapted the pose from the Isaac figure in Bol's drawing in Stockholm, which also shows the head in profile, the body turned toward the viewer, and the hands clasped at waist level. Most significantly, Isaac wears a similar chaperon-type head covering, with a swatch of hanging fabric, and the same distinctive doublet open at the chest – a lavish costume marking him as the precious offspring of a wealthy patriarch. The position of the hands, which in the drawing conveys a sense of anxiety, is recast in the painting as more relaxed, bringing the image closer to portraiture than history painting. Sumowski suggested that the present work is an example of *Herauslösung* – an isolation and reduction of the waiting figure of Isaac that nonetheless stays within the narrative context of the biblical story. But the stone balustrade decisively removes this figure from the narrative of Isaac and Abraham, which took place outdoors; the artist clearly adapted the figure into a fantasy portrait, adjusting the pose so that it conforms quite closely to the one in Rembrandt's famous 1640 *Self-portrait*, kept at the National Gallery, London (fig. 93c).<sup>11</sup> Horst was not alone in following Rembrandt's model: the same conceit was adapted by several of his followers and pupils, including Ferdinand Bol<sup>12</sup> and Govert Flinck.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately, this picture suffered a major loss in the area of the chin, which was then inpainted based on the assumption that the sitter was female. The chin was probably originally more prominent. The earlier misidentification of the figure as a woman rested on an erroneous interpretation of the earring and costume.

1. This provenance is given in the entry for the painting in exhib. cat. London 1946, p. 10.
2. See George Francis Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Renaissance Medals before Cellini* (London: British Museum, 1930), vol. 1, p. 13, no. 44, and vol. 2 (pl. 11); see also Middeldorf 1973, pp. 39, 42 (fig. 8).
3. See Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 1, pp. 155-156, nos. 1029-1032, and vol. 2, p. 107 (figs. 197, 198).
4. See Clark 1966, p. 201, note 185.
5. Bikker 2005, pp. 167-168.
6. See Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 5, pp. 2836-2838, no. 1278 (ill., as attributed to Horst).
7. Ferdinand Bol, *David's Dying Charge to Solomon*, 1643, oil on canvas, 171 × 230 cm, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. 47, and Ferdinand Bol, *King David on His Deathbed*, pen and brown ink with brown wash and white body colour, 15.8 × 21.7 cm, Besançon, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. D.2756; see *ibid.*, pp. 2834-2835, no. 1277 (ill., as by Horst). On the reattribution of this drawing and the associated painting in Dublin to Bol, see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 3080-3081, no. 2005.
8. Ferdinand Bol, *Joseph Interpreting the Dreams of the Baker and Butler*, pen and brown ink and brown wash, 16.7 × 22.9 cm, Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 22412; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 1, pp. 226-227, no. 101 (ill.).
9. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Abraham and Isaac*, 1645, etching and burin, 15.7 × 13 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 15, no. B34, and vol. 19, p. 20 (ill.).
10. Gerrit Willemsz. Horst, *Soldiers Playing Dice*, oil on panel, 91 × 122 cm, Strasbourg, Musée des beaux-arts (stolen in 1977); see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1393, no. 922, p. 1412 (ill.). Sumowski proposed a date in the early 1630s. However, the smooth and abstracted forms point to a date no later than the mid-1640s.
11. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 375-381, no. A139 (ill.).
12. Ferdinand Bol, *A Man in a Fur-trimmed Mantle and Beret*, oil on canvas, 87.5 × 72.5 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 609; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 305, no. 134, p. 373 (colour ill.).
13. Govert Flinck, *Self-portrait in Fantasy Costume*, 1643, oil on panel, 71 × 52 cm (arched top), signed, sale, London (Christie's), 16 July 1943, lot 106; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1035, no. 680, p. 1112 (ill.). ♦





Fig. 94a. Karel du Jardin, *Italian Landscape*, around 1675, oil on canvas, 53 × 68.5 cm. Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. 827.

94.

Karel du Jardin (Amsterdam 1628 – Venice 1678)

*Landscape with an Italian Town*

1675-1678

Oil on canvas, 45 × 58.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 11 June 1969, lot 87 (as by J. Asselijn, "An Italian Landscape with a muleteer and other figures beneath a ruined arch," oil on canvas, 46.5 x 59.5 cm); sale, London (Phillips), 2 July 1996, lot 7 (ill., as by Circle of Adriaen van der Cabel); London, with Clovis Whitfield Fine Art; purchased by Alfred Bader

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 2005-2006, pp. 38-39, no. 12 (colour ill.)



KAREL DU JARDIN enjoys a reputation as one of the most accomplished Dutch painters of Italianate landscapes. Although his training is undocumented, his early paintings closely follow the style of the Haarlem specialist in this genre, Nicolaes Berchem, with whom he likely studied. Houbraken relates a colourful story about the young artist's acceptance of a marriage proposal from a woman innkeeper to whom he owed money.<sup>1</sup> The biographer also tells of Du Jardin's membership in the Schildersbent in Rome, where he was given the Bentname – an association nickname – of *Bokkebaart* (Goatbeard).<sup>2</sup> A drawing of a square in Rome, signed and dated 1653, appears to indicate that his first Roman stay took place in the years 1652–1655, and not during the 1640s as Houbraken asserts.<sup>3</sup> In 1656 Du Jardin joined the newly established painters' confraternity *Pictura* in The Hague,<sup>4</sup> but three years later he was back in Amsterdam.<sup>5</sup> Besides producing landscapes, Du Jardin also achieved success as a portraitist and history painter with works distinguished by their smooth finish and strong light effects. In 1675 he returned to Italy, accompanying the collector and patron Jan Reynst, first to Rome and then Venice, where he died in 1678.<sup>6</sup>

Du Jardin's second stay in Italy inspired him to renewed vibrancy in his depictions of the country's landscape. His paintings from this period show a powerful rendering of tone and surface, with smoothly applied impastoed layers replacing the thinner technique of his Amsterdam years. The compositions of these works emphasize the monumentality of the landscape, often showing the looming forms of mountains in the distance, and include small-scale figures placed within rather than in front of their surroundings. Among a number of depictions of extensive mountain landscapes peopled with travellers,<sup>7</sup> one, in Vienna, also incorporates a distant view of a hill town (fig. 94a).<sup>8</sup> The present picture, whose attribution to Du Jardin is supported by Marijcke de Kinkelder of the RKD (Netherlands Institute for Art History),<sup>9</sup> is an exception among the artist's late Italian works in presenting such a close view of a town. Nevertheless, the imposing presence of the buildings, especially the tower, which dwarfs the figures in the foreground and finds an echo in the mountains behind, is entirely in keeping with the transcendent calm that characterizes this final phase of the artist's career.

1. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 60.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

3. Documents place Du Jardin in Amsterdam in 1652 and 1655; see Edouard Plietzsche, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 10, p. 103. One of Du Jardin's drawings identifies its Roman site in its inscription: *Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome*, 1653, black chalk and grey wash, 17.7 × 31.4 cm, Paris, Frits Lugt Collection, Fondation Custodia; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2001, pp. 154–155 (fig. B).

4. Saur, vol. 30, p. 422.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Houbraken, vol. 3, pp. 59–60.

7. For example, Karel du Jardin, *Italian Landscape with Riders near a River*, 1675–1678, oil on canvas, 54.2 × 72.4 cm, sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 3 May 1999, lot 48 (colour ill.), and *Extensive Landscape with Herdsmen and Sheep*, 1675–1678, oil on panel, 90.3 × 115.5 cm, private collection (see exhib. cat. London 2002, pp. 150–151, no. 35 [colour ill.]).

8. See exhib. cat. London 2002, pp. 152–153, no. 36 (colour ill.).

9. Oral communication with Alfred Bader. ◆



## 95.

Hans de Jode (The Hague around 1630 – Vienna around 1666–1670)

### *Mountain Landscape with Bridge*

1659

Oil on canvas, 74.9 × 94.6 cm

Signed and dated lower centre: *h. de Jode. f. 1659*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

New York, collection of Albert Ten Eyck Gardner; sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 23 February 1968, lot 2, purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Bernt 1979, vol. 2, p. 21 (fig. 635)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Oshkosh 1968, unpaginated, no. 19 (ill.); South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 12 (ill.)

THE COLOURFUL CAREER of Hans de Jode began dramatically when, as a painter's apprentice in The Hague, he killed a man after being confronted on the street in the company of several fellow apprentices.<sup>1</sup> He was probably around seventeen at the time. Claiming self-defence, he nonetheless fled the city and embarked on a trip to Italy, thus following in the footsteps of many young northern artists. Although in Italy he appears not to have ventured farther south than Venice, he evidently travelled extensively in other countries, even making his way to Constantinople,<sup>2</sup> of which he executed a cityscape.<sup>3</sup> His paintings, nearly all of them Alpine landscapes with Italianate features, are a clear testimony to his wanderlust. By 1659 he had settled in Vienna, where he married Elizabeth Gaillet in 1662.<sup>4</sup> He appears to have met his death sometime later in that decade, as the last trace of him is a signed painting of 1666.<sup>5</sup>

In this signed and dated work De Jode has conjured a colourful and lively mountain scene, dominated by a stone bridge that spans the river whose valley recedes into the background. Opposite the steep left bank, a rocky mountainside intersected by a path leading





Fig. 95a. Hans de Jode, *Mountain Landscape with Stream*, oil on canvas, 24.1 × 27.6 cm. Location unknown.

down to the river below fills much of the right side of the composition. At the point on the right where bridge meets land, there rises a round fortified tower, with two houses behind. The scene is populated by numerous figures, including travellers crossing the bridge, two anglers on the left bank of the river and a woman on a donkey that is pausing for a drink in the shallows on the right. The view is rendered more striking by the low, raking light coming from the left, which casts much of the landscape in shadow, especially the foreground, and sets it off against the pale, partly cloudy sky. Glancing off rocks and figures, the afternoon sun generates a flickering effect of highlights – a technique typical of the early generations of Dutch landscapists working in Italy, including Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683). De Jode's flair for drama may also reflect the influence of Salvator Rosa, one of Italy's most prominent landscapists during this period.<sup>6</sup>

De Jode likely assembled his scene from motifs observed during his travels in the Alps and in northern Italy. Several other paintings by him feature a similar tower accompanied by two buildings with peaked roofs, including canvases in Prague and Kremsier.<sup>7</sup> An almost identical arched bridge appears in a *Mountain Landscape with a Bridge*, also in Prague,<sup>8</sup> and in a canvas last on the art market in 1974, whose overall composition is remarkably like that of the present painting (fig. 95a).<sup>9</sup> This last work may have been painted earlier and functioned as a study, since the composition is simpler and the scale smaller. It appeared at the 1974 sale accompanied by a pendant, suggesting that the present painting may also have been one of a pair.

1. Bredius 1915–1922, vol. 7, pp. 2–6.

2. Šafařík 1967, pp. 8–9.

3. Hans de Jode, *View of the City and Harbour of Constantinople*, oil on canvas, 154 × 219 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 2945; see *ibid.*, p. 32, no. 32 (fig. 10).

4. See Alexander Hadjecki, "Die Niederländer in Wien II," *Oud Holland* 23 (1905), p. 116, and Šafařík 1967, pp. 14, 20 note 18.

5. Hans de Jode, *Mountain Landscape*, 1666, oil on panel, 16.5 × 23.5 cm, signed, Beerse, collection of Mia van Deun-Loyens.

6. Šafařík 1967, p. 10.

7. Hans de Jode, *Mountain River Landscape with Shepherds and Cattle*, around 1658–1660, oil on canvas, 89 × 150 cm, Prague, National Gallery in Prague, inv. o 8658; and *Mountain Landscape with Buildings and a Rapid*, around 1660, oil on canvas, 53 × 70 cm, Kremsier, Kunsthistorisches Museum in Kremsier, inv. o 331; see Šafařík 1967, p. 27, no. 15 (fig. 13), and p. 26, no. 12 (fig. 15).

8. Hans de Jode, *Mountain Landscape with a Bridge*, after 1660, oil on canvas, 64.5 × 128.5 cm, signed, Prague, National Gallery in Prague, inv. o 1709; see Šafařík 1967, pp. 28–29, no. 17 (fig. 18).

9. Last appeared on the market in London (Bonham's), 28 March 1974, lot 81 (ill., as a pair of paintings with similar subject matter). ♦



96.

Attributed to Jacob Jordaens (Antwerp 1593 – Antwerp 1678)

*Study Head of a Blond Boy*

Around 1628

Oil on paper, mounted on canvas, 27.5 × 25 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Baden Baden, collection of Graf Solms; The Hague, collection of E. Hirschberg; New Orleans, with L. Piso, in 1971; acquired in exchange by Alfred Bader, in 1981

ONLY THE HEAD and part of the neck of a young, blond-haired boy appear in this unfinished sketch on paper. The blue eyes are open wide, the brow lightly furrowed and the lips slightly parted, suggesting that the child is staring at something in wonder and surprise. He likely relates to the figures of cherubs and angels that regularly attend scenes of the Holy Family, the Passion and martyrdoms in 17th-century Flemish art. The conventional hairstyle, with bangs across the forehead, suggests that this is a study from life and not a sketch from the imagination. In the latter case, the boy would be sporting the curly locks worn by nearly all the idealized youths in Flemish Baroque history paintings.

This small, loose painting reflects the practice of making study heads in preparation for larger paintings, commonly associated with the studios of Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck and, to a lesser degree, Jacob Jordaens. The support is paper, which is not unusual for such informal, functional images. Although the dynamic and robust visage clearly bears the Rubens





Fig. 96a. Jacob Jordaens, *Two Head Studies of Abraham Grapheus*, oil on paper, mounted onto panel, 45.2 x 52 cm. Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 1899B.



Fig. 96b. Jacob Jordaens, *Study for the Head of St. Apollonia*, around 1628, oil on canvas, 35 x 36.5 cm, mounted on a canvas measuring 39 x 36.5 cm. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, inv. 469.

stamp, its dry, impastoed handling speaks against an attribution to the famous master. Julius Held connected it to another head study of a young boy in the collection of the Akademie, in Vienna,<sup>1</sup> which is attributed to Jacob Jordaens.<sup>2</sup> In his view the two works are by the same hand and could be attributed to the Bruges painter Jacob van Oost (1603-1671),<sup>3</sup> an artist known for his beautiful and sensitive portrayals of boys. However, Van Oost's quiet and reserved figures are more closely comparable to the work of Michiel Sweerts (see cats. 178, 179) and display none of the vibrancy evident here. The attribution to Pieter van Mol (1599-1650) suggested by Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann can be met with the same argument.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the dynamic pose, painterly handling and thick, complex build-up of pigment using visibly directional brushstrokes do not relate to the work of any of the later followers of Rubens, all of whom tended in their sketches toward a smoother finish, greater elegance and a more efficient technique. The rounded arc of the boy's jaw points instead to the stylization typical of Jacob Jordaens, and the striations suggesting the texture of the hair also accord with his approach. The same vigorous handling using open brushstrokes can be seen in a *Study of Four Male Heads*, on the market in 1997,<sup>5</sup> and *Two Head Studies of Abraham Grapheus*, in Ghent (fig. 96a),<sup>6</sup> both of which can also be attributed to this master. Like the present work, the Ghent study was painted on paper and later mounted onto a more permanent support. The execution here shows greater refinement and system, however, relating most closely to a sketch for the head and shoulders of St. Apollonia, in Stuttgart (fig. 96b),<sup>7</sup> made by Jordaens around 1628 in preparation for the grand altarpiece in the church of St. Augustine, in Antwerp. As here, this study employs an application of layers of pigment in variations of pink and yellow to create flesh tints; a similar date of around 1628 for the present painting seems likely. Also of this period is a panel featuring *Two Views of the Head of a Young Man*, in the Marquess of Lothian's collection, which shows an identical

treatment of hair and a similarly monumental conception.<sup>8</sup>

After Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, Jacob Jordaens ranks as the third most important Flemish painter of the Baroque era. Born in 1593 to the Antwerp cloth merchant Jacob Jordaens and his wife Barbara van Wolschaten,<sup>9</sup> Jacob junior registered in 1607 as a pupil of Adam van Noort (1562-1641) – who had previously taught Rubens – and entered the painter's guild as a master in 1615-1616.<sup>10</sup> He subsequently received numerous commissions for portraits and altarpieces, as well as collaborating on the decorations for the Triumphal Entry of the Infante Ferdinand into the city of Antwerp, in 1635.<sup>11</sup> In the early 1640s, following the deaths of Van Dyck and Rubens, he assumed the leading position in the Antwerp art world, also attracting prominent commissions from the House of Orange and the City Government of Amsterdam, in the northern Netherlands.<sup>12</sup> His adherence to the Calvinist faith during the 1670s is documented, but he appears to have escaped persecution.<sup>13</sup> He died in 1678, at an advanced age,<sup>14</sup> having accumulated fame and wealth, although his artistic powers had long since waned – a fact especially evident in his late large history paintings.

1. Letter of 28 September 1972 from Julius Held to L. Piso; Bader Collection work files.
2. Attributed to Jacob Jordaens, *Study of a Boy's Head*, oil on paper, mounted on panel, 29.5 x 24 cm, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. 608; see exhib. cat. Ottawa 1968, p. 88, no. 31, p. 266 (fig. 31).
3. See Julius Held, "Jordaens at Ottawa," *Burlington Magazine* 111 (1969), p. 271.
4. Letter of 16 March 1981 from Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
5. Attributed to Jacob Jordaens, *Study of Four Male Heads*, oil on panel, 51 x 65 cm, sale, New York (Christie's), 31 January 1997, lot 29 (colour ill.).
6. See exhib. cat. Antwerp 1993, pp. 96-99, no. A21 (colour ill., as around 1620-1621).
7. See *ibid.*, pp. 32-33, no. A37 (colour ill.).
8. Jacob Jordaens, *Two Views of the Head of a Young Man*, oil on panel, 29 x 39 cm, Newbattle Abbey and Crailing House, collection of the Marquess of Lothian, in 1959.
9. See exhib. cat. Antwerp 1993, p. 7, at 20 May 1593.
10. See Liggeren, vol. 1, pp. 443 (apprenticeship), 514, 521 (entry as master).
11. See exhib. cat. Antwerp 1993, p. 9.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 16 (House of Orange, 1652), 18 (Amsterdam City Hall).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 20, at 1 December 1674 and subsequent years until his death.
14. *Ibid.*, at 18 October 1678. ♦





97.

Willem Kalf (Rotterdam 1619 – Amsterdam 1693)

*Still Life with Coral and Shells*

1675-1680

Oil on canvas, 52.7 × 43 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Collection of Paul Cornet (location unknown), in 1953; private collection; sale, London (Sotheby's), 12 July 2001, lot 310 (colour ill., as by Circle of Kalf, changed to Willem Kalf at the sale); Amsterdam, with P. De Boer; Alkmaar, with Sander Bijl; purchased by Alfred Bader



Fig. 97a. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Shells and Coral*, oil on canvas, 55 × 44 cm. Zurich, Kunsthau Zürich, Ruzicka Stiftung, inv. R52.

WILLEM KALF was born into an affluent milieu in Rotterdam. His birth was recorded in 1619 to parents Machtelt Gerrit and Jan Jansz. Kalf,<sup>1</sup> a wealthy textile merchant and member of the city's patriciate who held various posts in its government.<sup>2</sup> Houbraken's assertion that Kalf trained with the Haarlem genre painter and portraitist Hendrick Pot appears untenable;<sup>3</sup> he possibly confused Pot with Hendrick Potuyl (active 1639-1649), whose penchant for the peasant genre and barn scenes may be reflected in Kalf's early works.<sup>4</sup> There is documentary evidence that by 1642 Kalf was in Paris, in the company of other Dutch and Flemish artists.<sup>5</sup> He returned to Rotterdam late in 1646,<sup>6</sup> and in 1651 was living in Hoorn, where he married Cornelia Pluvier, a calligrapher whose charm and various talents were reported to the stadholder's secretary Constantijn Huygens.<sup>7</sup> A notarial document in which he confirmed the authenticity of a painting by Paulus Brill places Kalf in Amsterdam in 1653,<sup>8</sup> where he would remain until his sudden death in 1693.<sup>9</sup> Although at the start of his career he executed farm genre scenes and still-life paintings, in 1644 he turned exclusively to the still lifes of luxury objects for which he is best known. He appears to have given up painting around 1680 to concentrate on art dealing. Most of his still-life paintings employ a stark, blackish background out of which the fluidly handled and deeply coloured objects emerge, isolated in

strong light to considerable dramatic effect. In the poet Jan Vos's 1654 treatise, whose title translates as "Struggle between Death and Nature, or the Triumph of Painting," Willem Kalf is named as among the most famous Amsterdam painters of the time.<sup>10</sup> He was one of the artists summoned for their opinion in the famous Uylenburgh controversy of 1672, after doubt had been cast on the quality and authenticity of a collection of Italian paintings being offered for sale to the Elector of Brandenburg.<sup>11</sup> Kalf's evocative compositions establish his place at the pinnacle of Dutch still-life painting of the 17th century.

Here, the artist has arranged a sumptuous display of seashells and red coral in and around a small chest of drawers with a black lacquer finish. A tortoise shell sits on its top. Generally, Kalf's choice of objects appears to have been dictated by their monetary value and beauty rather than any symbolic or allegorical reference. Shells were a prized collectible among aristocrats, nobles and wealthy burghers across Europe. Through their link to exotic locales and rare animal species, they were associated with the pursuit of universal knowledge, although more in a symbolic than a practical sense.<sup>12</sup> Private collections mounted at this period formed the basis of many of today's museum and scholarly collections. The depiction of shells was for Kalf a marginal activity, however, limited to five known paintings, including the present



canvas. Since they share a number of objects, these works appear to have been painted in quite quick succession, possibly inspired by a collection to which Kalf had temporary access.<sup>13</sup> The most lavish piece in the group is a painting in the Hannema-de Stuers Collection, in Zwolle, which features a cup fitted with a polished *Turbo marmoratus* shell.<sup>14</sup> A more modest pair of horizontal canvasses is kept in the collection of the Mauritshuis.<sup>15</sup> The fourth painting is a vertical canvas showing shells on a blue cloth and coral in an oval box with an open lid.<sup>16</sup> This picture, in the Ruzicka Stiftung, at the Kunsthaus Zürich, has almost the same dimensions as the present work and must have been its pendant (fig. 97a). Besides the coral, the pictures also share the red and white shell, but the remaining shells are all different. The present painting, the more lavish of the two, appears to have been intended as the left-hand element. The dry, slightly loose handling of both works points to the latest phase of Kalf's activity, the second half of the 1670s.<sup>17</sup>

1. Abraham Bredius, "Een en ander over Willem Kalf," *Oud Holland* 42 (1925), pp. 208-209.
2. J.H.W. Unger, *De regeering van Rotterdam 1328-1892* (Rotterdam: Van Waesberghe, 1892), *passim*.
3. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 218.
4. Fred Meijer, unpublished report, RKD, 10 May 2002.
5. L. Dussieux, E. Soulié et al., *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture...* (Paris: Dumoulin, 1854), vol. 1, pp. 354-362 and Appendix II.
6. Grisebach 1974, p. 17.
7. Hoorn resident Jacob van der Burch communicated his admiration for Cornelia Pluvier in a poem and several letters to Huygens; see *ibid.*, Appendix II, pp. 199-206, and Jan Gerrit van Gelder, "Aantekeningen over Willem Kalf en Cornelia Pluvier," *Oud Holland* 59 (1942), pp. 37-46.
8. Grisebach 1974, p. 20, Appendix I, pp. 191-192, no. 13.
9. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 218-219. Houbraken reports that Kalf left his shop in the hands of a colleague, Cornelis Heelemans, to attend evening prayers, and never returned. Upon hearing about Kalf's death several days later, Heelemans succumbed to shock and died that same evening.
10. Jan Vos, *Strydt tusschen de Doodt en Natuur, of Zeege der Schilderkunst* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1654), reprinted in *Alle de Gedichten van den Poët Jan Vos* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1662), p. 141.
11. Grisebach 1974, p. 23, Appendix I, p. 192, no. 17. On the Uylenburgh controversy, see exhib. cat. London and Amsterdam 2006, pp. 79-103.
12. On the rise of collecting in the United Provinces, see Elinoor Bergvelt et al., *Wereld Binnen Handbereik*, exhib. cat. (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992).
13. RKD report (see note 4).
14. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Shells and Shell Cup*, oil on canvas, 52 × 43 cm, Zwolle, Hannema-de Stuers Foundation, no. 50; see Grisebach 1974, pp. 280-281, no. 143 (pl. 157).
15. Willem Kalf, *Still Life with Oysters and a Lacquer Chest* and *Still Life with Oysters and an Oval Box*, both oil on panel, 25 × 33 cm, signed, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 971 and 972; see Grisebach 1974, p. 281, nos. 144, 145 (pls. 158, 159).
16. See Grisebach 1974, p. 280, no. 142 (pl. 156, as by Kalf).
17. The attribution to Kalf was supported by Lucius Grisebach in a letter of 19 December 2002 to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files. ♦



98.

Adriaen Thomasz. Key

(Antwerp? around 1544 – Antwerp? after 1589)

*Portrait of a Gentleman*

1564

Oil on canvas, 101.5 × 75.5 cm

Dated upper right: 1564

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, purchased with funds donated by Alfred and Isabel Bader, acc. no. 36-001

#### PROVENANCE

Novi (near Genoa), collection of the Spinola family; Munich, with Julius Böhler, in 1912 (as by Frans Pourbus);<sup>1</sup> New York, with Ehrich Galleries; their sale, New York (Anderson Galleries), 12 November 1924, lot 61 (ill., as by Antonis Mor, with expertise from Cornelius Hofstede de Groot); collection of Mrs. J. Lawrence Laughlin, bequeathed to the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, in 1934; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 7 April, 1989, lot 81 (colour ill., as by Adriaen Thomas Key); private collection; sale, New York (Christie's), 14 January 1993, lot 8 (colour ill.), purchased by Agnes Etherington Art Centre

#### LITERATURE

Max J. Friedländer, "Frans Pourbus der Ältere," *Oud Holland* 62 (1947), p. 63 (fig. 3, as by Frans Pourbus)

ADRIAEN KEY enjoyed great success as a portraitist and painter of altarpieces in Antwerp during the 1560s and 1570s. He is known to have been studying under Jan Hack (Antwerp, active 1550-1558) in 1558,<sup>2</sup> and he likely also learned much from the



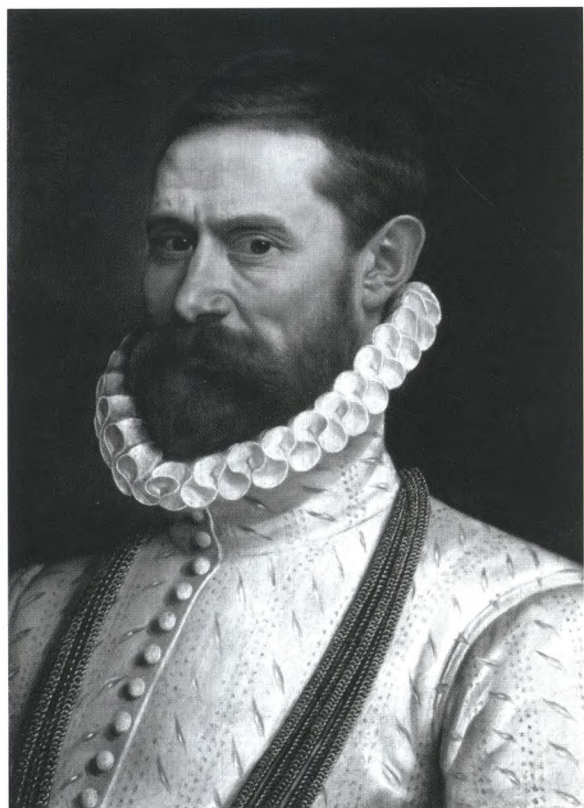


Fig. 98a. Adriaen Thomasz. Key, *Portrait of a Man, Said to Be Count Mansfield*, 1573, oil on panel, 48 × 34 cm. Location unknown.

prominent Antwerp portraitist Willem Key – not a direct relative – whose career started slightly earlier, during the 1540s.<sup>3</sup> Little else is known of Adriaen Key's life, but his entry into the St. Luke's Guild of Antwerp in 1568 is recorded, as is his production of several altarpieces for churches in the city.<sup>4</sup> Very much in the Flemish tradition, his work is characterized by delicate, smooth modelling in semi-transparent colours, along with meticulous attention to texture and details of costume. Adriaen Key painted the definitive portrait of the Prince of Orange, as well as one of the many portraits of the Duke of Alva. Clearly, his career did not suffer as a result of the political turbulence brought on by the Reformation in Flanders. He was still listed as a member of the painters' guild in 1589.<sup>5</sup>

Like many of Adriaen Key's portraits, this work follows the stately and highly fashionable three-quarter formula established by Titian in Venice and Anthonis Mor at the Spanish Court in Brussels. The robust, bearded sitter stands at a very slight angle that offers an almost frontal view, his left arm akimbo and his right hand propped lightly on the table beside him. The dynamic energy of this pose is contained by the stiff geometric pattern it creates within the composition – a strategy reminiscent of Italian Mannerist portraits, such as those by Bronzino.

The sitter's sober, refined costume points to Spanish fashion of the time. The sleeves of the black silk doublet are embroidered with gold thread in a chevron pattern, and a row of buttons runs down the front. The high collar opens under the man's chin to reveal a narrow, lace-edged ruff that echoes the trim at

the wrists. The flared shoulders of the doublet are the only touch of flamboyance. At the subject's waist, to the left, the hilt of a sword projects from behind his back. The imposing three-quarter-length format, the black costume and the formal earing all indicate a noble sitter, probably a dignitary from the Spanish court at Brussels rather than a member of Antwerp's flourishing bourgeoisie, among whom Key also had clients. Unfortunately, no identification has come down to us, and the portrait includes no coat of arms that might help us name the sitter.

Early in the 20th century Max Friedländer identified this picture as a work by the Bruges master Frans Pourbus. This attribution was later countered by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, who assigned the work to Anthonis Mor.<sup>6</sup> A growing scholarly awareness of the work of Willem and Adriaen Key has provided the basis for the present attribution to the latter.<sup>7</sup> The smooth handling of thin layers of pigment, with reddish tints in the flesh areas, plus the scrupulous attention to detail, especially in the rendering of the ears and hair, connects the work to the monogrammed *Portrait of a Man* (possibly Count Mansfield) in Brussels<sup>8</sup> and to an earlier depiction of the same sitter that appeared recently at a sale (fig. 98a).<sup>9</sup> Both these portraits are later than the present picture and show a slightly thicker paint layer, with some visible impasto, indicating that Key followed the general trend in Flemish portraiture toward a more liberal use of pigment and medium. Here, the thin, delicate paint layers have unfortunately suffered slightly during cleaning, chiefly in the area of the beard.

1. A note by Max J. Friedländer on the back of a photograph at the RKD states that he saw the painting in Munich in 1912.
2. Liggeren, vol. 1, p. 210, at 1558.
3. Danielle Tillemans, "Biografische gegevens over de schilder Willem Key (1615-68) en zijn familie," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 25 (1979-1980), p. 66.
4. Liggeren, vol. 1, p. 235, at 1568. On altarpieces by Key, see Thieme-Becker, vol. 20, p. 227.
5. He was cited in guild records in 1585 and appears for the last time in 1589; Liggeren, vol. 1, pp. 302, 335.
6. Friedländer mentioned his note of 1912 (see under Provenance at the head of this entry and note 1 above) in his article of 1947 (see under Literature). Hofstede de Groot's opinion was reported in the catalogue of the 1924 sale (see under Provenance).
7. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
8. *Portrait of a Man (Count Mansfield?)*, 1680, oil on panel, 86 × 63, monogrammed, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, Museum van Oude Kunst, inv. 3621; see collection cat. Brussels 1984, p. 164.
9. Sale, New York (Christie's), 11 January 1995, lot 122 (colour ill.). ◆





99.

Sir Godfrey Kneller (Lübeck 1646 – London 1723)

*A Scholar in His Study*

Around 1668

Oil on canvas, 100.3 × 93.3 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Houston, Texas, Kimbell Art Foundation; their sale, New York (Sotheby's), 4 June 1987, lot 37 (ill., as by Follower of Karel van der Pluym); sale, New York (Sotheby's), 21 October 1988, lot 199A (ill.); London, with Clovis Whitfield, purchased by Alfred Bader in 1994

LITERATURE

Stewart 2006

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 44-45, no. 9 (ill.)

GODFREY KNELLER was born Gottfried Kniller into a well-established family living in the German Hansa city of Lübeck.<sup>1</sup> His father Zacharias, who had studied in Leipzig, served at the Swedish court before taking a post as chief inspector of the city of Lübeck.<sup>2</sup> The earliest trace of Kneller's artistic activity is a drawn copy after a print – a typical student exercise – made when he was sixteen.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter he proceeded to the Netherlands, where he first studied at Leiden University but then embarked on artistic training in Amsterdam, initially under Rembrandt and subsequently with Ferdinand Bol.<sup>4</sup> His earliest works are history and portrait paintings, in Bol's style, dating to 1665-1666.<sup>5</sup> Kneller likely continued to work in the Netherlands until 1672. In this year he undertook an Italian journey, thereby escaping the political upheaval of the Triple Invasion, when the armies of Louis XIV attacked the United Provinces.<sup>6</sup> In Rome



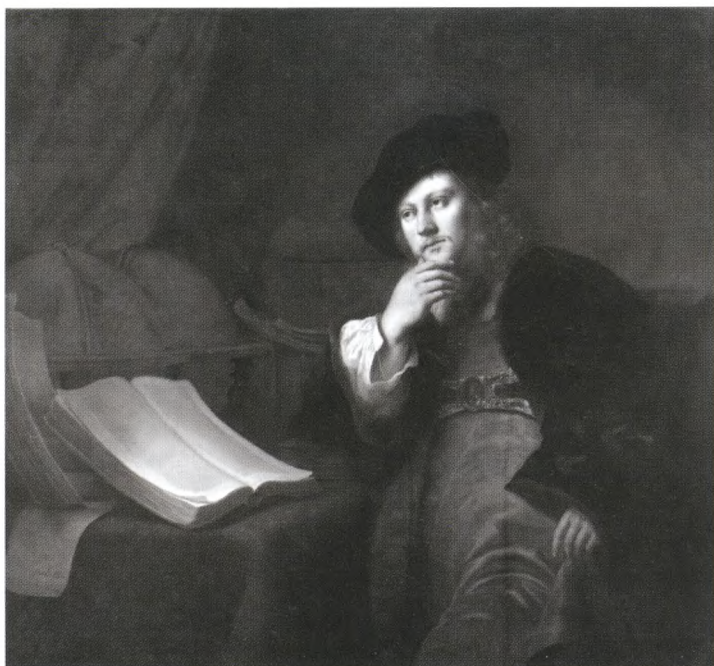


Fig. 99a. Ferdinand Bol, *An Astrologer in His Study*, 1652, oil on canvas, 127 × 135 cm, signed. London, National Gallery, inv. 679.

he made the acquaintance of Carlo Maratti (1623–1713) and Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), and received portrait commissions from prominent members of the clergy.<sup>7</sup> His father's death in 1675 prompted his return to his native city of Lübeck.<sup>8</sup> After a brief stay in Hamburg, during which he carried out a number of portrait commissions, Kneller embarked on the most important transition of his life – a move to London, where he arrived in 1676.<sup>9</sup> Once there, he synthesized the smooth, flamboyantly idealizing portrait mode of Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) – combined with various Italian models – into a forceful, accentuated presentation of the figure derived from Rembrandt and Bol. Armed with this new style, he soon began to dominate the market for society and noble portraiture. After becoming a British citizen in 1683,<sup>10</sup> he was appointed principal painter to King William III in 1688 (first jointly with John Riley, then alone after Riley's death in 1691),<sup>11</sup> knighted as Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1692<sup>12</sup> and raised to the baronetcy in 1715.<sup>13</sup> He continued in great prosperity until his death in 1723.

This painting comes from Kneller's period in the Netherlands. It depicts an elderly scholar at work in his study, writing in a notebook as he reads from the large folio volume that leans on a globe to the right. Kneller is here clearly following the work of his teacher Ferdinand Bol, who in the early 1650s painted several such depictions of scholars at work, examples of which can be seen in St. Petersburg<sup>14</sup> and London (fig. 99a).<sup>15</sup> Bol also produced a print after the St. Petersburg painting.<sup>16</sup> Kneller has given his scholar a similarly spare setting, with only books and a globe as attributes. The old man wears a heavy mantle and a simple cap on his head. The scarf draped around his neck gives him a slightly Oriental aspect, and the figure is almost certainly intended to represent a general type of Jewish scholar engaged in theological study.

Kneller produced a number of related depictions of scholars



Fig. 99b. Sir Godfrey Kneller, *The Old Student*, 1668, oil on canvas, 135 × 172.5 cm, signed. Lübeck, St. Anna Museum, inv. 41.

in his early years, of which the 1668 work *The Old Student*, in Lübeck (fig. 99b),<sup>17</sup> and the privately owned *Old Scholar in His Studio*<sup>18</sup> are the most similar to the present work. Its ungarnished monumentality connects the picture closely to the work of Bol and Rembrandt, suggesting that it is the earliest of Kneller's works on the theme.<sup>19</sup> The particular figure he has chosen to represent also hints that the memory of Rembrandt's impressive depictions of Jewish types was still fresh in his mind.

1. Stewart 1983, p. 1.
2. Ibid.
3. Sir Godfrey Kneller, after an unknown artist, *Henry the Pious, Duke of Saxony*, pen and ink, 20.5 × 15.4 cm, inscribed lower left: *Gottfride Kniller / Anno. 16 n.g.*, London, British Museum, inv. 1888-7-19-80; see Stewart 1983, pp. 2, 174, no. 75 (pl. 112c).
4. See Buckeridge, pp. 393–394; see also Stewart 1983, p. 2.
5. See, for example, Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Johann Philipp von Schönborn, Archbishop and Elector of Mainz (1605–1673)*, 1666, oil on canvas, 167.6 × 113.7 cm, signed, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; see Stewart 1983, p. 128, p. 652 (pl. 1).
6. Buckeridge, p. 394.
7. Stewart 1983, pp. 10–16.
8. Ibid., p. 11.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 20.
11. Ibid., p. 39.
12. Ibid., p. 40.
13. Ibid., p. 59.
14. Ferdinand Bol, *Scholar in a Studio with a Globe and Books*, around 1650–1652, oil on canvas, 122 × 98 cm, signed, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 767; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 302, no. 124, p. 363 (ill.). For its date, see Blankert 1982, p. 121.
15. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 303, no. 127, p. 366 (ill.).
16. Ferdinand Bol, *Scholar in a Studio with a Globe and Books*, 1653, etching and drypoint, 4 states, 22.8 × 18.1 cm, signed; see Hollstein, vol. 3, p. 19, no. 5 (ill.).
17. See Stewart 1983, p. 89, no. 1 (pl. 2b), and Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1487, no. 974, p. 1496 (colour ill.).
18. Sir Godfrey Kneller, *The Old Scholar in His Studio*, oil on canvas, 140 × 120 cm, private collection; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 6, p. 3721, no. 2333a, p. 3934 (colour ill.).
19. Letter of 15 January 1999 from Jan Kosten of the RKD to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.





100.

Sir Godfrey Kneller (Lübeck 1646 – London 1723)

*Portrait of a Young Man*

1722

Oil on canvas, 76.2 × 61 cm

Signed and dated: *Gkneller* (in ligature)/1722

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.16

#### PROVENANCE

Moorcroft, Chatham, Kent, collection of Captain J. R. Cleveland; sale, London (Christie's), 8 April 1925, lot 164 (as *Portrait of Joseph Addison* [1672-1719]); Milwaukee, collection of Herbert G. Schmidt; sale, Milwaukee (Schrager), 17-28 February 1989, lot 1640 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3721, no. 2335, p. 3937 (colour ill.)

SIR GODFREY KNELLER enjoyed a lengthy career as England's leading portrait painter. This signed half-length portrait of a man is dated to the penultimate year of his life. The sitter, who appears to be in his thirties, wears a white shirt under a loose, mantle-like robe of purple hue. This garment seems to be the same kind of ample robe worn by Alexander Pope in Kneller's portrait of the same year.<sup>1</sup> Such fanciful costume characterizes a number of Kneller's portraits of literary and artistic figures, and it has been suggested that the present painting depicts Joseph Addison (1672-1719), writer and co-founder of the *Spectator*.<sup>2</sup> However, as Sumowski rightly pointed out, Addison died three years before



Fig. 100a. Jacob Houbraken, after Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Portrait of Joseph Addison Esq.*, 1748, engraving, 36.1 × 22.7 cm. Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, inv. 43-101.

this portrait was made.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as a print after an earlier portrait of Addison by Kneller has long shown, the likeness is not exact (fig. 100a).<sup>4</sup> The present portrait almost certainly depicts another, younger sitter. In 1697 Kneller had introduced the so-called Kit-cat portrait – an intermediate canvas format between bust- and three-quarter-length, measuring 36 × 28 inches (91.4 × 71.1 cm) – but he returned here to the smaller format (30 × 25 inches; 76.2 × 63.5 cm) he had been accustomed to using previously.<sup>5</sup> Its rectangular shape has been converted to an oval by means of painted corners.

In this late portrait, Kneller maintains the vigorous and assertive presentation of the sitter that had its roots in the work of Rembrandt and Bol and that was the hallmark of his entire career. The painterly bravado evident in the masterful handling of drapery, with free strokes of impasto, also harkens back to his Dutch experience, but the picture's surface energy is clearly indebted to the work of Peter Paul Rubens, which Kneller studied during a trip to Brussels in 1697,<sup>6</sup> and to the productions of artists working in Rome, encountered during his Italian journey. Kneller's ready synthesis of elements of Continental styles and developments introduced a certain international flair to the English court and distinguished the artist from his many competitors for portrait commissions.

1. Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Portrait of Alexander Pope*, 1722, oil on canvas 73 × 61 cm, signed, Stanton Harcourt, collection of Viscount Harcourt; see Stewart 1983, p. 124, no. 579 (pl. 65c).
2. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
3. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3721.
4. The portrait by Kneller on which Houbraken's engraving was based eventually resurfaced: Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Portrait of Joseph Addison*, around 1703-1712, oil on canvas, 91.4 × 71.1 cm, London, National Portrait Gallery.
5. See Stewart 1983, pp. 66-67. The Kneller portrait of Addison in the National Portrait Gallery (see previous note) adopts the Kit-cat format. The name originates from Kneller's choice of this format for his series of portraits of members of the Whig Kit-Cat Club, of which Addison was a member.
6. See *ibid.*, pp. 41-43. ♦





101.

Philips Koninck (Amsterdam 1619 – Amsterdam 1688)

*Solomon Dedicating the Temple outside Jerusalem*

Around 1664

Oil on canvas, 88 × 130 cm

Signed: *P. Koninck*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Louvain, collection of Désirée van Schriek; her sale, Louvain (Le Roy), 8 April 1861 (Lugt 26134), lot 43; Helleputte-Schollaert sale, Louvain, 23 February 1931, lot 226 (ill.); sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 April 1989, lot 150 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Gerson 1936, p. 118, no. 144; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1538, no. 1003, p. 1553 (ill., as mid-1660s, possibly Solomon's Offering in Gibeon, I Kings 3:4), and vol. 6, pp. 3619, 3668 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Tokyo, Chiba and Yamaguchi 1992, p. 119 (colour ill.), pp. 237-238, no. 50

PHILIPS KONINCK GREW UP in Amsterdam, the son of the goldsmith Aert de Koninck and his wife Cornelia ten Weert. Around the age of eighteen he left for Rotterdam, where he registered as a pupil in the atelier of his brother Jacob and stayed for about three years.<sup>1</sup> He then returned to his native Amsterdam to embark on a career as a painter of portraits, genre and history scenes, and landscapes.<sup>2</sup> Koninck's works attest to the powerful influence of Rembrandt, although there is no evidence that he studied with the master. He did belong to Rembrandt's circle, however, for he was brother-in-law to Abraham Furnerius<sup>3</sup> and a friend of Heymen Dullaert, both of whom were Rembrandt pupils.<sup>4</sup> In 1659 he helped Rembrandt directly with the proceedings

concerning his bankruptcy.<sup>5</sup> Koninck went on to achieve great artistic renown, inspiring Joost van den Vondel to write verses on his paintings.<sup>6</sup> He was summoned in 1672 to assist in the Uylenburgh affair,<sup>7</sup> and the Medici acquired his *Self-portrait* for their gallery.<sup>8</sup> While recognized in his own day for his history paintings and portraits, his lasting reputation has been as one of the greatest landscape artists of the Dutch Golden Age – indeed, of any age. By employing a sweeping angle and a deep space composed of receding planes, his views conjure a tremendous sense of monumentality that is enlivened by painterly handling and a palette dominated by evocatively warm tones (see cats. 102, 103). He combines features of the Brueghellian tradition of the fantastical cosmic landscape with elements of Dutch landscape, the whole cast in a contemplative mood.

Koninck's approach to landscape can be deduced to some degree from this history painting depicting a scene from the Old



Fig. 101a. Philips Koninck, *Solomon's Idolatry*, 1664, pen and brown ink and brown wash, 18.5 × 35 cm, signed. Turin, Biblioteca Reale, inv. 16461.



Testament. The background setting recedes into deep space, with details of a city and surrounding lands discernible in the distance. The question of the precise event being portrayed here has sparked debate. The presence of the long procession leading out of the city, with the Tabernacle in the distance and the Ark of the Covenant in the foreground flanked by a king and a high priest, suggests the Dedication of the Temple by King Solomon (I Kings 8). According to the source texts, this was the first occasion on which the Tabernacle, which had been in Gibeon (I Chronicles 21:2), and the Ark, which was in the City of David, were reunited after King Saul's defeat. Alfred Bader was the first to identify this episode as the picture's theme, pointing out that the dark cloud in the upper left is a direct reference to this story.<sup>9</sup> However, Sumowski has rightly objected that in the text the cloud only appears in the Temple itself, as an indication of the presence of God, and only after the Ark has been installed in the inner sanctuary (the Holy of Holies) of the newly built Temple (I Kings 8:6-11).<sup>10</sup> Here, the Ark is clearly depicted outdoors.

Koninck seems therefore to have combined elements from several moments in the story, as in the "simultaneous narration" of medieval painting. He has included the cloud – suggesting it may be billowing out of the temple – possibly in an effort to facilitate identification of the subject, which was not normally depicted by painters. Ironically, the resulting narrative inaccuracies served to obscure the theme almost entirely until recently. The artist may also have been influenced by earlier prints of the scene portrayed inside the temple – the one by Maarten van Heemskerck, for example.<sup>11</sup> Koninck appears to have sketched out the group of figures in a compositional drawing entitled *Solomon's Idolatry*, now in Turin, which is signed and dated 1664 (fig. 101a),<sup>12</sup> although here the poses have been changed and Solomon is cast in a more positive role. The connection nonetheless remains close, as Sumowski asserts, suggesting an execution date for the present painting of around the same time.<sup>13</sup>

1. Gerson 1936, p. 84, *Urkunde* no. 7d.

2. Ibid., p. 58, *Urkunde* no. 11.

3. On Koninck's marriage to Furnerius's sister, see Gerson 1936, p. 84, *Urkunde* no. 10.

4. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 652. Koninck's portrait of Dullaert ranks among the finest of the Dutch Golden Age: Philips Koninck, *Portrait of Heymen Dullaert*, around 1652-1655, oil on canvas, 63.5 × 55.9 cm, St. Louis, Missouri, City Art Museum, inv. 408: 1923; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1541, no. 1029, p. 1579 (colour ill.).

5. Hofstede de Groot 1906, no. 204; Gerson 1936, p. 10; and Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, pp. 440-442, no. 1659/11.

6. Gerson 1936, p. 92, *Urkunde* no. 58.

7. Ibid., p. 90, *Urkunde* no. 48.

8. Philips Koninck, *Self-portrait with Antique Bust*, 1667, oil on canvas, 99 × 69 cm, signed, Florence, Uffizi, inv. 448, acquired by Duke Cosimo III de' Medici during his visit to the Netherlands in the same year; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1542, no. 1034, p. 1584 (colour ill.).

9. Cited *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 1538.

10. See under Literature at the head of this entry.

11. Maarten van Heemskerck, *Solomon Praying at the Inauguration of the Temple*, 1554, engraving, 25.8 × 20.2 cm, from the *Story of Solomon* series; see Veldman 1993, vol. 1, p. 108, no. 121, p. 110 (ill.).

12. Attributed in Turin to "S. Koninck"; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 6, pp. 3006-3007, no. 1345 (ill., as by Philips Koninck).

13. See under Literature at the head of this entry. ♦



## 102.

Philips Koninck (Amsterdam 1619 – Amsterdam 1688)

### *Panoramic River Landscape with Hunters*

Around 1664

Oil on canvas, 105 × 135 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Lord Northwick sale, Cheltenham (Phillips), 2 August 1859 (5th day of the sale) (Lugt 25025), lot 433 (as S. de Koningh, *A Landscape with Distant Scenery*, "in the foreground, a winding road with cavalier and an attendant hawking," for £52.10), to Weaver; Hampden House, Great Missenden, Buckinghamshire, collection of the Earl of Buckinghamshire; his sale, London (Christie's), 17 March 1890 (Lugt 48880), lot 132 (as by De Koning, for 415 guineas), to Lesser; London, with Lesser; Budapest, collection of Baron L.M. Herzog, in 1911; seized by the Nazi occupying forces, but remained in Hungary; returned to Baronin Helene von Herzog in Basel; New York, with Rosenberg & Stiebel; Schweinfurt, private collection; Zurich, with Galerie Kurt Meissner; sale, Zurich (Koller), 18-21 May 1990, lot 5046; sale, London (Christie's), 11 December 1992, lot 101 (unsold); purchased by Alfred Bader through Christie's in 1993

#### LITERATURE

Georg Bierman, "Die Gemäldesammlung des Baron Herzog in Budapest," *Cicerone* 4 (1912), p. 421 (fig. 7); Gerson 1936, p. 104, no. 16 (as by Jacob Koninck); Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 2, no. 640 (ill., as by Philips Koninck); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1534, 1548, no. 1063, p. 1613 (ill., as a variant on the painting cited by Gerson); vol. 6, p. 3619; Ernest Beck, "Hungary Asks Russia for Missing Art Treasures," *Arts News*, April 1992, p. 46 (illustrated in situ in the Herzog collection)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Budapest Künstlerhaus, 1919 (without catalogue);<sup>1</sup> Raleigh 1956, p. 120, no. 56 (ill.); Naumann 1995, pp. 85-89, no. 17 (colour ill.); Milwaukee 2005-2006, pp. 28-31, no. 8 (colour ill.)

IN THIS LARGE CANVAS Koninck has employed his established formula of fields, a river, vegetation and rural dwellings caught in a sweeping panoramic view. The foreground is dominated by the prominent motifs of a house in the left-hand corner, and a falconer and his servant on the road in the centre. Receding diagonal lines, several formed by the banks of the meandering river, imbue the composition with spatial energy. This dynamic quality carries through into the sky above, with its billowing





Fig. 102a. Philips Koninck, *Landscape with a Sandy Rise*, 1664, oil on canvas, 95 × 121 cm, signed. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 1419.

cloud forms. The sombre tones typical of this artist's early years have here given way to softer yellowish browns, sharp greens and pale blues that generate an overall effect of some ebullience.

When he published this painting in his 1936 monograph on Philips Koninck, Horst Gerson assigned it to the artist's brother, Jacob.<sup>2</sup> However, at that time the picture's appearance was suffering from a radical and unnecessary overpainting. Not only had the restorer simplified the composition, eliminating the foreground house by covering it with trees, he had also ventured upon an unusual repainting of the clouds, recasting them in more solid, abstract forms, with a more modern and less realistic appearance. A general cleaning undertaken in 1954 by William Suhr uncovered the foreground detail, but it was not until a more recent cleaning by Charles Munch that the area of the sky once again displayed the translucent colours and free brushwork characteristic of Philips Koninck. A composition in Rotterdam dating to 1664 (fig. 102a) displays similar features, including the sandy rise in the centre, the dale on the right and the winding river, permitting us to date the present work to the same period.<sup>3</sup>

Peter Sutton has pointed out a drawing in Paris that appears to have served as a study for the motif seen here of the river winding through the landscape (fig. 102b).<sup>4</sup> The drawing reveals Koninck's working method, which consisted of noting details of local landscape from nature and then using them to conjure an artificial but convincing landscape in his studio. Interestingly, it is the artificial – and unrealistic – abundance of motifs, organized into loose and dynamic rhythms, that gives Philips Koninck's work in the genre its captivating, transcendent quality and places him alongside Rembrandt, Hercules Seghers and Jacob van Ruisdael as one of the masters of Baroque landscape.



Fig. 102b. Philips Koninck, *Great River Landscape*, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, 19.4 × 31 cm. Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, inv.F.Lugt Collection 1199.

1. The present painting is mentioned in two newspaper reviews of this exhibition: Theodore von Frimmel, *Montags Revue* [Berlin], 27 October 1919, pp. 5-6; *Nieuw Rotterdams Courant* [Rotterdam], 8 August 1919.
2. Gerson 1936, p. 104, no. 16.
3. This comparison was first put forward in Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1548, no. 1060, p. 1610 (ill.).
4. See Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 6, pp. 3030-3031, no. 1357 (ill.); see also Peter Sutton in exhib. cat. Naumann 1995, p. 89. ♦





Fig. 103a. Philips Koninck, *Panoramic River Landscape*, 1676, oil on canvas, 92.5 × 112 cm, signed. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-206.

103.

Philips Koninck (Amsterdam 1619 – Amsterdam 1688)

*Panoramic Landscape with Mountains*

Around 1676

Oil on canvas, 85 × 127 cm

Signed bottom right: *P. Koninck*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 2000, acc. no. 43-007

#### PROVENANCE

R. Peltzer et al. sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 26 May 1914 (Lugt 74449), lot 324 (ill.); Amsterdam, with Jacques Goudstikker, in 1914; Essen, Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach collection, by 1938; sale, London (Christie's), 15 April 1983, lot 89 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Gerson 1936, p. 102, no. 5; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1534, 1551, no. 1074, p. 1624 (colour ill., as around 1676); Jan Juffermans, review of exhibition New York 1984, *Tableau* 6, no. 4 (1984), p. 58 (colour ill.); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 18, no. 1 (1985), p. 1 (cover ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Holländische Landschaftsmalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts. Werke aus nieder-rheinischem Museums- und Privatbesitz (Gemälde und Handzeichnungen)* (Essen: Folkwang-Museum 1938), unpaginated, no. 14; New York 1984, unpaginated, no. 7 (colour ill.); Tokyo, Chiba and Yamaguchi 1992, pp. 120 (colour ill.), 238, no. 51

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

*Catalogus van Schilderijen van oud-Hollandsche Meesters uit het bezit van de firma J. Goudstikker* (Amsterdam: J. Goudstikker, 1914), p. 8, no. 24<sup>1</sup>

PHILIPS KONINCK'S FAMOUS formula of an expansive landscape intersected by a river and rows of trees is here complemented by the group of mountains that closes off the space in the distance. He has further enhanced the monumental effect by introducing a rise in the foreground, which stands out against the river below. Koninck established himself as a painter of imaginary landscapes in the manner of Rembrandt and Hercules Seghers. But his works, in their incorporation of such elements of

local landscape as flat, low, waterlogged terrain, also show the impact of the Dutch realist tradition pioneered in Haarlem during the 1620s by artists like Jan van Goyen and Esaias van de Velde. The present scene moves further in the direction of ideal landscape, reflecting the Italian and French academic traditions that began having an influence in the Netherlands in the 1660s. It adopts a clear organization of spaces and features, and the accents created by highlighting are more isolated than in the artist's earlier works, generating a lighter, more decorative rhythm. Sumowski has with some justification compared this work with the landscape by Koninck in the Rijksmuseum that is signed and dated 1676 (fig. 103a).<sup>2</sup> Both works combine a foreground promontory with higher land in the distance. And the human presence is significant: the images include elegantly dressed figures, painted in a small scale but highlighted against their setting, clearly at leisure and enjoying their beautiful natural surroundings. In the present painting, a gentleman followed by a lackey approaches the edge of the outcropping on his horse, apparently intent on taking in the spectacular view spread out before him. Koninck is evidently making explicit reference to the aesthetic pleasure in landscape that his own pictures offered the affluent citizens who purchased them.

Seen within the context of Koninck's works of the period, the dramatic shadowy forms of the distant mountains and the abstracted billowing clouds show him at his most daring. He is here revisiting the contemplative mystery of Seghers and Rembrandt, explored in his earliest works, but in the grammar of a new monumental language of clear space, light tones and high colour.

1. This painting did not appear in the catalogue of 1915 or any subsequent year, indicating that it was sold in 1914-1915.

2. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1551, no. 1072, p. 1622 (colour ill.). ♦





104.

Salomon Koninck (Amsterdam 1609 – Amsterdam 1656)

*The Mocking of Ceres*

1645

Oil on panel, 67 × 55.5 cm

Signed and dated bottom centre: *S. Koninck 1645*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Amsterdam, with Marten Kretzer, in 1661;<sup>1</sup> Meiningen, Schloss Meiningen, Ducal Collection, inv. 96; Berlin, with Galerie Haberstock; Niendorf bei Lübeck, Buchenau collection, in 1936; thence by descent; sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 May 1988, lot 11 (colour ill.); sale, London (Christie's), 9 July 1993, lot 34 (colour ill.); New York, with Salomon Lilian in 1994; acquired in trade by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

"Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Thüringens 34, Herzogthum Sachsen-Meiningen I," Jena, 1909, p. 186 (as by Salomon Koninck, "Bildniss einer vernehmen jungen Dame in gelbseidenem Kleid, eine brennende Kerze in der Rechten. Sie steht vor einer Hausthür, aus der eine alte Frau ein Gefäss herausreicht [vielleicht auf das Gleichniss der zehn Jungfrauen bezüglich]. Von rechts läuft ein Knabe herbei. Kräftigster Lichteffect. [Portrait of a noble young Lady in a yellow silk dress, a burning candle in her right hand. She stands before the door of a house, which an old woman reaches out of with a pitcher (perhaps related to the Parable of the ten Virgins). A boy walks by from the right. Powerful effect of light.]," oil on panel, 66 x 55 cm); Gerson 1936, p. 117, no. 141; exhib. cat. Sacramento 1974, pp. 34, 152 (fig. 49); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1643, no. 1088, p. 166 (ill.); Neumeister 2003, pp. 291, 305, note 94, p. 413 (colour ill.); Klessmann 2004, pp. 54 (colour ill.), 62

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

C. F. Förster, *Katalog der herzoglichen Gemäldesammlungen zu Meiningen*, 1865, p. 28, no. 55 (as by Salomon de Koning [sic]), 2 Fuss 3 Zoll × 1 Fuss 10 1/2 Zoll [63.5 × 52.9 cm]; Salomon Lilian, *Old Masters* (Amsterdam and New York: Salomon Lilian Fine Arts Ltd., 1994), pp. 20-21 (ill.)



ACCORDING TO AN unclear documentary source, Salomon Koninck, son of the goldsmith Pieter de Koninck, appears to have been a cousin of the Rembrandt pupil Philips Koninck.<sup>2</sup> Salomon was born in Amsterdam and trained there with David Colijns (1582-after 1668),<sup>3</sup> Francois Venant (1592-1636) and Claes Cornelisz. Moyaert (1590/91-1655).<sup>4</sup> As an independent artist he adopted the style and subject matter of Rembrandt wholesale, and with unswerving devotion. His oeuvre includes many biblical, secular history and genre scenes, but no known portraits.

In his life of Salomon Koninck, Cornelis de Bie supports the claim that he was a history painter by mentioning a number of depictions of historical themes, including a *Ceres Searching for Her Daughter* in the collection of the Amsterdam merchant Marten Kretzer (around 1598-1669).<sup>5</sup> The present picture is one of three known depictions of the theme by Koninck, none of which can be traced back definitively to Kretzer's collection. Aside from his strong dependence on Rembrandt in his style and choice of themes, Koninck was also influenced by the Amsterdam artists in the circle of Pieter Lastman, a couple of whom had been his teachers. Here, he has followed the artist who provided a powerful example to this group – the German painter Adam Elsheimer. Koninck must have known Elsheimer's painting of the *Mocking of Ceres* in the Bader Collection (cat. 72) or a copy of it, such as the one in Madrid.<sup>6</sup> Not only has he captured the effect of artificial light by night for which the German master was famous – he has reproduced Elsheimer's composition, which places Ceres standing on the left, the old woman and her cottage at centre right and the little boy in the right foreground. The orientation of Koninck's painting indicates that he was following the painting itself, and not the print by Hendrick Goudt that is based on it.<sup>7</sup>

This depiction of the theme is not the artist's earliest, for it was preceded by an unpublished painting last in a French private collection (fig. 104a). There, Koninck follows Elsheimer even more closely, positioning the boy so he faces the viewer and including the old woman's left arm (although not giving it the same restraining gesture). However, this earlier version departs from Elsheimer in showing Ceres at the moment she accepts the drink. He carries this element over into the present picture but also shows the boy in profile and in a striding pose, thus diverging further from the Elsheimer.

Koninck's dependency on Elsheimer was such that he evidently did not bother to consult the text. In Book Five of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells how the goddess Ceres, after Pluto's abduction of her daughter, Proserpine, goes looking for her everywhere, unrelentingly. Exhausted and thirsty, she approaches a hut and is greeted by an old woman, whom she asks for water. The woman gives her a sweet drink made with malted barley, which she eagerly imbibes. A young ruffian nearby then taunts her for drinking greedily, and in her wrath she throws the remaining liquid at him. It has the extraordinary effect of turning him into a spotted lizard – hence his name, Stellio – whose skin takes its markings from the grains of barley. In his first two depictions of the story, Salomon Koninck shows Stellio laughing at



Fig. 104a. Salomon Koninck, *The Mocking of Ceres*, 1645 or slightly before, oil on panel, dimensions unknown. Limoges, collection of Mme. Alex Roche, in 1972 (photo: RKD).

Ceres before she starts drinking. The artist thus betrays his ignorance of the object of the boy's mockery, which is the enthusiasm with which she quenches her thirst. He also shows Ceres holding a candle, while Elsheimer correctly depicts the torch mentioned by Ovid. Koninck's third depiction of the theme, now in Chapel Hill, strays even further from the narrative by showing Stellio laughing at Ceres earlier still, while she is in the process of asking for a drink.<sup>8</sup>

1. De Bie 1661, p. 250: "Tot den Constkennenden Marten Cretzer een Ceres by nacht haer Dochter Proserpina soeckende (With the art connoisseur Marten Kretzer a Ceres at night searching for her daughter Proserpine)."

2. Alfred von Wurzbach and Abraham Bredius both posited a familial link; see Wurzbach 1906-1911, p. 325, and Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 4, p. 1366. Horst Gerson cites a real estate contract in which a Pieter de Koning is mentioned as the brother-in-law of Cornelia de Weert, the widow of Philips's father, Aert de Koninck. Salomon, who signs as a witness, is evidently Aert de Koninck's nephew and thus the cousin of the landscapist Philips Koninck; see Gerson 1936, p. 86, with no. 17.

3. De Bie 1661, p. 250; Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 321; and E. W. Moes in Thieme-Becker, vol. 7, p. 264.

4. De Bie 1661, p. 250; see Wurzbach 1906-1911, p. 325, and E. W. Moes in Thieme-Becker, vol. 21, p. 274.

5. De Bie 1661, p. 251. A poem of 1650 by Lambert van den Bosch (1626-1698) mentions quite a few paintings in the Kretzer collection, but no *Ceres*; see J.H.W. Unger, "Vondeliana. II. Vondel's Handschriften (vervolg)," *Oud Holland* 2 (1884), pp. 111-119. This raises the possibility that the present painting entered Kretzer's collection after the poem was written.

6. See under Copies at the head of cat. 72.

7. Rüdiger Klessmann takes the present work as evidence that Elsheimer's painting was in the Netherlands around 1645; see Klessmann 2004, p. 62. For Goudt's print, see cat. 72, note 10.

8. Salomon Koninck, *The Mocking of Ceres*, around 1645-1646, oil on canvas, 69 × 60 cm, William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Centre, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, inv. 63.36.1; see Sumowski 1983-1994 vol. 3, p. 1643, no. 1089, p. 1663 (colour ill.).





105.

Salomon Koninck (Amsterdam 1609 – Amsterdam 1656)

*An Old Man Wearing a Beret*

Around 1648-1649

Oil on canvas, 52.1 × 41.9 cm

Signed and dated middle right: S. KONIN / A° 164 (cut off at right edge)

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Budapest, collection of Count Paul Esterhazy, in 1914; thence by descent; Strem, Austria, collection of Count Bela Cziraky; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1985

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 19, no.1 (1986), p.1 (cover ill.); Rüdiger Klessmann, "Eine Schenkung an Polen: holländische Gemälde aus der Sammlung Lanckorońska," *Weltkunst* 17 (1992), p. 2254, note 10; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1629, 1648, no. 1126, p. 1700 (colour ill., as late 1640s); vol. 6, p. 3724, with no. 2346

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

West Lafayette 1992, pp. 28-29 (ill.)

IN THIS PAINTING, which is not a portrait, Salomon Koninck has faithfully followed the pictorial type of the *tronie*, established by Rembrandt and Lievens in Leiden in the 1620s. An old man is shown seated in an armchair beside a table. He has a flowing white beard and is wearing a beret and what appears to be a *tabbaard*, a traditional fur-lined gown with wide sleeves. Such garments were by this time considered old-fashioned and generally worn only by scholars.<sup>1</sup> The beret, too, was out of date, although still fancied by artists.<sup>2</sup> These items lend the figure a measure of artificiality. The setting is sober but lavish, and includes a Turkish rug covering the table. Without any books, writing materials or other specific attributes, the gentleman projects no clear identity. Only his pose, with an elbow propped on the chair arm and a hand grasping the end of his beard, suggests a moment of thoughtful reflection. The image can thus be assigned only loosely to the pictorial tradition of the scholar in his study.<sup>3</sup> In executing it, Koninck has adopted the painterliness of Rembrandt's idiom, but with judicious restraint and refinement. The inky black tones and soft, silvery handling of flesh seen here are characteristic of his style.

Koninck made a minor specialty out of painting such images, with or without attributes. Sumowski pointed to the connection

between this picture and two others by the artist, both dated to around 1648-1649 – *Old Man Counting Coins*<sup>4</sup> and *Old Man at a Writing Desk*.<sup>5</sup> The same author later mentioned another painting, a *Bearded Old Man with a Beret*, as being even closer to the present canvas in that the figure is accompanied by no attributes.<sup>6</sup> Similarly abstract "types" appear in two other unpublished works by Salomon Koninck, one dated to 1650 (only slightly later than the present work) and showing exactly the same costume.<sup>7</sup>

1. On the scholarly penchant for this garment, see De Winkel 1995.

2. See De Winkel 1998, p. 332.

3. See exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 14.

4. Salomon Koninck, *Old Man Counting Coins*, around 1648-1649, oil on panel, 56 × 42 cm, private collection; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1646, no. 1111, p. 1685 (colour ill.).

5. Salomon Koninck, *Old Man at a Writing Desk*, around 1648-1649, oil on canvas, 69 × 58.5 cm, sale, London (Christie's), 12 March 1976, lot 11 (ill.); see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1646, no. 1113, p. 1687 (ill.).

6. Salomon Koninck, *Bearded Old Man with a Beret*, around 1648-1649, oil on panel, 62 × 45 cm, Berlin, private collection; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3724, no. 2346, p. 3954 (colour ill.).

7. Salomon Koninck, *Bearded Old Man Leaning on a Balustrade*, 1650, oil on panel (rounded at the top), 56 × 45 cm, signed, Königswarter sale, Berlin (Schwartz), 20 November 1906 (Lugt 64792), lot 48 (ill.); Salomon Koninck, *Bearded Old Man with Folded Hands*, oil on panel, 50 × 40 cm, Rome, collection of Andrea Busiri (documented in an annotated photo at the RKD). ◆





106.

Pieter Lastman (Amsterdam 1583 – Amsterdam 1633)

*The Angel with Manoah and His Wife*

1617

Oil on panel, 35.1 × 30.3 cm

Monogrammed and dated lower left: *PL 1617*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 June 1952, lot 73; London, collection of Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate in 1980 by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Bauch 1955, pp. 213-215 (fig. 3); exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992, pp. 70-71 (pl. 55); exhib. cat. Münster 1994, pp. 70-71 (pl. 55)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 78-79, no. 34 (ill.)

TODAY, PIETER LASTMAN'S fame rests principally on his status as the teacher who most inspired the young Rembrandt and who profoundly shaped the great master's career as a history painter. In his own lifetime, however, Lastman was considered the foremost painter in Amsterdam and a leading innovator in the history painting genre. Born in Amsterdam in 1583, he was the son of Pieter Seghersz., who had been an official messenger for the city's government but who, owing to his Catholicism, was removed from this position in the Alteration of 1578, when Amsterdam came under Calvinist rule.<sup>1</sup> Lastman's mother, Barber Jacobszdr., was a bonded evaluator and estate liquidator who was allowed to continue her profession, and thereby maintained the family's prosperity.<sup>2</sup> This afforded her son Pieter the opportunity to train with the established painter Gerrit Pietersz.,<sup>3</sup> brother of the famous composer Jan Pietersz. Sweelinck, and to round off his artistic studies with a trip to Italy, which is where the biographer Karel van Mander reported him to be in 1604.<sup>4</sup> On his return to Amsterdam in 1606, Lastman established his practice in the large house occupied by his mother, where he later taught both Rembrandt and Jan Lievens.<sup>5</sup> The naturalism and drama of Lastman's style departs from the established

Mannerist tradition practiced by his teacher, and his preference for small figures in a rich landscape background reveals a debt to the German painter Adam Elsheimer, whose work he must have seen in Rome. He painted some pastoral scenes, and received commissions for altarpieces for the Catholic community and its hidden Amsterdam churches, but he is best known for his depictions of scenes from the Bible and classical literature, which were aimed at a broader market of art buyers. Lastman's approach is closely related to that of a number of other artists working in the city, including Jan and Jacob Pynas, Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, Jan Tegnagel, and his own brother-in-law François Venant, who have become known collectively as the "Pre-Rembrandtists." This early Amsterdam school has a distinctive identity independent of Rembrandt. Lastman was its leading personality, and Dutch history painters would continue to revisit his work for many decades after his premature death in 1633.

In his history paintings Lastman took up a number of themes not previously depicted, generally scenes from the Old Testament. In most of these cases he used a printed biblical illustration as his source, sometimes adapting a depiction of a different subject. For example, he drew on Maerten van Heemskerck's



print of *The Angel Departing from Tobias and His Family* for his painting of *Manoah's Sacrifice*.<sup>6</sup> In the present picture he depicts an earlier moment in the story of Manoah that is rarely seen in art. As recounted in the Book of Judges (13:11), Manoah, the father of Samson, is led by his wife to meet the angel and hear his instructions for raising their special child. Manoah's wife had already encountered the angel and received the prophecy about the birth of a remarkable son, together with the directives for raising him as a Nazirite. When the angel appears a second time, she rushes to fetch her husband, who is eager to hear the angel's words himself. Here, supported by his wife, Manoah stands listening attentively, hand on breast, as the angel once more delivers his divine message. The story ends with the angel's disappearance in the flames from the sacrifice Manoah prepares. This final scene, depicted several times by Lastman, was later taken up by other artists, including Covert Flinck (see cat. 76). The present scene did not initiate a similar tradition.

The lively handling and relatively loose, semi-transparent application of pigment link this work to others from Lastman's first decade as a painter. With its powerfully rendered figures, lavish passages of drapery and landscape details it reflects the artist's wide pictorial vocabulary. The rich effect of Lastman's style can be related directly to Van Mander's idea of *verscheydenheyt*, itself derived from Alberti's notion of *varietas*, or variety of subject matter.<sup>7</sup>

A drawing in Braunschweig on the same unusual theme was attributed to Pieter Lastman by Kurt Bauch in 1955,<sup>8</sup> but as Marijn Schapelhoeman has indicated, the work is more probably by the little-known Pieter Jansz.<sup>9</sup>

1. Dudok van Heel 1975, p. 31.
2. Ibid.
3. Van Mander, fol. 29v, 32-33; Van Mander/Miedema, vol. 1, pp. 432-433, and vol. 6, p. 37.
4. Ibid.
5. Dudok van Heel 1975, p. 33.
6. Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Angel Departing from Tobias and His Family*, around 1548, woodcut, 23.9 × 18.9 cm (see Veldman 1993, vol. 1, p. 162, no. 188 [ill.]); Peter Lastman, *Manoah's Sacrifice*, oil on panel, 65 × 32 cm, signed and dated 1627, Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis, inv. 1992 (see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 128-129, no. 21 [colour ill.]).
7. See Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 1, p. 139, vol. 2, pp. 476-480; Miedema 1993, p. 53; Broos 1975, p. 203 notes 9 and 10; and exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 125-127.
8. Attributed to Pieter Jansz., *The Angel Appearing to Manoah and His Wife*, black chalk, pen and brown ink, and grey-brown wash, 21.8 × 20.8, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. Z 1006; see Bauch 1955, pp. 213-215 (fig. 3).
9. Marijn Schapelhoeman, "Tekeningen van Pieter Jansz., 'Konstig Glasschrijver,'" *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 33 (1985), pp. 85-90 (fig. 19). My thanks to Thomas Döring for directing me to this reference. ♦



107.

Paulus Lesire (Dordrecht 1611 – The Hague after 1656)

*The Quill Cutter*

Around 1628-1629

Oil on panel, 78.8 × 60 cm

Monogrammed lower left, on notebook: *PdL*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, Amsterdam (Mensing), 21-24 March 1950, lot 117 (as by Rembrandt or School); Paris, collection of Claude Levin; Zurich, collection of Selma Zielinsky-Moos; purchased by Alfred Bader, in 1962

#### LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1715, no. 1149, p. 1730 (colour ill.); exhib. cat. Frankfurt 1993, p. 248 note 10; Bader 1995, p. 83 (pl. 1)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kalamazoo 1967, p. 13 (ill., as by Karel van der Pluym); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 4 (ill., as by Lesire); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 26-27, no. 10 (ill.); West Lafayette 1992, pp. 24-25 (ill.); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 54-55, no. 17 (ill.)

PAULUS LESIRE WAS born the son of an Englishman, Augustin Lesire, in Dordrecht.<sup>2</sup> His training is undocumented, but it is speculated that he began learning his craft in his native city with the portraitist Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp and then proceeded to Leiden around 1628 to study under Rembrandt.<sup>3</sup> Lesire subsequently established himself in Dordrecht, registering with the



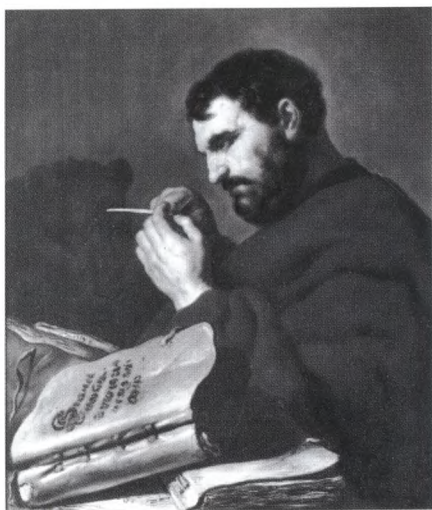


Fig. 107a. Jan Lievens, *St. Mark*, from *The Four Evangelists*, around 1625, oil on panel, 91 x 78 cm. Bamberg, Staatsgalerie in der Neuen Residenz, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv.L 1578.

guild there in 1631. In 1648 he moved to The Hague.<sup>4</sup> His oeuvre includes history paintings and some genre scenes as well as portraits, but later in his career the artist came to concentrate on this latter form.

This panel shows a middle-aged man with a scanty beard who is pausing in his writing to trim his quill. He sits at a table bearing a huge book. On top of it lies a slim, leather-bound volume of the same format, in whose blank pages he has been writing. An inkpot sits on the table to the left. The man peers through metal-rimmed spectacles as he performs his delicate task. The sober, empty surroundings deprive the scene of an everyday context, imbuing it with an imaginary, unrealistic quality. Combining a doublet with the loose sleeves of a robe, the man's rather improbable costume heightens this sense of unreality. The artist appears to have adapted the vogue for depictions of writing Evangelists that was established in Utrecht during the 1620s and appeared in Leiden in the work of Rembrandt and his close associate Jan Lievens. Lesire's secular type, intensely absorbed in scholarly labour, follows a moralizing tradition in which the sharpening of a quill served as an allusion to the daily pursuit of study.<sup>5</sup>

After the covering up by a previous owner of Lesire's monogram, which has since been revealed by cleaning and which appears on the cover of the slender notebook lying on the table, the painting was taken by most scholars in the field to be by Rembrandt.<sup>6</sup> The severe monochromatic palette and loose handling, with open brushstrokes, do relate in a general way to Rembrandt's work, but scholars came to realize that the technique did not measure up to the work of the master. This is evident in the vague sense of form and the stylized application of brushstrokes, which creates a striated pattern. Yet the earlier attribution to Rembrandt appears to have prevented scholars from perceiving that the dominant influence in this work is not Rembrandt, but Lievens. The monumental, looming presentation of the figure, the prominently placed still life of books and even the theme of a writing Evangelist all connect to works by Lievens of the same period. In fact, a close comparison is supplied by a work in the Bader Collection, the *St. Paul* (cat. 112), which itself relates to a



Fig. 107b. Paulus Lesire, *The Widow's Mite*, 1632, oil on panel, 44 x 33 cm, signed. St. Peter Port, Cevat Collection.

larger series by Lievens of the Four Evangelists. The *St. Mark* in the same series (fig. 107a) trims his quill in much the same fashion as Lesire's anonymous figure here.<sup>7</sup> Lesire has also employed the broader, rounded forms favoured by Lievens. Most significantly, Lesire's distinctive hatching strokes, evident in most of his history paintings, seem to derive from Lievens's methodical handling of the brush rather than Rembrandt's more varied approach.

Later, Lesire appears to have begun following Rembrandt's model more closely, adopting his small figures and dramatic light effects. This mode is apparent in his depiction of *The Widow's Mite*, which is dated 1632 (fig. 107b).<sup>8</sup> Lesire likely executed his *Quill Cutter* around 1628-1629, several years after Lievens painted the Evangelist series on which it is based. So Lesire may well have been studying Lievens's work during this period, possibly alongside that of Rembrandt. It is significant that Lesire, following Lievens's practice, applied a monogram to this work – an element that does not appear on any of his later known paintings. Werner Sumowski has dated the painting much later, to around 1644, connecting it with Lievens's depiction of the *Repentant St. Peter* of that year.<sup>9</sup> However, its warm, muted palette and open facture are very far removed from the cool tones and smooth handling of the *St. Peter*.

1. A painting with subject matter similar to this *Quill Cutter* but different in composition is given to Rembrandt by Smith 1829-1842, vol. 7, p. 137, no. 396, referring not to an original work but to engravings after one, by Spooner, Charles Phillips, R. J. and De Groot. The same work is cited in Hofstede de Groot vol. 6, p. 134, no. 252, and in an 1938 expertise of the present painting from Valentiner, citing his own publication *Wiedergefundene Gemälde*, 1922, p. 108 (as by Rembrandt, 1626, after he left Lastman's studio).
2. Abraham Bredius and C. H. Veth, "Poulois Lesire," *Oud Holland* 5 (1887), p. 46.
3. Ibid., p. 47.
4. Ibid., p. 49.
5. Jan Ameling Emmens, "Natuur, onderwijzing en oefening: Bij een drieluik van Gerrit Dou," in *Album Discipulorum aangeboden aan Professor J.G. van Gelder* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1963), pp. 129-130; see also exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 54.
6. Exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1989, p. 26.
7. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 1793, no. 1231, p. 1870 (ill., as 1626-1627).
8. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 1632, no. 1137, p. 1718 (ill.).
9. Paulus Lesire, *The Repentant St. Peter*, 1644, oil on canvas, 74.7 x 66 cm, signed, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, inv. DM/928/139; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1715, no. 1148, p. 1729 (colour ill.) and, on the comparison with the present picture, p. 1715, no. 1147. ♦





108.

Paulus Lesire (Dordrecht 1611 – The Hague after 1656)

*Tobias Healing His Father*

Around 1640

Oil on canvas, 180.3 × 207 cm

Signed lower right: *P. De Le sir.*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.05

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Thomas Walpole sale, London (Squibb), 22 March 1782 (Lugt 3394), lot 64 (as Rembrandt, *Tobias and his son, &c. high finished*, for 14 guineas); Baden, Switzerland, collection of W. Thomann, in 1967; sale, Zurich (Koller), 21-29 March 1967, lot 2119 (pl. 48), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Bernt 1979-1980, vol. 2, p. 33; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 1, no. 2 (1968), p. 2 (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1711, 1714, no. 1141, p. 1722 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Oshkosh 1968, unpaginated, no. 20 (ill.); Milwaukee 1976, pp. 146-147, no. 68 (ill.); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 5 (ill.); Dordrecht 1992, pp. 216-217, no. 52 (colour ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 17 (ill.)

PAULUS LESIRE HAS here depicted one of the most popular scenes from the apocryphal Book of Tobit, when the aging Tobit is cured of his blindness by his son Tobias (11:11-13). Tobias has just returned from a long journey to collect a debt for his father, whose accidental blinding has plunged the family into financial need. Accompanied by the angel Raphael, disguised as a helpful young man, Tobias retrieves the money. During the trip he also receives the cure for his father's ailment: when he is surprised by a jumping fish, Raphael instructs Tobias to cull the fish's gall, telling him that it can be used to heal blindness.

Lesire's conception is simultaneously monumental and moving. In the centre of the large canvas – over two metres across – Tobias leans over his father and, with a feather, daubs the fish



Fig. 108a. Rembrandt, *Tobias Healing His Father*, around 1640-1645, pen and brown ink and white gouache, 21 × 17.7 cm. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 69.69.

gall onto his eyes. Standing to the left, Tobit's wife Anna leans forward to look, peering through anachronistic spectacles. The archangel Raphael, standing behind Tobit to the right, looks out at the viewer, his gaze echoed by that of Tobias's little dog, who lies on the ground in the left foreground. Tobias's careful concentration and the trusting patience of his father, whose hands seem to tense in reaction to the gall ointment, create an atmosphere of intimacy and warmth. The mood is sustained by the glowing palette of yellows and greens, and by the close confines of the small, plain room that serves as the setting.

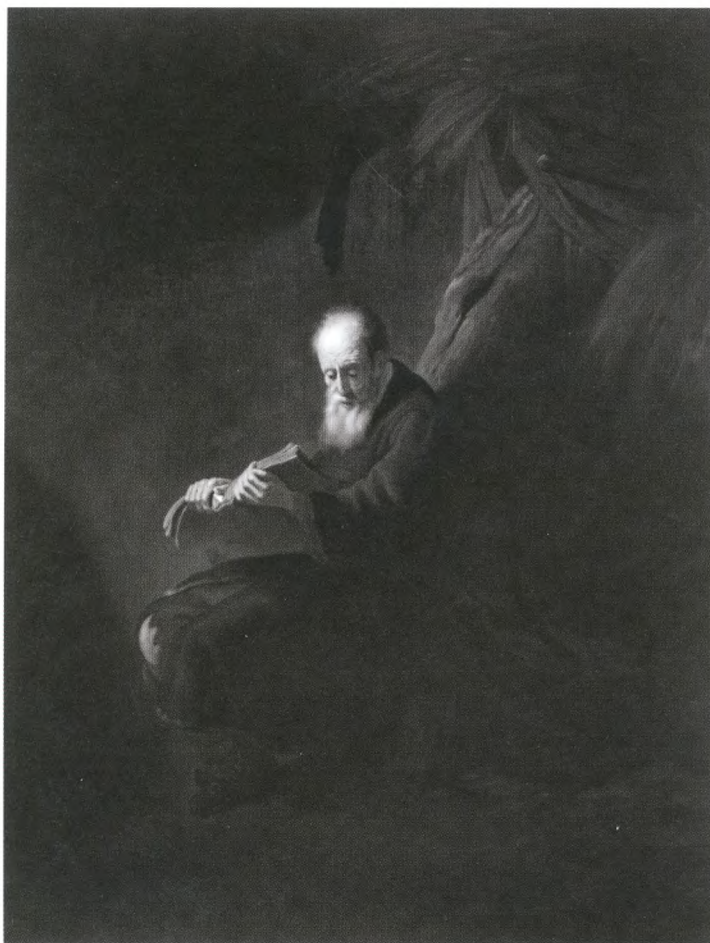
As in many of his other works, Lesire took his lead from Rembrandt for the theme and composition of this picture. Datable to the early 1640s on the basis of its smooth, hard treatment of flesh and drapery, the painting adopts the frieze-like arrangement of figures seen in a Rembrandt drawing of the same subject, now in Cleveland (fig. 108a).<sup>1</sup> The straining, bespectacled figure of Anna is taken directly from the drawing. Lesire has reversed the grouping left to right, however, and omitted the figure of Tobias's wife Sarah, whose presence is not mentioned in the text. The artist further revised his source by depicting a feather as the rather unusual instrument of healing. Rembrandt's drawing shows Tobias using a couching needle, as in a cataract operation, a detail prompted by the Lutheran translation of the text.<sup>2</sup> Lesire seems to have reviewed the text of the later Dutch translation of the States Bible, which recounts that Tobias "applied the gall to the eyes of his father,"<sup>3</sup> and to have invented an appropriate way for the gall to be applied – as a salve, contained in the dish held by the angel. Tobit's physical reaction to his son's action also seems to take its cue from the Dutch States Translation, which describes the salve as burning Tobit's eyes.

1. See exhib. cat. Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991-1992, vol. 2, pp. 70-72, no. 18 (colour ill.).

2. Richard Greeff, "Rembrandts Darstellungen der 'Heilung des blinden Tobias,'" in *Sitzungsberichte. Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft Berlin* 1907, pp. 1-2; Richard Greeff, *Rembrandts Darstellungen der Tobiasheilung. Nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Starstichs. Eine kulturhistorische Studie* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1907); J. Roosval, "En starroperation målad av Rembrandt omkring 1636," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 11 (1942), pp. 39-42, and 12 (1943), pp. 46-50.

3. States Bible, Tobit 11:10: "en streek de gal op de ogen zijns vaders." ♦





109.

Attributed to Paulus Lesire

(Dordrecht 1611 – The Hague after 1656)

*A Hermit Reading a Book*

Around 1630

Oil on panel, 54.8 × 60.8 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Munich, with Michael Rohe; purchased by Alfred Bader, in 1997

#### OTHER VERSIONS

Oil on panel (fig. 109a in the present catalogue); see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 539–546, no. C16 (ill., as not by Rembrandt), and collection cat. Paris 1982, pp. 98–99 (ill., as by Adriaen van Ostade, attributed by Horst Gerson)

Oil on panel, 61 × 51.5 cm, Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. 1170; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 546, Copies no. 1. This work appears to be identical to Von Moltke 1938–1939, p. 390, no. F4 (ill., as oil on panel, 60.5 × 51.5 cm).

Oil on panel, 63.5 × 43.9 cm, London, collection of Eric C. Palmer, in 1947; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 546, Copies no. 2

Oil on panel, dimensions unknown, monogrammed: L, Sweden, private collection, in 1983; documented in a photograph at the RKD.

AN OLD MAN sits reading a large volume held on his lap. In the background is the wall of a ruined building, with a blind arch discernible in its surface. The shadow cast on the left foreground suggests another wall further off to that side, possibly part of the

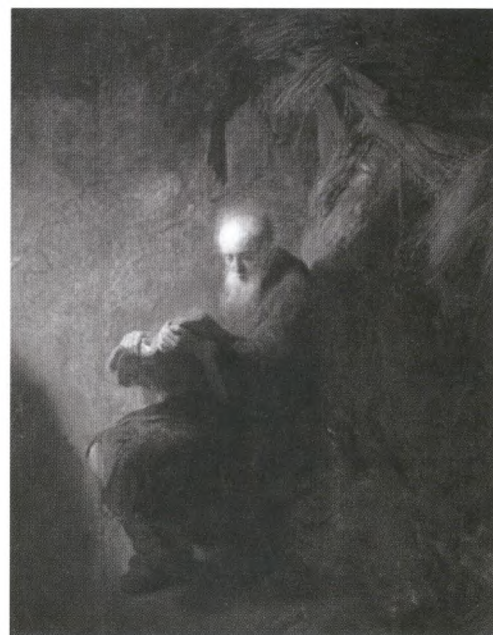


Fig. 109a. Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Hermit Reading a Book*, around 1630, oil on panel, 58.9 × 45.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 2541a.

same ruins. Behind the figure to the right is a makeshift hut made of logs and sticks lashed together, with a layer of grass forming the roof. On top of the wall adjoining the hut sits a water pot with a cloth beside it. The desolation of the location and the man's evident poverty, combined with his absorption in study, mark him as a hermit. His rather straggly beard and unkempt hair further underscore his isolation from society. The long flowing robe he wears, which is old and torn, places him in the Orient of antiquity.

This image takes as its model the depictions of hermits that appeared in the art of the northern Netherlands during the 1620s, in the work of Rembrandt and Lievens, in Leiden, and among their followers, especially Gerrit Dou and his imitators. These pictures were developed from the tradition of depicting hermit saints, especially Jerome, meditating in the desert.<sup>1</sup> Eager to broaden their appeal in a multi-denominational context, Dutch artists often left out specific religious references, as in this example. Its composition duplicates that of a painting in Paris (fig. 109a), which was formerly attributed to Rembrandt and is still assigned by the Rembrandt Research Project to the immediate circle of Rembrandt and dated to around 1630.<sup>2</sup> They speculate that it is a copy of a painting by Rembrandt, now lost. Rembrandt may have produced a drawing of this composition, also now lost, but possibly copied and elaborated in a sheet in Weimar.<sup>3</sup> In his composition Rembrandt would have derived an anonymous type from his own depictions of *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem* (fig. 161b),<sup>4</sup> *St. Peter in Prison*,<sup>5</sup> and a lost St. Jerome known only through a print by Jan Gillisz. van Vliet.<sup>6</sup> Given their very close resemblance, it certainly seems likely that the present work and the Paris painting both faithfully reflect a lost work by Rembrandt. The master portrayed the same balding and bearded head in a similar pose in a number of etchings from the period,<sup>7</sup> a painting in Kingston (cat. 161), and later in a very small grisaille painting on paper of 1633.<sup>8</sup>



This panel resurfaced on the art market only quite recently and without any attribution. It differs from the Paris picture primarily in not displaying the deft, free handling in semi-translucent colours that appears in closely related paintings by Rembrandt. Instead, it employs a smooth, solid facture and an opaque application of pigment that result in a more finished effect. This straightforward technique can also be seen in the earliest Rembrandtesque works of the Dordrecht pupil Paulus Lesire – his 1632 depiction of *The Widow's Mite*, for example (see fig. 107b).<sup>9</sup> This piece shares with the present work a rounded, somewhat bulky rendering of figures and features. Lesire is known to have been studying in Leiden around 1630, the period when Rembrandt would have painted the lost original. Unfortunately, there is no closer stylistic comparison to further support the attribution to him of this *Hermit Reading a Book*.

1. See exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 11-18.
2. See under Other Versions at the head of this entry.
3. Anonymous artist, after Rembrandt van Rijn, *Hermit Reading a Book*, red chalk, grey wash and pen, Weimar, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 542-545 (fig. 7).
4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem*, 1630, oil on panel, 58.3 × 46.6 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3276; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 276-284, no. A28 (ill.).
5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *St. Peter in Prison*, 1631, oil on panel, 58 × 48 cm, signed, sale, New York (Christie's), 31 May 1990, lot 149 (colour ill.); see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 346-350, no. A36 (ill.).
6. Jan Gillisz. van Vliet, after Rembrandt van Rijn, *St. Jerome Kneeling in Prayer*, 1631, etching, 34.8 × 28.5, inscribed; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 46-47, no. 3 (ill.).
7. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of an Old Man*, 1631, etching, 11.9 × 11.7 cm, 3 states, inscribed; see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 117, no. B260, and vol. 19, pp. 200-201 (ills.). Related head studies include: etching, 7.1 × 6.4 cm, single state (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 139, no. B291, and vol. 19, p. 248 [ill.]); etching, 1631, 9.8 × 8.1 cm, single state, monogrammed (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 143, no. B309, and vol. 19, p. 251 [ill.]); etching, 8.8 × 7.5 cm, 2 states (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 145, no. B314, and vol. 19, p. 253 [ill.]); etching, 1631, 6.8 × 6.6 cm, 2 states, monogrammed (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 146, no. B315, and vol. 19, p. 154 [ill.]); etching, 1630, 9.1 × 7.6 cm, single state, monogrammed (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 148, no. B325, and vol. 19, p. 256 [ill.]).
8. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of an Old Man*, oil on paper, mounted on panel, 10.6 × 7.2 cm, private collection; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 351-354, no. A74 (ill.).
9. See cat. 107, note 8. The attribution of the present work to Lesire was first suggested by Rudi Ekkart (oral communication to Alfred Bader) in 2000 and supported in a note by Jonathan Bikker in 2001 (Bader Collection work files). ♦

110.

Jacobus Leveck (Dordrecht 1634 – Dordrecht 1675)

*Portrait of a Man in a Hat*

Around 1654

Oil on panel, 53.3 × 38.1 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Dordrecht, collection of Herman Kat van Barendrecht; his sale, Paris, 3 May 1866, lot. 68 (as by Rembrandt); Dollfuss sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 20 May 1912, lot 56 (as by Maes, for 500 francs); Wiesbaden, collection of Ludwig Mandl; New York, with Colin Agnew, in 1925; London, with Agnews; London, collection of Ernst Innes, by 1929; Ernst Innes sale, London (Christie's), 13 December 1935, lot 129 (ill., as by Maes), purchased by Agnew; London, collection of D. V. Shaw-Kennedy; London, with Thomas Brod Gallery; purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Moes 1897-1905, vol. 1, p. 404, no. L.3370-4 (as by Rembrandt, *Portrait of Daniel Heinsius*); Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 470 note 101, p. 531 no. 178 (as by Maes, portrait of Heinsius); R. R. Tatlock, "An Unpublished Nicolaes Maes," *Burlington Magazine* 48 (1926), p. 3; Eduard Plietzsch, review of A.B. de Vries, *Jan Vermeer de Delft* (Basel: Les Éditions Holbein, 1945), *Zeitschrift für Kunst* 4 (1950), p. 236 (as by Maes); A.B. de Vries, review of *Drie Eeuwen Portretkunst in Nederland*, in *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 12 July 1952, p. 9 (as by Maes); Eduard Plietzsch, *Kunstchronik* 6 (1953), p. 131; Jan Gerrit van Gelder, *Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), p. 38 (as by Drost, not of Heinsius); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1744, 1746, no. 1167, p. 1753 (ill., as by Jacobus Leveck)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Loan Exhibition of Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1925), unpaginated, no. 15 (as by Maes); *Oud Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Meesters* (The Hague: Koninklijke Kunstzaal Kleykamp, 1926), pp. 17-18, no. 30 (ill.); *Dutch Old Masters* (Manchester: City of Manchester Art Gallery, 1929), p. 14, no. 11; London 1929, p. 125, no. 259; *Drie Eeuwen Portretkunst in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1952), p. 46, no. 94; London 1952-1953, p. 44, no. 193 (as by Maes); *Mostra di Pittura Olandese del Seicento* (Milan: Palazzo Reale, 1954), p. 50, no. 86 (as by Maes); Leiden 1956, p. 44 no. 73 (pl. 22, as by Maes); Chicago, Minneapolis and Detroit 1969-1970, pp. 83-84, no. 86, p. 144 (ill., as by Maes)

THE AUTHOR OF this work has emerged only recently as a distinct artistic personality and the creator of a number of fine portraits from the 1650s and 1660s. Jacobus Leveck is documented as having studied with Rembrandt in 1653 at the same time as Nicolaes Maes, with whom he returned to Dordrecht a short time later. By the 1660s, after a journey to France, the artist had adopted a smoother style, following the fashionable manner of Govert Flinck.<sup>1</sup> He is also known as the second teacher of the biographer Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719),<sup>2</sup> but by the time this association developed was apparently already too sick to be of much assistance.<sup>3</sup> Leveck was not a productive artist, and his known oeuvre comprises fewer than twenty paintings.

This sensitive and imposing portrait resurfaced in 1866 under the name of Rembrandt, as a portrait of the famous Amsterdam poet and professor Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655). The sitter does not bear a strong resemblance to known images of Heinsius, however, such as the print by Jan Lievens (fig. 110a).<sup>4</sup> So far, no further evidence has emerged that would help identify the sitter. In taking up the question of authorship Cornelis Hofstede de Groot immediately dismissed the ambitious attribution to Rembrandt and assigned the work to Maes; some time later Jan van Gelder



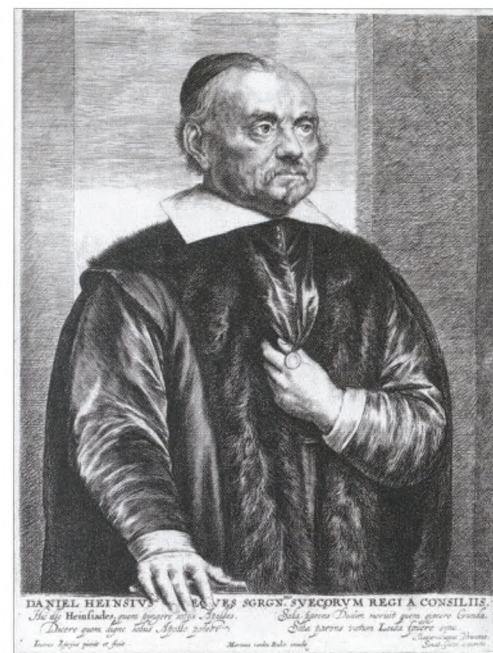


Fig. 110a. Jan Lievens, *Portrait of Daniel Heinsius*, around 1634-1644, etching, 26.8 × 20.3 cm, state III/IV. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 12.602. © Stichting het Rijksmuseum.

suggested Willem Drost.<sup>5</sup> But the portrait exhibits neither Maes's smoothness nor Drost's use of refined accents. As Sumowski has correctly indicated, its facture relates rather to the portraiture of Jacobus Leveck, as does the intimate presentation of the sitter.

The present portrait does show clear links to Rembrandt's style of the early 1650s, which Leveck (along with Maes) would have observed during his period of study – in its broad impastoed handling, for example, and the layering of semi-transparent colours to convey the soft consistency of flesh. The hatches and strokes of liquid paint suggest a more cautious method, however, showing less painterly bravado than the master's example. It compares closely to the handling in a signed and dated portrait of 1654, now in Polesden Lacey (fig. 15c). Both works show how

close Leveck was to Maes's early style, but at the same time it reveals his more subdued approach and has been instrumental in constructing this artist's early oeuvre.<sup>6</sup>

1. For the most recent biography of Leveck, see Paul Huys Janssen in exhib. cat. *The Hague* 1992, pp. 211; see also Rudi E.O. Ekkart, "Jacobus Leveck," *Dordrechts Museum Bulletin* 12 (1987), no. 3.
2. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 153.
3. Bredius noted that Leveck's signature on a document of 1673 looked shaky, suggesting his health was already failing; see Bredius 1923-1924, p. 211.
4. See Hollstein, vol. 11, p. 22, no. 22 (ill.).
5. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
6. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1746 no. 1163, p. 1749 (ill., as possibly a self-portrait). ♦



111.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*A Man Singing*

Around 1624

Oil on panel, 90.2 × 76.3 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.06

PROVENANCE

Possibly Leiden, collection of Claes Adriaensz. van der Maes, in 1651 (as "Een Musyck sanger van Jan Lievens");<sup>1</sup> London, collection of William Graham; his sale, London (Christie's), 2 April 1886, lot 418, (as by Anonymous, *A Canon Singing*) purchased by O. Smith; Macomber Collection; New York, with Julius Weitzner; New York, collection of Jacob Reder; New York, with Spencer A. Samuels & Co., in 1969; sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), New York, 4 April 1973, lot 23 (as by Lievens, *Choirmaster*), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

LITERATURE

Schneider 1932, p. 122, no. 122, p. 363, no. 120; Gerson 1954, pp. 179–180, (fig. 2, before cleaning, shows the man wearing a beret); P.L. Grigaut, "Rembrandt and His Pupils in North Carolina," review of exhibition Raleigh 1956, *Art Quarterly* 19 (1956) pp. 408, 410 (fig. 2); Bauch 1967, p. 261; *Art News* 68 (May 1969), p. 44 (ill., after cleaning, with the beret, a later addition, removed); Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 349, no. 363; collection cat. Berlin 1976, p. 57, with no. 1808; Rembrandt Corpus, vol. I, p. 403; Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1791, no. 1224, p. 1863 (colour ill.); vol. 6, p. 3623; Stewart 1990, pp. 42–47, fig. 6 (ill., as around 1621); exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001–2002, p. 148 note 3; exhib. cat. Kingston 2003, fig. 1

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Exhibition of Works by Old Masters, and by Deceased Masters of the British School* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1885), p. 39, no. 180 (as by Anonymous, *A Choirmaster*); Raleigh 1956, p. 122, no. 65 (ill., as "called *Portrait of a Choirmaster*"); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 3 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 12–13, no. 6 (ill.)

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 18 (ill.)



JAN LIEVENS BEGAN his career in art as a child prodigy. Born in Leiden in 1607 to a Flemish émigré laceworker, Lieven Hendricx, and his Dutch wife Machtelt Jansdr. van Noordsant,<sup>2</sup> he commenced his training at the age of eight under the Leiden landscapist Joris van Schooten.<sup>3</sup> As an illustration of his zeal, the city historian Jan Jansz. Orlers relates that during the Remonstrant troubles of October 1617, in which violence broke out in the streets, the young Lievens continued his study unabated.<sup>4</sup> Probably late in 1618 he proceeded to the city of Amsterdam to complete his instruction under the renowned history painter Pieter Lastman.<sup>5</sup> After two full years there, he returned to Leiden in 1621 to set up on his own – at the tender age of fourteen.<sup>6</sup> He quite possibly travelled to Antwerp around this time as well, since his early production reflects knowledge of Rubens's work.<sup>7</sup> He quickly developed an independent style, also adapting aspects of the work of the Utrecht Caravaggisti. Rembrandt's famous association with Lievens probably began around 1624–1625<sup>8</sup> and continued after the former's return from his own

period of instruction under Lastman. Sometime around 1628 Constantijn Huygens visited both artists – who may have shared a studio for a while – and later drafted his well-known comparison of the two, in which he deemed Lievens superior in the rendering of large figures but criticized his self-assurance.<sup>9</sup> Although the young Lievens was enjoying considerable success in these years, including patronage from the House of Orange, he left Leiden in 1631 or 1632 for London,<sup>10</sup> where he absorbed the influence of Anthony van Dyck. In 1635 he proceeded to Antwerp before returning to the Netherlands and settling in Amsterdam in 1644.<sup>11</sup> With the exception of stays in Berlin in 1653–1654, The Hague and Leiden in 1654–1658, and another spell in Leiden in 1670–1672,<sup>12</sup> Lievens remained in Amsterdam for the rest of his life, painting primarily history paintings and portraits, and attracting two of the most illustrious commissions of his day: from the House of Orange for a painting in the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch,<sup>13</sup> and for two scenes of the decorative cycle adorning Amsterdam's City Hall.<sup>14</sup>



In this early work, Lievens depicts a man singing heartily, his open, slightly pursed lips shaping the words, his raised hand beating time.<sup>15</sup> Before him is a table laden with books, and he is evidently taking his song from the open volume resting on top. The picture was once labelled “A Canon Singing,” and as Christian Tümpel has observed the figure does indeed derive from that of a singer in a scene of *David in the Temple* painted by Lievens’s teacher Pieter Lastman in 1618.<sup>16</sup> This borrowing provides strong evidence that Lievens was already studying with Lastman in that year and did not enter his studio in 1619, as is generally posited. At the same time, the man’s corpulent form, unidealized features and spirited demeanour transform the gentle original figure into a robust, everyday, earthy type, in the tradition of the Utrecht followers of Caravaggio. Lievens had already included a comparable head in a slightly earlier painting of *Tric-trac Players* (fig. 111a),<sup>17</sup> where it belongs to a similarly low-life figure, also quite removed from Lastman’s model. The man seen here does not apparently embody a particular character; in fact, his activity likely marks him down as the representative of the sense of hearing in a series portraying the Five Senses. Two other senses, sight and smell, are the subject of two other early canvases by the artist of a slightly smaller format.<sup>18</sup> A painting by Lievens of a singer – possibly the present work – appeared on its own in an inventory of 1651, suggesting that such allegories could stand independently of the parent series.<sup>19</sup> Rüdiger Klessmann has also pointed out the possible influence on Lievens’s image of Haarlem artist Pieter de Grebber’s 1623 depiction of singers.<sup>20</sup>

A variation on the Lievens figure was used subsequently by Rembrandt in a painting of *Three Singers* that has recently been reassigned to him with some certainty (fig. 111b).<sup>21</sup> The present work has thus been recognized as one of the earliest pictorial testaments to the relationship that developed between Rembrandt and Lievens in Leiden, in the period before Rembrandt went to study with Lastman in Amsterdam – a period during which he apparently looked to the work of his precocious fellow townsman for inspiration.<sup>22</sup> Rembrandt’s painting includes a similar male singer – also bald, raising one hand and shown in half length – as well as a comparably crowded Caravaggesque composition. The figure faces left instead of right but fills the composition in the same way. Rembrandt’s panel is linked with two others by him of similar size that depict the senses of touch and sight, establishing its place in a series on the Five Senses.<sup>23</sup> It has also been connected recently to paintings depicting the Five Senses by the Utrecht followers of Caravaggio.<sup>24</sup> However, the borrowed figure suggests that Rembrandt did not take inspiration from their work directly, but through Lievens, whose own painting mirrors more closely the effect typical of the Utrecht Caravaggisti.

In this early picture the precocious young artist also drew on another major school of painting of his period, a little further removed: that of Rubens, in Antwerp. This is the only explanation for the extremely robust modelling of the figure, evident in



Fig. 111a. Jan Lievens, *Tric-trac Players*, around 1622-1623, oil on canvas, 98 × 106 cm. Spier Collection.

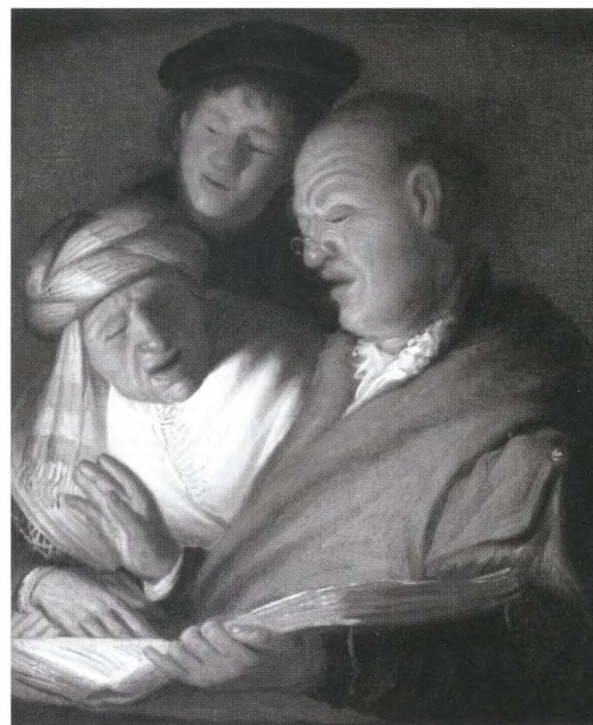


Fig. 111b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Three Singers*, around 1624-1625, oil on panel, 21.6 × 17.8 cm. London, Collection of W. Baron van Dedem.

its rotund torso and fleshy face, and in the bulbous, swelling forms of the hand. The Flemish influence is also clear in the painterly handling, featuring open brushstrokes and layers of translucent colour, which Lievens could not have learned from his early mentor, Lastman, or from the artists in Utrecht, but only from Rubens. Pointing to this most conspicuous aspect of the painting, J. Douglas Stewart has posited direct contact with the practice of the great Fleming during an early visit to his studio, in 1621.<sup>25</sup> The skeptical responses to this provocative idea insist on Lievens’s youth at the time: he would have been only fourteen.<sup>26</sup> But this objection overlooks the trajectory of his career to that



point. By 1621 Lievens had not only completed his basic training with Joris van Schooten, in Leiden, but also his period of study with Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam.<sup>27</sup> This second phase is very significant, since it must have been an advanced level of study, costing a considerable amount and preparing Lievens to embark on an independent practice.<sup>28</sup> As Stewart argues, it would have made very good sense for it to be followed by a trip to Antwerp – a parallel to the Italian journey undertaken by later Dutch artists on completion of their studies. It would also have been permitted by the Twelve Year Truce, then in its final months, and further facilitated by the fact that Lievens's émigré father came from Flanders. The present painting certainly suggests (especially in the modelling) that Lievens possessed a strong knowledge of Rubens's work of the kind that could only have been gained directly, and not through prints.

The reluctance to view such works as direct responses to Rubens stems from the approach many scholars take to Lievens, which is from the perspective of study of his more famous Leiden associate, Rembrandt. Rembrandt did not begin his artistic career nearly as early, committing several years to academic study before entering Jacob van Swanenburg's studio around 1621–1622 and finally joining Lastman in 1625, fully seven years after Lievens. There even seems to be an element of partiality in the attitude of Rembrandt scholars who begrudge Lievens his remarkable progress as a student of art, which could easily have led to a visit to the great Rubens while he was still in his early teens. The same mind-set has kept scholars from dating Lievens works to the 1621–1624 period, well before Rembrandt's earliest production. A cluster of works is placed in the years 1624–1627, with nothing before, as if Lievens were entirely unproductive for three years immediately after completing his training with Lastman. The conservative dating of the present work has been to around 1625, but it was just as likely executed a little earlier, around 1624.

Lievens's picture of a singer shares its overall composition with a series depicting the Four Evangelists, in Bamberg,<sup>29</sup> and the *St. Paul* in Kingston (cat. 112). They too show half-length figures sitting at tables laden with books. In the other pictures, however, the character types are grander and more imposing, as befits their more elevated roles.

1. Bredius 1915–1922, vol. 1, p. 215.
2. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 296; Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 1.
3. Orlers, p. 376; Houbraken, p. 296.
4. Orlers, p. 376; Houbraken, p. 297.
5. Orlers, p. 376; Houbraken, p. 296.
6. Orlers, p. 376; Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 2.
7. Stewart 2004.
8. See exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001–2002, p. 153.
9. Constantijn Huygens, in Huygens/Worp 1891, pp. 127, 130; for an English translation, see Schwartz 1985, pp. 73–77. See also the comparable comment registered twenty-five years later by Sir Robert Kerr, *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancrum and His Son William, Third Earl of Lothian* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1875), p. 383, dated 30 May 1654.
10. See Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 3, and exhib. cat. The Hague 1997, pp. 170–173, no. 17.
11. Schneider/Ekkart 1973, pp. 4–7.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.
13. Jan Lievens, *The Five Muses*, 1650, oil on canvas, 319 × 240 cm, signed, The Hague, Huis ten Bosch, Oranjezaal (south wall); see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1785, no. 1206, p. 1845 (ill.).
14. Jan Lievens, *Quintus Fabius Maximus Dismounts for His Son*, 1656, oil on canvas, 203 × 175 cm, Amsterdam, Royal Palace on the Dam (formerly City Hall), Burgermeesterzaal (mantelpiece), and *Brinio Is Raised on the Shield*, 1661, oil on canvas, 546 × 538 cm (rounded at top), signed, Amsterdam, Royal Palace on the Dam, Grand Gallery; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, pp. 1787–1788, nos. 1211, 1213, pp. 1850, 1852 (colour ill.).
15. Jane R. Stevens, "Hands, Music, and Meaning in Some Seventeenth-century Dutch Paintings," *Imago Musicae* 1 (1984), pp. 75–102.
16. Collection cat. Milwaukee 1974, no. 18, with reference to Pieter Lastman, *David in the Temple*, 1618, oil on panel, 79 × 119 cm, signed, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 208 (see collection cat. Braunschweig 1983, pp. 117–118, no. 208 [ill.]).
17. See exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001–2002, pp. 148–149 (colour ill.).
18. Jan Lievens, *A Young Man Blowing, Lighting a Coal: Allegory of Sight*, and *A Boy Lighting a Pipe: Allegory of Smell*, both oil on panel, 82 × 64 cm, signed, Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, inv. Wil. 1526 and Wil. 1525; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, pp. 1791–1792, nos. 1225 and 1226, pp. 1864–1865 (ill.).
19. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
20. Pieter de Grebber, *Three Singers*, 1623, oil on canvas, 93 × 77.5 cm, signed, Rockville, Maryland, private collection; see Rüdiger Klessmann, in exhib. cat. Braunschweig and Utrecht 1986–1987, p. 121 (pl. 121). For further discussion of the significance of Haarlem artists for Lievens, see Rüdiger Klessmann, "Jan Lievens und die Utrechter Caravaggisten," *Bulletin du Musée Nationale de Varsovie* 37 (1996), no. 423, pp. 181–198.
21. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 399–404, no. B1 (ill., as Uncertain). Concerning its attribution to Rembrandt, see exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001–2002, pp. 150–153, where the connection to Lievens's painting is not mentioned.
22. The Rembrandt Research Project mentions the Lievens in connection with Rembrandt's painting but does not discuss the relationship further; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 403.
23. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Operation: The Sense of Touch*, oil on panel, 21.5 × 17.7 cm, private collection, and *The Spectacles Seller: The Sense of Sight*, oil on panel, 21 × 17.8 cm, private collection; see exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001–2002, pp. 154–157, nos. 10 and 11 (ills.).
24. Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 403.
25. Stewart 1990. The author reiterates his theory and offers further evidence in a later article, Stewart 2004.
26. Stewart cites letters from Julius Held and Oliver Millar; see Stewart 2004, p. 190, and the response by Stephanie Dickey, "Van Dyck in Holland: The Iconography and Its Impact on Rembrandt and Jan Lievens," in *Van Dyck, 1599–1999: Conjectures and Refutations*, Hans Vlieghe, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), p. 296.
27. Orlers, pp. 375–376; see Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 2.
28. Orlers reported that in 1621, Lievens produced a portrait of his mother that drew wide admiration, indicating that his training as an artist was complete and his practice established; Orlers, p. 376. See also Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 2.
29. See cat. 112, note 2. ♦





112.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*St. Paul*

Around 1624-1625

Oil on panel, 94 × 78.7 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 2006, acc. no. 49-001

#### PROVENANCE

Amsterdam, with Jacques Goudstikker, in 1917 (as by Rembrandt); sale, London (Christie's), 28 June 1929, lot 39 (as by Rembrandt); New York, with Newhouse Galleries; Texas, private collection; sale, New York (Robert Doyle), 23 January 1985, lot 43 (ill., as by Lievens, around 1626-1627), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, "De Apostel Paulus van Rembrandt," *Oude Kunst* 3 (1917), pp.69-70 (ill., as by Rembrandt); Six 1919, p.85 (as certainly by Lievens); Bredius 1921, p. 147 (as by Lievens); Valentiner 1921, p.XV, no.3, p. 3 (ill., as by Rembrandt, with reservations); Hofstede de Groot 1922, p. 10; Bauch 1933, pp.219-220 (as by Lievens, perhaps with retouchings by Rembrandt); Bauch 1939, pp.246-247 (as possibly by Rembrandt); Van Gelder 1953, p. 14 (as possibly by Lievens); Gerson 1954, p. 180 (as by Lievens); Bauch 1967, pp. 259, 260, 262 (pl.15); Schneider/Ekkart 1973, pp. 172, no.XV (as not by Lievens), 340; Horst Gerson in Chicago 1973, pp.23-24; Rüdiger Klessmann, in exhib.cat.Braunschweig 1979, p.56; Kuznetsov 1983, p. 136 (as by Lievens, retouched by Rembrandt); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol.3, pp.1769, 1792, no. 1229, p. 1868 (colour ill., as by Lievens); vol. 5, p. 3624; exhib. cat. Washington and Los Angeles 2005, pp. 27-28 (fig. 17); exhib. cat. Groningen 2005, p.61 (fig.5)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Collectie Goudstikker* (Amsterdam: J.Goudstikker, 1917), unpaginated, no.7 (ill., as by Rembrandt, signed: Rembrandt [the false signature is actually Rembrandt]); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, p.88 (ill., as signed), pp.140-141, 158, no. 32; Milwaukee 1989, pp.34-35, no. 14 (ill., as no longer bearing the Rembrandt signature); Kingston 1996-1997, pp.64-65, no.23 (ill.)

AN OLD MAN with a full beard sits at a desk piled high with several weighty tomes. Projecting out from under the books to the right is the hilt of a sword, the instrument of martyrdom of St. Paul the Apostle and his traditional attribute. The snuffed candle by the figure's right shoulder alludes to the passing of the Old Testament and, by extension, to Paul's role as one of the authors of the New.<sup>1</sup> Lievens shows him holding his pen poised above the page and gazing sightlessly downward, in a moment of deep thought – the very moment of divine inspiration, in fact, just before he commits its message to paper.

The size and support of this painting are the same as those in Lievens's well-known series featuring the Four Evangelists, now in Bamberg (fig 107a).<sup>2</sup> These depictions endow their subjects with a dynamic presence, emphasizing the intensity with which they reflect or write. All five compositions include lavishly painted still lifes with books in the foreground. It is very likely that this *St. Paul* was painted in conjunction with the series. It may, moreover, have been executed first, for it appears to show his earlier development, displaying a more diffuse composition, a more limited colour scheme and a narrower range of brushwork. Although it still features the thick impastoed strokes and the looming presentation of the figure seen in earlier Lievens works – the *Man Singing* in Kingston (cat. 111), for instance – it can be grouped with such pictures as the *Old Woman with a Book (A Prophetess?)* in the Rijksmuseum (see fig. 114b)<sup>3</sup> and the *Feast of Esther* in Raleigh as an example of Lievens's activity in the years immediately before his association with Rembrandt, probably around 1624-1625.<sup>4</sup> His series of prints of *The Four Evangelists* shows a similar format and may date from only a little later.<sup>5</sup>

In executing these prints and paintings Lievens followed the Utrecht painter Hendrick ter Brugghen's series of the four Evangelists, adopting their characteristic Caravaggesque half-length format.<sup>6</sup> Lievens was a close observer of Ter Brugghen and the other Utrecht Caravaggisti, and took over several stylistic elements of their approach, including the figure format and the strong lighting of subjects against a dark ground. Yet his handling of the figures in this series points to another model: the work of the Antwerp painters Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. The robust volumes of the drapery and the imposing monumentality of the saints, especially, connect Lievens to the southern Netherlandish mode. He was almost certainly influenced by a half-length depiction of St. Thomas by Van Dyck, then in a Utrecht collection (which Ter Brugghen also adapted for one of his paintings),<sup>7</sup> taking over the thinning pate, open volume and sharp lighting from the side. The bulging physicality of Rubens's figures, which derived ultimately from Michelangelo, is still clearly perceptible in Lievens's Evangelists. His acute observation of this quality of Rubens's early style lends further credence to J. Douglas Stewart's hypothesis that the young Lievens made an early trip to Antwerp around 1621.<sup>8</sup> Lievens's painterly handling,



too, with its layering of translucent, visible, directional strokes, strongly evokes that of Rubens. More significantly, it departs from the smooth manner of Lievens's teacher, Pieter Lastman, suggesting once again that sometime between 1617 and 1622 Lievens was inspired directly by Rubens's model.

Lievens devoted considerable attention to the still life of books portrayed here and in the other paintings of the series. It has recently been noted that Lievens looked to the prominent still-life specialist Jan Davidsz. de Heem as a model for the still lifes he included in his history paintings, and also for a number of independent pictures in the genre.<sup>9</sup> This preoccupation with still life reflects his tutelage under Pieter Lastman, who likewise adhered to writer-theorist Karel van Mander's exhortation to history painters to master the depiction of all things<sup>10</sup> – to meet or exceed the standard set by specialists in each genre. Lastman's works, nearly all of which are history paintings, make a display of still-life and landscape techniques, and this lavish, all-encompassing approach clearly influenced his pupil here.

In depicting only the four Evangelists and Paul, Lievens was following a Dutch tendency to focus on the writers of Holy Scripture. Rubens and Van Dyck placed other prominent saints and Apostles in the company of the Evangelists, but Lievens's more limited series reflects the Calvinist emphasis on Holy Scripture that is summed up in the principle of *sola scriptura* ("scripture alone"). The Protestant Reformers limited the history of divine revelation to the contents of the Bible, downplaying or denying subsequent contributions by the Church Fathers, saints and martyrs.<sup>11</sup> It is therefore quite natural that Lievens, product of a Flemish Calvinist family and working in the predominantly Protestant market of Leiden, should have limited himself to depictions of Paul and the four Evangelists.

Nevertheless, the inclusion of Paul in a series on the Evangelists may also possess a significance more specific to the context in which Lievens was working. During the 1610–1620 period, the Remonstrant controversy in the northern Netherlands saw the victorious Counter-Remonstrant, or Gomarist, party drawing on Paul's writings for its doctrines on Predestination and Grace.<sup>12</sup> Certainly, other passages from Paul's writings supported the Remonstrant principle of tolerance – his exhortations to avoid factional conflict, for example, a point that Lievens specifically highlighted in his later depiction of the same Apostle, now in Bremen, which incorporates a passage of Paul's letter to the Thessalonians warning against stoking controversy in religion.<sup>13</sup> Yet it remains possible that the Lievens series encompassing the present painting was aimed at scholarly members of the Counter-Remonstrant party, which was likely even larger in Leiden than elsewhere. The States General of the United Provinces had recently commissioned a new translation of the Bible that would reflect the Counter-Remonstrant viewpoint, and to this end had assembled several theologians in Leiden.<sup>14</sup> A series featuring the Four Evangelists would have resonated powerfully in this religious-scholarly context, particularly if it were complemented by a painting of Paul, the most learned of the Apostles. The present

picture shows a man surrounded by modern codices, who in fact probably looks more like one of Leiden's translating scholars than Paul himself, who would more realistically have had nothing but a few sheets of papyrus to hand as he wrote.

1. This possible meaning of the snuffed candle was noted by Gary Schwartz some years ago in relation to a slightly later painting by Rembrandt, Lievens's close associate during these years: *Two Old Men Disputing* (see fig. 130a); see Schwartz 1985, p. 93. This interpretation supported the proposed identification of the two figures in that work as St. Peter and St. Paul, likewise heralding the New Testament. The idea is given further credence by the prominent presence of an extinguished candle in Rembrandt's painting of around the same period, *The Presentation in the Temple* in Hamburg (see fig. 115c), which also presents a moment marking the superseding of the Old Testament in Christian theology.
2. *The Four Evangelists* (a series of four), oil on panel, 91 × 78 cm (each), Bamberg, Residenzgalerie; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, pp. 1793–1794, nos. 1230–1233, pp. 1869–1873 (ills., as 1626–1627).
3. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1790, no. 1222, p. 1861 (ill.).
4. Jan Lievens, *The Feast of Esther*, around 1624, oil on panel, 130.8 × 163.2 cm, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, inv. 52.9.55; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1776, no. 1181, p. 1820 (ill., as around 1625).
5. Etching, 12.6 × 8.8 cm (each plate); Hollstein vol. 11, p. 11, nos. 1–4 (ills.). Nos. 2 and 3 were probably etched by Laurent de la Hire after designs by Lievens.
6. The series by Hendrick ter Brugghen is discussed in exhib. cat. Braunschweig and Utrecht 1986–1987, pp. 93–98, nos. 5–8 (ills.).
7. Anthony van Dyck, *St. Thomas*, oil on panel, 64.7 × 51 cm, New York, private collection. On its presence in the collection of Henricus Vuylenborch in Utrecht in 1661, and perhaps by 1624, see exhib. cat. Washington 1990–1991, pp. 130–134, no. 20. Hendrick ter Brugghen adapted it for his *St. Mark*, around 1623, oil on panel, 72.7 × 59.1 cm, Westphalia, private collection; see Slatkes and Franits 2007, pp. 228–230, no. WTBvB3.
8. See Stewart 1990 and Stewart 2004.
9. See exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 146.
10. Broos 1975, pp. 202–203.
11. On the primacy of the original texts of the Bible for the Reformers, see Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995).
12. In 1618 the theological faculty of the University of Leiden was actually purged of its Remonstrant members. The Reformed Church held a Synod in Dordrecht that same year at which its Counter-Remonstrant principles were enshrined in a set of Canons; see for example *The Articles of the Synod of Dordt*, trans. Rev. Thomas Scott (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841). Articles 1–7 of chapter 1 deal with predestination and refer to the following passages in the letters of Paul: Ephesians 1:4–6, 11; Ephesians 2:8; and Romans 8:30.
13. Jan Lievens, *St. Paul Writing His Letter to the Thessalonians*, around 1631, oil on canvas, 110.5 × 101.5 cm, Bremen, Kunsthalle, inv. 326–1911/10; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1796, no. 1240, p. 1879 (ill.).
14. The States Bible Project ran from 1625 to 1637; see C. C. de Bruin, *De Statenvertaling en zijn voorgangers. Nederlandse bijbelvertaling vanaf de Reformatie tot 1637*, 2nd edition, F.C.M. Broeyer, ed. (Haarlem and Brussels: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap/Belgisch Bijbelgenootschap, 1993). ◆





Fig. 113a. Jan Lievens, *Simeon in the Temple*, around 1624, oil on panel, 97 × 70 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD).

113.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*The Presentation in the Temple*

Around 1624-1625

Oil on canvas, 69.8 × 55.8 cm (fragment)

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Christie's), 22 July 1988, lot 74 (ill., as by Circle of Jan Lievens, with the Child and figure to the left covered up, and an addition at the top); London, with Johnny van Haeften; purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3726, no. 2355, p. 3963 (colour ill., as around 1626-1627)

A BEARDED AND balding old man gazes heavenward, his mouth open in song. In the lower left corner appears part of the head, the chest and one hand of a baby wrapped in a red cloth, while above, a bearded middle-aged man peers in at the scene. The central figure can be identified as Simeon, the infant as Jesus and the observer as Joseph. This painting, which has unfortunately been cut down at the bottom and left edges, probably started out as a scene of half-length figures.

Simeon is identified in the Gospel of Luke (2:25-35) as a devout man who is present when Mary and Joseph bring their newborn son Jesus to the Temple to be presented. He welcomes the child and praises God, proclaiming Jesus to be the Messiah for whom the Israelites have been waiting. His action, which is followed immediately by a similar proclamation from the prophetess Anna (Luke 2:36), bears great significance as an affirmation through divine revelation of Jesus' special status, and thus as a continuation of the prophetic tradition.



A Flemish depiction of *Simeon in the Temple* from the first half of the 16th century, attributed to the Antwerp painter Jan Massys (1509-1573),<sup>1</sup> already shows the half-length format adopted by Lievens as a reduction of the traditional multi-figured interpretation of this theme. The subject was taken up again in 1614 by the Utrecht painter Paulus Moreelse,<sup>2</sup> also in a half-length format (interestingly, before the influence of Caravaggio had taken effect in that city), and a little later in a full-length version by his fellow townsman Abraham Bloemaert that is known only through a print.<sup>3</sup> This last composition was reduced to half-length in a painted adaptation by Bloemaert's son Hendrick, made around 1635-1640.<sup>4</sup>

Lievens had already depicted the theme in an earlier, little-known picture showing only Simeon and the infant Jesus (fig. 113a)<sup>5</sup> – a work that displays the stark, vigorous manner of his earliest years as a painter. Sumowski noted the stylistic similarity of that panel to the series of Evangelists by Lievens in Bamberg and the *St. Paul* in Kingston (cat. 112), particularly in the bulbous forms.<sup>6</sup> In the present painting, the forms and textures are softer and their contours less sharply defined, suggesting that it was executed slightly later. It relates most closely to a number of monumental, multi-figured works from the 1620s, such as a *Spanish Gypsy* last in Berlin,<sup>7</sup> the *Old Woman with a Book* in the Rijksmuseum (see fig. 114b),<sup>8</sup> and several profile *tronies* of a bearded man,<sup>9</sup> all of which show smooth handling, warm-toned backgrounds and soft forms. Like them, the present painting can be dated to the 1624-1625 period, immediately after the painting on the same theme formerly in Munich.

1. Jan Massys, *Simeon in the Temple*, around 1544, oil on panel, 125 × 69 cm, formerly Berlin, with Benedict & Co.; see Leontine Buijsters-Smets, *Jan Massys. Een Antwerps schilder uit de zestiende eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1995), pp. 174-175, no. 20 (ill.).
2. Paulus Moreelse, *Simeon in the Temple*, 1614, oil on canvas, 76 × 63.5 cm, signed, Antwerp, with S. Hartveld, in 1946; see C. H. de Jonge, *Paulus Moreelse. Portret- en Genreschilder te Utrecht 1571-1638* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1938), p. 115, no. 240 (pl. 156).
3. Crispijn van de Passe, after Abraham Bloemaert, *Simeon in the Temple*, before 1625, engraving, 23.6 × 17.9 cm; see Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, p. 214-215, no. 274 (the original painting dates to around 1615-1618), and vol. 2 (fig. 407).
4. Hendrick Bloemaert, *Simeon in the Temple*, around 1635-1640, oil on canvas, 88 × 66.5 cm, Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, inv. ABM 5152; see Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, p. 471, no. H63, and vol. 2 (pl. H63).
5. Sale, Munich (Helbing), 3 June 1908, lot 36 (ill.); see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1790, no. 1223, p. 1862 (ill.).
6. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3726.
7. Jan Lievens, *The Spanish Gypsy*, around 1624, oil on panel, 66 × 53 cm, signed, formerly Berlin, with Hinrichsen und Lindpaintner; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1779, no. 1188, p. 1827 (ill.).
8. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1790, no. 1222, p. 1861 (colour ill., as around 1625).
9. See for example Jan Lievens, *Bearded Man in Profile*, around 1624, oil on panel, 45 × 38 cm, formerly London, with Ronald Cook; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1806, no. 1280, p. 1919 (colour ill., as around 1635-1640). ♦



114.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*Profile Head of an Old Woman ("Rembrandt's Mother")*

Around 1630

Oil on panel, 43.2 × 33.7 cm

Monogrammed upper right: *RHL* (in ligature), possibly originally *IL*, transformed by a later hand

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 2005, acc. no. 48-002

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Amsterdam, collection of Lucas Merens; his sale, Amsterdam (Jan Yver), 15 April 1778 (Lugt 2837), lot 92 (as by Rembrandt van Rhyn, "Een oude Vrouwen Hoofdje, in Profiel te zien, en in een deftige houding verbeeld; zynde gedekt met een Sluyer van Neteldoek, waar door een gebloemde Stof heenen scheint. Dit Stukje, zo kloek als uitvoerig, ongemeen kragtig en te gelyk helder geschilderd, draagt de kenmerken der groote Kunstvermogens van den beroemden Meester [An old Woman's Head, seen in Profile, presented in a distinguished pose; being covered with a Veil of Nettlecloth, through which a floral pattern appears. This little piece, clever as it is refined, uncommonly powerfully and at the same time clearly painted, bears the characteristics of the great artistic talent of that famous Master], 17 × 13 1/2 duim [44 × 35 cm]); Rome, collection of Joseph Cardinal Fesch (1763-1839); his sale, Rome, 17 March 1845, lot 193 (for 220 scudi); J.F. Winterbottom sale, London (Foster), 27 April 1870 (Lugt 31981), lot 290 (as by Rembrandt, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother*, from the Fesch collection, for 8 guineas); London, Art Trade, in 1940; collection of the Earl of Leven and Melville; his sale, London, 12 December 1945, lot 388; London, with Loft & Warner; London, collection of O.E. Johnson, in 1950; London, with Leggatt Bros., in 1956 (as by Rembrandt); London, Oscar and Peter Johnson; Amsterdam, with K. and V. Waterman, in 1982 (ill., as by Lievens); New York, collection of Linda and Gerald Guterman, in 1983; their sale, New York (Sotheby's), 14 January 1988, lot 22 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader





Fig. 114a. Jan Lievens, *Profile Head of an Old Woman* ("Rembrandt's Mother"), around 1630, oil on panel, 43.5 x 35.5 cm. London, with Speelman, in 1967.



Fig. 114b. Jan Lievens, *Old Woman with a Book* (*A Prophetess?*), around 1624, oil on canvas, 81 x 69 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.SK-A-4702.

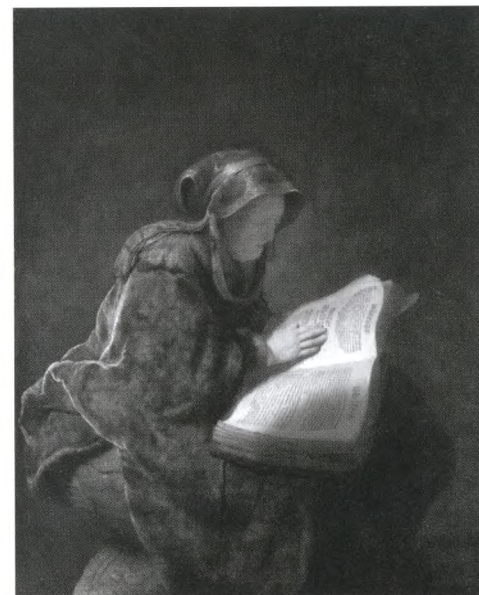


Fig. 114c. Rembrandt van Rijn, *An Old Woman Reading* (*The Prophetess Hannah?*), 1631, oil on panel, 59.8 x 47.7 cm, monogrammed. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv.SK-A-3066.

#### LITERATURE

Smith 1829-1842, vol. 7, p. 185, no. 588 (as by Rembrandt, engraved by J. J. Reinheimer); Hofstede de Groot 1907-1927, vol. 6, pp. 259, no. 520 (as the preceding painting engraved by J. G. Reinheimer), p. 328, no. 690e (as the picture in the Fesch collection), p. 410, no. 894c (as the picture in the Merens Collection) (cf. Provenance above); Brown 1979, p. 742; Sumowski 1980, p. 9; Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1801 no. 1261, p. 1900 (colour ill.); vol. 5, p. 3062 note 2; Bader 1995, p. 217 (pl. 14); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 25, no. 1 (1992), p. 1 (colour ill. on cover); exhib. cat. Edinburgh and London 2001, p. 70 (with no. 5); Van Straten 2005, p. 138 (fig. 179)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Braunschweig 1979, pp. 70-71, cat. no. 18 (ill.; with erroneous provenance);<sup>1</sup> Amsterdam and Groningen 1983, pp. 192-193, no. 50 (colour ill.); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 32-33, no. 13 (ill.); Braunschweig 1993-1994, pp. 110-111, no. 6 (colour ill.); Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998, pp. 220-221, no. 35 (colour ill.); Leiden 2005-2006, p. 69 (colour pl. 63), pp. 92-93, no. 7 (colour ill.); Gottwald 2006, p. 338

#### COPIES

Oil on panel (dimensions unknown), Rotterdam, collection of A. J. Domela Nieuwenhuis; cited with no. 270 by Schneider 1932, p. 155

Oil on panel, 47 x 37 cm, London, with W. E. Duits, in 1930

JAN LIEVENS PAINTED at least two versions of this remarkable head of an old woman wearing a semi-transparent scarf.<sup>2</sup> The present painting is a *tour de force* of description, with passages of wrinkled skin set off against the fine embroidered cloth, and entrancing effects of reflection and transparency in the veil that covers the subject's head and falls down onto her shoulder. The second version (fig. 114a), which is more thickly painted and exhibits less liveliness and transparency, likely represents Lievens's reworking of the present composition. It also shows a few minor adjustments, such as the marginally more upward tilt of the head and the three rather than four buttons closing the dress at the front.

At its earliest known appearance – at an auction sale in 1778 – the present painting was assigned to Rembrandt, almost

certainly because it already bore the false monogram of that artist that is still in place. This addition influenced generations of collectors and scholars right up until the early 20th century. However, the strong colour and prominent linear hatching, together with the consistently intense level of description, confirm the attribution of both paintings to Lievens and not Rembrandt, who tended to vary his description and show more concern for form. Furthermore, the profile view appears repeatedly in Lievens's work, especially among his *tronies*, but was employed only rarely by Rembrandt.<sup>3</sup>

This picture is nevertheless a testament to the close relationship between the two artists in the years around 1627-1630, for the sitter seems to be the same woman who appears in several works by both dating from this time. Lievens was actually the first to paint her when around 1624 he executed *Old Woman with a Book* (*A Prophetess?*), now in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 114b).<sup>4</sup> She poses as an *Head of an Old Woman* (*Rembrandt's Mother?*) in a small work by Rembrandt in Salzburg (see fig. 13a).<sup>5</sup> It is likely the same visage, with heavy lids, a beakish nose and a prominent, straight chin forced into an underbite by the toothless upper jaw, that is seen in Rembrandt's famous 1631 depiction of the prophetess Hannah, in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 114c).<sup>6</sup> That Lievens and Rembrandt made use of the same model lends credibility to the notion that they shared a studio during this period.

For much of the 20th century it was believed that the woman the two artists were using as a model was Rembrandt's mother, Neeltgen Willemsdr. van Zuytbrouck, who would have been around sixty-two years old at the time this painting was made.<sup>7</sup> This identification only arose late in the 19th century, however. Before then, such paintings were simply called "Head of an Old Woman," which is how a picture of her in the English Royal Collection was catalogued by Abraham van de Doort in the 17th



century.<sup>8</sup> The present panel was also consistently titled this way from its earliest known mention on, and only in the latter part of the 19th century did the sitter become identified with Rembrandt's mother. It was during this same period that numerous depictions of old men and of young people of both sexes became known as Rembrandt's father, sister and brother, although there is no documentary evidence for such connections. Indeed, the identification of a group of images of old men as Rembrandt's father has been discounted by the existence of an inscribed drawing of him in the Ashmolean Museum that differs markedly from these other works in both physiognomy and presentation (see fig. 161a). These identifications were in part the product of a somewhat chauvinistic 19th-century idea, largely French in origin, that saw Dutch artists as painting exclusively whatever they saw in their immediate surroundings, without selection or artifice. This image of the Dutch artist as bourgeois and unimaginative was constructed in direct opposition to that of the refined, academic artist working in the studios of France, Flanders and Italy, conjuring grand idealizations for ecclesiastics and the aristocracy. Eugène Fromentin offered the most concise formulation of the view in his *Masters of Past Time*.<sup>9</sup> In reality, the contrast was nothing like so pronounced. It is evident that the young Rembrandt and Lievens had established a thoroughly professional practice in Leiden, primarily making use of artist's models that they selected. But this does not exclude the possibility that the profound empathy demonstrated by both artists in their depictions of old men and women did arise out of their own familial bonds.

It is well known that Lievens followed the Flemish studio practice of producing study heads and developing them into a type of finished image – the *tronie* – of which the present painting is an example. Often mistaken for portraits, these imagined heads actually relate to the practice of history painting. The present sitter plays much the same role in two of the works mentioned above – Lievens's earlier picture *Old Woman with a Book* (*A Prophetess?*) (fig. 114b) and Rembrandt's Hannah (fig. 114c): the coloured dress in both these paintings was likely meant to suggest an ancient Hebrew costume, for it bears no relation to contemporary Dutch clothing. Another depiction of the same model by Lievens, in a private collection, shows a similarly exotic costume.<sup>10</sup> The present painting can be interpreted, then, as the generic type of a prophetess: the dynamic rendering of fabric and the vigorous upward tilt of the head expressively characterize such a character's special visionary gift, while the slightly open mouth and fixed gaze suggest the stirring experience of revelation. The overall result is a compelling image far removed from the mundane sphere of family portraiture.

1. The Braunschweig exhibition catalogue erroneously gives the provenance of the other version of this painting; see next note.
2. The provenance of the second version is as follows: Suresnes, France, collection of Leo Nardus; his sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 27 November 1917, lot 14 (ill., as by Jan Lievens, for f6700), purchased by Br. C. Haarlem; Vienna, collection of Willibald Duschitz, until 1928; Coudstikker, Amsterdam (catalogue 1928-1929, no. 40 [ill.]); confiscated by the Nazis; sold by them with other works from the Coudstikker collection, Berlin (Lange), *Zweihundertzwanzig Gemälde Alter Meister*, 3-4 December 1940, lot 113 (ill.); London, with Edward Speelman, in 1967. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1801, no. 1262, p. 1901 (ill.).
3. This inclination of Lievens's shows itself in such early history paintings as *Pilate Washing His Hands*, around 1623-1624, oil on panel, 83.8 × 105 cm, Leiden, Lakenhal (see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1775 no. 1180, p. 1819 [colour ill.]), and in *tronies* like *Old Man in a Grey Cap, in Profile to the Right*, around 1623-1624, oil on panel, 53 × 47 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 741 (see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1799, no. 1252, p. 1891 [ill.]).
4. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1790, no. 1222, p. 1861 (colour ill.).
5. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 272-275, no. A27 (ill.).
6. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 351-357, no. A 37 (ill.).
7. She was born in 1568; see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 34, no. 1587/1.
8. Studio of Rembrandt van Rijn or Jan Lievens, *Bust of an Old Woman*, around 1631, oil on panel, 61 × 47.3 cm, collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, inv. 125, Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, no. A32; vol. 2, pp. 839-840. For the most recent discussion of Van der Doort's inventory of Charles I's collection, see exhib. cat. Edinburgh and London 2001, p. 70, no. 5.
9. See Fromentin's discussion of subject matter in Dutch paintings; Fromentin 1948, pp. 108-116.
10. Jan Lievens, oil on panel, 26.6 × 19 cm, Burghley House, collection of Lady Exeter, inv. 214 (as by Rembrandt); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1802, no. 1268, p. 1907 (ill.). ♦





Fig. 115a. Jan Lievens, *The Presentation in the Temple*, before trimming (photo: RKD).

115.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*The Presentation in the Temple*

Around 1630-1631

Oil on canvas, 48.3 × 55.9 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of Sir Lionel Cust (with larger dimensions); London, collection of Edward Holland-Martin; his sale, 1 April 1960, lot 59 (as by Jacob Willemsz. de Wet the Elder, *The Presentation in the Temple* ["Simeon presents the babe to the High Priests, who stand on a raised dais; the Virgin and Saint Joseph are on the left with the cage of doves"], oil on canvas, 86.4 × 81.3 cm); sale, London (Christie's), 30 June 1961, lot 127 (as oil on canvas, 86 × 81 cm); collection of Monica Wengraf; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 98, no. 26a; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 22, no. 1, 1989, p. 1, (colour ill. on cover), p. 1 (ill.); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1766, 1780, no. 1190, p. 1829 (colour ill.); exhib. cat. New York 1995, vol. 2, p. 177 (fig. 93; caption switched with fig. 92); Michael Zell, *Reframing Rembrandt: Jews and the Christian Image in Seventeenth-century Amsterdam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 116-118 (fig. 75, as probably not by Lievens, dating to after 1654), p. 122, p. 228 note 56

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Eau Claire 1987, pp. 1-2 (ill., as *Simeon*); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 60-61, no. 26 (colour ill.)

#### COPIES

Oil on canvas, 71 x 87 cm (horizontal format), location unknown; documented in a photo kept at the RKD

IN THE LOWER left corner of this painting, an elderly, bearded man – Simeon – holds the baby Jesus in his arms and looks up toward the centre. There, on a raised platform, the high priest of the Temple apparently recites verses from the large volume balanced rather precariously on his lap. The spectacular gold-embroidered robe worn by the seated cleric is held up behind him by an assistant to the right. On his other side, an imposing Temple guardian stands facing the viewer, presiding over the

scene with one arm raised and grasping a crozier with a curled finial. Behind these figures, to the left, a simply garbed old man leans over a balustrade to observe the ceremony, while smoke wafts from the brazier beside him. This arrangement formed only the central section of the original composition, for sometime after the painting entered the collection of Sir Lionel Cust (d. 1929), it was cut down on all sides. An old photograph shows the original canvas, which included the lower half of the figures of the old man and Jesus, and, further to the left, the complete figures of Mary and Joseph with a cage containing turtledoves (fig. 115a). The format was vertical, with a large area of unoccupied space above the figures.

Jan Lievens was here depicting the traditional scene, recounted in the Gospel of Luke (2:25-35), of Simeon singing the song of praise that identified Jesus as the Messiah. The artist departed from convention, however, in making the high priest and his attendant part of the group. Lievens was thus reminding the viewer of the preceding Jewish tradition, including the prophecies concerning the coming of a Messiah. The figure of the high priest may also have been intended to convey the Christian notion of Jesus' assumption of this office in perpetuity.

In executing his canvas, Lievens seems to have taken his cue from existing works on the related theme of the Circumcision. His composition clearly draws from Rembrandt's etched *Circumcision in the Temple*, one of three closely related scenes of the early life of Jesus produced by the master around 1630 (fig. 115b).<sup>1</sup> Rembrandt's mohel, with his richly decorated robe stretched out behind him, provided the precedent for Lievens's high priest. The temple guardian, with his hooked crozier and imposing stance, is also clearly descended from the figure standing high up to the left in Rembrandt's print. The vertical organization of the original composition had its roots in Rembrandt's print as well, but was developed further. In fact, the two artists seem to have been exchanging ideas about the treatment of the theme





Fig. 115b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Circumcision in the Temple: Small Plate*, around 1630, etching and dry-point, 8.8 × 6.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis.



Fig. 115c. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Presentation in the Temple*, around 1627-1628, oil on panel, 55.4 × 43.7 cm. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv.88.



Fig. 115d. Attributed to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, after Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Circumcision*, around 1646, oil on canvas, 98 × 73 cm. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv.24.

even earlier: in one of his very first prints, a *Circumcision* from around 1626, Rembrandt himself appears to have been adapting a drawing made by Lievens a couple of years before.<sup>2</sup>

It is furthermore evident that for this work Lievens adapted a number of elements from Rembrandt's painting of *The Presentation in the Temple*, in Hamburg, of 1627-1628 (fig. 115c).<sup>3</sup> The reclining figure of the infant Jesus, for example, with its brilliantly prominent halo, is taken directly from the Rembrandt. Lievens even seems to have borrowed the motif of the wall with the figure peering over it from the same painting, albeit not in its final state: an X-ray of the Hamburg work reveals that Rembrandt initially included such a motif but later painted over both wall and figure to provide a plain background for this side of his composition.<sup>4</sup> This quote by Lievens from a transitory phase in the creation of Rembrandt's painting, hitherto unnoticed, provides further evidence of the close collaboration between these two artists during their years in Leiden. The Rembrandt Research Project has noted that the alteration to Rembrandt's painting occurred after a certain interval, since the original paint layers had already dried.<sup>5</sup> On the basis of Lievens's borrowing, the change must have been made at least three years later. Rembrandt evidently kept his painting for some years, selling it well after it was first begun and only shortly before it appeared in the stadholder's inventory of 1632-1633.<sup>6</sup> Lievens may actually have taken inspiration from Rembrandt's painting several years after its first state was completed, likely incorporating the borrowed features into the present work in the early 1630s, which is the date Sumowski assigns to it. The small figure scale of the original composition, remarkable for an artist accustomed to using large figures, appears to reflect the influence of another depiction of the Presentation by Rembrandt, executed around 1631 and now in the Mauritshuis (see fig. 54a).<sup>7</sup>

With its silvery tones and monochromatic colour scheme, dry

impastoed touches, sweeping lines and stark, blackish background, the present composition relates to Lievens's picture of *Job*,<sup>8</sup> in Ottawa, and his *Raising of Lazarus*,<sup>9</sup> in Brighton, both of which belong to this period. Sumowski has even suggested that this painting might be the one on the same theme mentioned in the House of Orange inventory of 1632-1633.<sup>10</sup> In yet another connection, the rich robe of the high priest is echoed in a picture whose commission was closely linked to the court in The Hague – Lievens's *Portrait of Prince Charles Louis of the Palatinate with His Tutor Wolrad von Plessen, as Alexander and Aristotle*, signed and dated 1631,<sup>11</sup> which is paired with a portrait that Rembrandt began, but did not complete, of the Prince's brother.<sup>12</sup> The present painting may actually represent an effort on Lievens's part to gain a more important commission from the House of Orange for a series of scenes from the life of Jesus. It would certainly have fitted into the iconographic program of the series. The commission ultimately went to Rembrandt, however, and resulted in the so-called Passion Series.<sup>13</sup> Significantly, the composition is startlingly reminiscent of a painting that Rembrandt completed for this series many years later, in 1646: his *Circumcision*. Unfortunately, this work has disappeared and is known only through a identically sized copy now in Braunschweig (fig. 115d).<sup>14</sup> This highly competent copy is likely by Rembrandt's talented pupil and friend Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, to whom a drawing of the same composition can also be attributed. The copy, which Rembrandt possibly kept in his studio, features a strikingly similar grouping of high priest and Temple attendant in the centre. Astonishingly, Rembrandt appears to have revived the exchange of ideas with his former associate concerning the themes of the Presentation and the Circumcision by repeating this pair of figures from Lievens's painting and using a comparable Temple setting to conjure the same atmosphere of ritual.





Fig. 115e. Rembrandt van Rijn/1983-1994, vol. 1, *The Presentation in the Temple in the Dark Manner*, around 1654, etching and drypoint, 21 × 16.2 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

Rembrandt adapted the main group of figures even more closely in a well-known print from the following decade, the *Presentation in the Temple in the Dark Manner* of around 1654 (fig. 115e).<sup>15</sup> Typically for this period, Rembrandt isolates the main group, creating a *Herauslösung* of the theme and leaving out the figures not directly involved in the central drama, including Mary and Joseph. Sumowski correctly pointed out the connection between this Rembrandt print and the present painting by Lievens but failed to note the significance of both Rembrandt's 1646 painting known through the copy in Braunschweig and the much earlier print of 1630.<sup>16</sup> The role of both precedents has also been critically overlooked by Michael Zell in his interpretation of the meaning of Rembrandt's late print.<sup>17</sup> Zell construes the print as a fresh conception expressing the Christian view of Jesus as heralding the end of the Jewish tradition, with its Temple, ritual and adherence to Old Testament law. Zell explains this expression in the context of Rembrandt's friendship with Menasseh ben Israel and as part of a larger philosemitic effort on the part of Dutch Protestants to sway their Jewish countrymen. By juxtaposing Simeon and Jesus with the high priest and his attendant, Rembrandt may indeed have intended to portray Jesus as challenging the Jewish tradition. But because it arises from this specific intention and context, Zell sees the print as entirely original and dismisses the possibility of the present picture as a precedent. Moreover, this author's interpretation of the positioning of certain figures higher or lower in the composition of Rembrandt's print is not convincing and has no precedent in 17th-century iconography. Rembrandt was clearly adapting a composition he had generated in the 1640s (perhaps for the same House of Orange commission) based on the present painting by Lievens of around 1631, which was itself adapted from Rembrandt's etching of the year before. Rembrandt thus achieved a new meaning, but by modifying an arrangement with a more traditional message.

Another quote from Lievens's painting can be seen in a drawing in New York, of around 1655, that represents King David and the Prophet Nathan.<sup>18</sup> Anne-Marie Logan has pointed out that the king's flowing robes are remarkably like those of the high priest in the present fragment.<sup>19</sup> Although this drawing's attribution is not secure, it further attests to the awareness of Lievens's painting in Rembrandt's immediate circle during the mid-1650s.

The poor condition of the present work, which probably precipitated its reduction in size, has hindered the processes of attribution and dating. The figures of Simeon and Jesus, for example, had been nearly completely eradicated and have been reconstructed by conservator Charles Munch on the basis of the old photograph. Still, enough remains to assure its status as an important document of Lievens's activity during his final years in Leiden.

1. See Hollstein, vol. 18, pp. 24-25, no. B48, vol. 19, p. 37 (ill.). A similar crozier appears in a painting by Rembrandt known only through copies: *Zacharias in the Temple*, oil on panel, 45 × 45.3 cm, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1, p. 22 note 22, p. 34 (ill.).
2. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Circumcision*, around 1626, etching, 2 states, 21.4 × 16.5 cm, (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 165, no. S398; vol. 19, p. 277 [ill.]); Jan Lievens, *The Circumcision*, around 1624, pen and brown ink, 16.4 × 15.3 cm, Düsseldorf, formerly with C. G. Boerner (see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 7, pp. 3610-3611, no. 1621\* [as around 1623-1626]).
3. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 150-158, no. A12 (ill.).
4. Ibid., p. 151 (ill.). The authors note the wall, but not the head peering over it.
5. Ibid., p. 154.
6. This inventory of the contents of the Noordeinde Palace, drawn up in 1632-1633, appears in Drossaers 1974-1976, vol. 1, pp. 179-237.
7. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 331-337, no. A34 (ill.).
8. Jan Lievens, *Job*, 1631, oil on canvas, 171.5 × 148.6 cm, signed, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, inv. 4093; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1780, no. 1191, p. 1830 (colour ill.).
9. Jan Lievens, *The Raising of Lazarus*, 1631, oil on canvas, 103 × 112 cm, signed, Brighton, The Royal Pavilion Libraries and Museum; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1781-1782, no. 1193, p. 1832 (colour ill.).
10. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1780. A painting on this theme, attributed to Rembrandt or Lievens, is described in the inventory as follows: "Een schilderij daerinne Symeon, sijnde in den Tempel, Christus in sijne armen heeft, door Rembrants oft Jan Lievensz. gedaen (A painting in which Simeon, being in the Temple, has Christ in his arms, done by Rembrants [sic] or Jan Lievensz.); see Drossaers 1974-1976, p. 186, no. 111, where it is asserted that it is probably the picture by Rembrandt in Hamburg.
11. Jan Lievens, *Prince Charles Louis of the Palatinate with His Tutor Wolrad von Plessen, as Alexander and Aristotle*, 1631, oil on canvas, 106 × 96 cm, signed, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, inv. 71.PA.53; see exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002, pp. 324-331 (fig. 66a).
12. Rembrandt van Rijn and Gerrit Dou, *Portrait of Prince Rupert of the Palatinate and His Tutor as Samuel and Eli*, around 1631, oil on canvas, 102.9 × 88.2 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, inv. 84.PA.570; see ibid.
13. On Rembrandt's commission from the House of Orange, see exhib. cat. The Hague 1997, pp. 192-197.
14. See Schwartz 1984, p. 239, no. 262 (colour ill.). On the attribution of this copy to Van den Eeckhout, and the significance of a drawn copy by him in Brussels, see Volker Manuth, "Rembrandts Beschneidung Christi in München: Entstehung und Funktion," in *Rembrandt: Zeichnungen in München/The Munich Rembrandt Drawings, Symposium* (Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen München, 2003), pp. 114-124.
15. See Hollstein, vol. 18, pp. 25-26, no. B50; vol. 19, p. 39 (ill.).
16. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1780.
17. Michael Zell, "Encountering Difference: Rembrandt's *Presentation in the Dark Manner*," *Art History*, 23 (2000), pp. 496-552, and Michael Zell, *Reframing Rembrandt: Jews and the Christian Image in Seventeenth-century Amsterdam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 99-123.
18. Attributed to Rembrandt van Rijn, *Nathan and David*, pen and brown ink with white gouache, 18.6 × 25.3 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, inv. 29.100.934.
19. Anne Marie Logan, in exhib. cat. New York 1995, pp. 176-177 (ill., as possibly by Rembrandt). ♦





116.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*The Penitent Magdalene*

Around 1631

Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 49.5 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1975, acc. no. 18-126

PROVENANCE<sup>1</sup>

Vienna, with Joseph Strecker, in 1965 (as by Rembrandt);<sup>2</sup> purchased in Lucerne, from Fischer (not at auction) by Alfred Bader, in 1973; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1795, no. 1237, p. 1876 (colour ill.)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. xi, 74-75, no. 18 (colour ill.)

PRINTS

Johann Christoph Brand, mezzotint, folio size, inscribed: *Rembrandt p. Chr. Brand sc.*; see John Charrington, *A Catalogue of the Mezzotints after, or Said to Be after, Rembrandt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), p. 24, no. 34, with reference to sale, Vienna, February 1912, lot 1178 (as after a painting given to Rembrandt in the collection of Count Palffy). See also Hofstede de Groot 1907-1928, vol. 6, p. 129, no. 188a.

HERE, JAN LIEVENS has depicted an old woman uncompromisingly – harshly, even – meticulously reproducing her weather-beaten skin, gaunt features and thin, dishevelled hair. Turned to face the left edge of the painting, she clasps her hands on top of a skull and gazes heavenward, evidently contemplating the vanity of life and the imminence of death. These are the traditional pictorial attributes and pose of the Penitent Mary Magdalene as portrayed during the retreat into the wilderness that occupied the last three decades of her life. Mary Magdalene was the woman healed by Jesus of seven demons (Luke 8:2, Mark 16:9) who later joined his entourage (Mark 15:41-42). All the Gospel narratives of the Crucifixion mention her as being present at that event, and she was one of the “Three Marys” who visited Jesus’ tomb, only to find it empty. It was then to Mary Magdalene that the resurrected Jesus first appeared, forbidding her to touch him (an exhortation that gave rise to the *Noli me tangere* pictorial theme). Some later Latin interpreters conflated two other personalities with the Magdalene: Mary of Bethany and the sinful woman mentioned in Luke chapter 7 (36-50).<sup>3</sup> The earliest legends about the Magdalene’s later life arose in the Eastern Church and told of her retreat to Ephesus.<sup>4</sup> An alternative Western tradition that grew up between the 11th and 13th centuries, and was related by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Golden Legend*, has the Magdalene going to Provence with Lazarus, Martha and several other saints, and establishing the Church there. This account goes on to describe her later retreat to a mountain cave, where, without food, she is sustained only by the chanting of the heavenly hosts.<sup>5</sup> Lievens’s aged and introspective Magdalene could well be anticipating this divine sustenance.

There remains a slight possibility that the figure was intended to represent Mary of Egypt (around 344-around 421), who is also sometimes depicted as an old woman with a skull. However, the closest precedent on which Jan Lievens could have modelled an image of this saint was a print after Abraham Bloemaert, where she appears as young and beautiful.<sup>6</sup> In the absence of a unique attribute – such as an oil jar for the Magdalene, or three loaves of bread or a lion for Mary of Egypt – it is almost certain that Jan Lievens was here portraying the far better known of the two figures, Mary Magdalene.

Nevertheless, the astonishing description of the Magdalene’s rough and aged physical appearance departs from all conventions of the period. A possible model is an oil sketch on paper by Anthony van Dyck of around 1616-1618, which features the same dynamic upward turn of the head, and loose brushwork with dry, impastoed strokes (fig. 116a),<sup>7</sup> although the woman pictured there is young and attractive. Van Dyck revisited the theme in another sketch of around 1620, which shows a comparable half-length format and includes the skull and a visibly worn figure, but even there the Magdalene is shown as a young and handsome woman.<sup>8</sup> Also significant is Ter Brugghen’s *Melancholia* in the Schönborn Collection, which shows the same type of half-length composition and dark tonality (although the woman is, again, far younger), and also employs less idealization (fig. 116b).<sup>9</sup> Lievens





Fig. 116a. Anthony van Dyck, *The Penitent Magdalene*, around 1616-1618, oil on paper mounted on panel, 49.0 x 37.5 cm. Greenwich, Connecticut, collection of Marei von Saher (restituted to the heirs of Jacques Goudstikker).

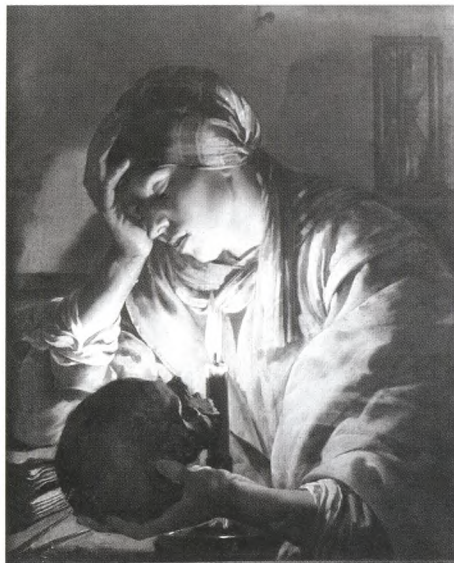


Fig. 116b. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Melancholia*, around 1623, oil on canvas, 67 x 56.5 cm. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, on loan from Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein, Schönborn Collection, inv.256.

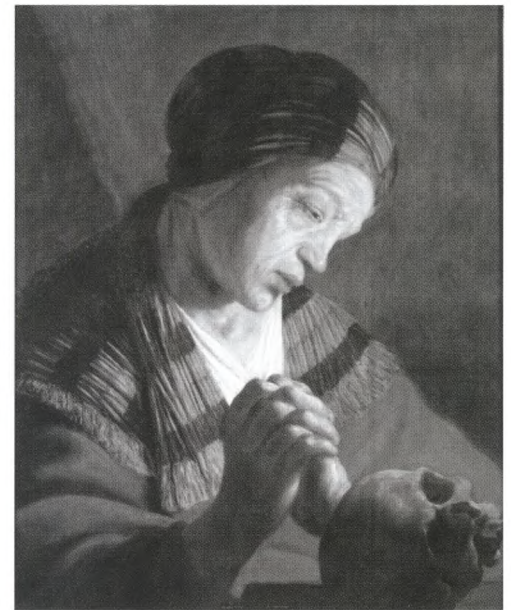


Fig. 116c. Jan Lievens, *The Penitent Magdalene*, around 1623-1624, oil on panel, 68 x 55 cm. Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse, inv. 140.

had already depicted the Magdalene several years earlier, in a panel now in Douai. The figure there is not as old, and, although unidealized and haggard, is shown exotically dressed (fig. 116c).<sup>10</sup> Here, Lievens seems to have developed his interpretation further, leaving even vestimentary trappings behind. The notion of mirroring the textual description of the Magdalene as an elderly hermit probably originated with the artist himself, who (with Rembrandt) pioneered the sympathetic depiction of old age in Dutch art. We may speculate that this tendency in his work was connected to the conservative Calvinist pressure on artists to eschew the seductive qualities of painting. In his widely published poem "Idolelenchus," Jan Evertsz. Geesteranus (1583-1622) complained specifically about the eroticized depictions of a virtuous moral exemplar such as Susanna, and his remarks could have applied equally to images of the Penitent Magdalene, who was almost always shown as young and beautiful – and often nude.<sup>11</sup> Lievens seems to be deliberately responding to such criticism by presenting for the Dutch market another type of Magdalene, entirely divorced from worldly pleasures and temptations.

Previously given to Rembrandt, this painting was first attributed to Lievens by Kurt Bauch, who dated it to around 1630.<sup>12</sup> As Sumowski observes, it relates directly to the signed and dated *Job* of 1631, now in the National Gallery of Canada, in Ottawa. In both pictures Lievens has moved toward a chromatic range dominated by silvery grey, replacing the warmer casts of the 1620s. At the same time, he has adopted a more muted tonal scale, which underscores the sober mood of the present scene.

1. There is a possibility that the present work is connected to one or more of the three references to a depiction of the Magdalene by Jan Lievens in Dutch collections during the 17th century. One was evaluated at the high price of f300 in the inventory of the dealer Johannes van Renialme in Amsterdam taken on 27 June 1657, Notarial Protocol Uyttenbogaert; see Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 1, p. 231, no. 158. The inventory of the possessions of the widow of Municipal Secretary Hallingh, Secretary of the

City Council of Delft, taken in 1673, also included such a painting; see Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 1, p. 217. Early in the 18th century, a Magdalene by Lievens appeared in a sale: Amsterdam, 6 May 1729 (Lugt 338), lot 25 (for f10.10); see Hoet, vol. 1, p. 338. However, there is no connection between the present work and the painting of a sumptuously dressed young woman mentioned in a poem by Lambert van den Bos describing the Amsterdam collection of Marten Kretzer ("Konst Kabinet van Marten Kretzer," Amsterdam, 1650); see J.H.W. Unger, "Vondeliana II. Vondel's Handschriften," *Oud Holland* 2 (1884), pp. 118-119, and Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 106, with no. 61.

2. Under this misattribution, Lievens's painting could possibly be identified with the work mentioned by John Smith as in the collection of a Herr Wohlgeboren and reproduced in a reported mezzotint by J. Kleine; see Hofstede de Groot 1907-1928, vol. 7, no. 138.

3. On the conflation of the three personalities, see LTK, vol. 7, col. 39, s.v. *Maria Magdalena*, *Schrift und Überlieferung*, 2.

4. The Eastern Church saw the development of a cult honouring Ephesus as her place of death; see LCI, vol. 7, col. 517 C, s.v. *Kult*.

5. Voragine, vol. 1, p. 376.

6. Boethius A. Bolswert, after Abraham Bloemaert, *S. Maria Aegyptiaca*, 1619, engraving, 13 x 8.8 cm; see Roethlisberger 1993, vol. 1, p. 181, no. 198, and vol. 2 (fig. 300). See also Knipping 1974, vol. 1, p. 61.

7. See exhib. cat. Washington 1990-1991, pp. 332-333, no. 89 (colour ill.), and Larsen 1988, vol. 2, p. 98, no. 227 (ill., as 1615).

8. Anthony van Dyck, *The Penitent Magdalene*, around 1620, oil on paper mounted onto panel, 62.5 x 48.5 cm, sale, New York (Sotheby's), 6 June 1985, lot 82 (colour ill.), and subsequently sale, Cologne (Van Ham), 11 April 2002, lot 1124 (colour ill.); see Larsen 1988, vol. 2, p. 99, no. 228 (ill., as around 1614).

9. See collection cat. Pommersfelden 1894, p. 94, no. 256, and Nicolson 1958, pp. 89-90, no. A58 (fig. 75).

10. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 179c, no. 1221, p. 1860 (ill.).

11. Jan Evertsz. Geesteranus's poem "Tegen 't Geestighdom der Schilder-Konst / Straf-Rymen. / Ofte anders / Idolelenchus" was translated from Latin into Dutch by Dirck Rafaelsz. Camphuysen and included in the 1639 edition of his *Stichtelycke Rymen* (pp. 480-517), and in many subsequent editions. The reference to Susanna is on p. 487. A report of the poem's publication in a 1632 edition of Camphuysen's book was made by Friedrich Samuel Bock in *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum* (Königsberg, 1774), pp. 366-367. My thanks to Philip Knijff for this reference. Camphuysen also included it in another book, *Verscheiden theologische werken*, published in Amsterdam in 1638. The main thrust of this well-known poetic critique of painting is its censure of a tendency among artists to depict chaste and virtuous women in attractive and even suggestive ways in order to inflame the lust of male viewers.

12. Bauch's attribution is recorded on the back of a photograph kept at the RKD. ♦





117.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*Head of an Old Man*

Around 1640

Oil on panel, 55 × 43 cm (oval)

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Moscow, collection of Comte Charles Robert de Nesselrode; his sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 27 April 1909, lot 19 (as by Lievens); Amsterdam, with Gebroeder Douwes, in 1920-1921; Leeuwarden, collection of H. Duintjer, until 1994; sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 17 November 1994, lot 28 (ill., as by Circle of Jan Lievens), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 179, no. LXII (as doubtful and closer to Salomon Koninck than to Lievens)

THIS IMPRESSIVE BEARDED head first resurfaced in 1909 under the name of Jan Lievens. Despite the close connections of its type and handling to Lievens's work of the late 1630s, this attribution was the object of some doubt during the 1970s.<sup>1</sup> More recently, Jan Kosten has rightly pointed out the links to Lievens's *Portrait of Petrus Egidius de Morrion* in Budapest, which dates to 1637.<sup>2</sup> An even closer parallel from this period is the *Bearded Old Man* in New Orleans, dated 1640 (fig. 117a), as it represents the same type of anonymous character head known as the *tronie*, pioneered by Lievens in the previous decade.<sup>3</sup> He developed this type of finished painting from the head sketches employed by Rubens and Van Dyck – for use in history paintings – in their studios. Here, as in the New Orleans painting, we are shown a sage, contemplative and melancholic, of a type that could be placed in any number of historical scenes. The New Orleans head, with its somewhat sharper features and thinner, forked beard, may have been adapted for the figure of Joseph of Arimathea in Lievens's *Lamentation*, in Munich.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the present head, with its smooth features and more ample, flowing beard, approximates the head of Zachariah in the *Visitation* by Lievens, now in Paris.<sup>5</sup> The present painting shares with these and other works by Lievens from the late 1630s a smooth, soft handling of form, with layers of translucent colour applied with an agile brush and finished with textured effects of thin impasto. In contrast to the harsh Caravaggesque lighting of his earlier works, the forms here reflect a gentle, glowing light. Lievens's chief achievement in this style is his *Abraham and Isaac* in Braunschweig, which displays a comparably imposing treatment of the subject in a composition that fills the picture frame.<sup>6</sup>

1. See Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 179.

2. Letter of 21 May 2001. Jan Lievens, *Portrait of Petrus Egidius de Morrion*, 1637, oil on panel, 83.5 × 59 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 4311; see collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 96 (ill.), and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1806, no. 1288, p. 1927 (colour ill.).

3. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1806, no. 1284, p. 1923 (ill.).

4. Jan Lievens, *The Lamentation*, around 1639-1640, oil on canvas, 141 × 216 cm (trimmed on all sides), Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 6665; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1784, no. 1200, p. 1839 (colour ill.).

5. Jan Lievens, *The Visitation*, around 1638, oil on canvas, 280 × 183 cm, monogrammed, Paris, Louvre, inv. 143; see Sumowski 1983-1994, p. 1792 no. 1196, p. 1835 (ill., as around 1638).

6. Jan Lievens, *Abraham and Isaac*, around 1639-1640, oil on canvas, 180 × 136 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 242; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1783-1784, no. 1199, p. 1838 (colour ill.). ♦

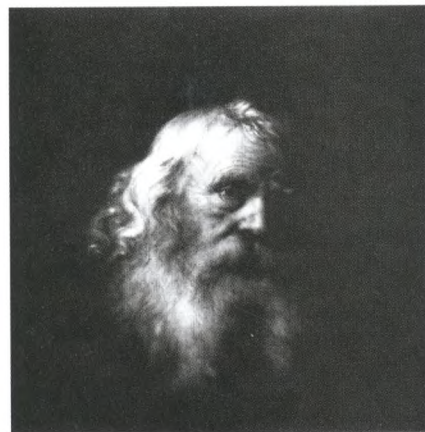


Fig. 117a. Jan Lievens, *Bearded Old Man*, 1640, oil on canvas, 76.2 × 62.5 cm. New Orleans Museum of Art, inv. 81.294.





118.

Jan Lievens

(Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*The Adoration of the Magi*

1644

Oil on canvas, 96.6 × 81.3 cm

Monogrammed and dated bottom centre,  
on the chest: *IL / 1644*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre,  
gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc.  
no. 34-020.07

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly The Hague, collection of Amalia van Solms, widow of stadholder Frederik Hendrik, 1654-1668 Koninklijk Huisarchief, The Hague, inv.A 14, XII, 16, No. 1257: "Een Offerhande van de Drie Wijsen tot Behlehem aen 't kindeken Jesus gedaen, gemaect bij Jan Lieveuse, sonder lijst [An Adoration of the Three Wise Men in Bethlehem, of the Child Jesus, made by Jan Lievens, without frame]";<sup>1</sup> Sparkill, New York, collection of Lawrence Wiseman, in 1975 (as copy after Lievens, oil on canvas, 97.1 × 81.9 cm, signed on the small chest: *IL 2*); The World Museum sale, anonymous section, New York (Christie's), 12 June 1981, lot 85 (ill., as by School of Jan Lievens, oil on canvas, 96.5 × 81 cm, signed and indistinctly dated 1664); Chicago, collection of Harry Moore; purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader, in 1982

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol.3, pp. 1768, 1785, no. 1205, p. 1844 (colour ill.); vol.6, p. 3623

THE THREE MAGI, traditionally identified as Balthasar from Europe, Melchior from Asia, and Caspar from Africa, approach the infant Jesus with lavish gifts and an attitude of obeisance. The story of their visit to the stable in Bethlehem is told in the Gospel of Matthew (2:1-12) as part of a complicated drama involving the Roman governor Herod and his subsequent attempt to eliminate the child by massacring all the baby boys in the town.

With this painting Jan Lievens was offering his interpretation of one of the most important themes in Western European painting. It had been popular among Flemish artists from the 15th century onwards, and Lievens's smoothly finished small-scale figures and rich detail evoke the style of 16th-century Flemish artists like Gerard David. At the same time, Lievens incorporated some vigorous poses inspired by the work of Rubens – the imposing frontal view of Caspar, for example, which is adapted from Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* of 1624, in Antwerp (fig. 118a).<sup>2</sup> The motif of the camel's head rising above the group also draws

on this painting by the Flemish master. In addition, however, Lievens seems to have borrowed from a second interpretation of the theme by Rubens, of 1626-1627, which is now in Paris, (fig. 118b).<sup>3</sup> The orientation of the main group, the pose of the Virgin and Child, and even the ermine trim of Melchior's mantle correspond closely to this version, which Rubens produced for a church in Brussels. Lievens executed this Rubenesque painting after having spent seven years in Antwerp, in direct contact with the rich tradition of Flemish painting.

Lievens may have been aiming this work specifically at the House of Orange, which had its court in The Hague, and it is possibly the work mentioned in an inventory drawn up between 1654 and 1668 for stadholder Frederik Hendrik's widow, Amalia van Solms.<sup>4</sup> Sumowski cast doubt on this connection on the grounds that the work in the inventory was later attributed to "Rubens or Quellinus" and must therefore have been closer in style to that of these two Flemish artists.<sup>5</sup> But this view actually clashes with





Fig. 118a. Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1624, oil on panel, 447 × 336 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 298.



Fig. 118b. Peter Paul Rubens, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1626-1627, oil on canvas, 290 × 218 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1762.

Sumowski's own observation of the present picture's connections to the work of Rubens, notably in the Virgin's standing pose.

Moreover, the picture fits well within the framework of patronage in The Hague around this time. It dates to the very year that Lievens moved from the Spanish Netherlands to the Protestant-dominated centre of Amsterdam.<sup>6</sup> Twelve years earlier he had left the northern Netherlands shortly after Rembrandt received the commission for a series on the life of Jesus – the so-called Passion Series – from Prince Frederik Hendrik.<sup>7</sup> It has not hitherto been observed that Lievens's failure to gain this honour must have been a major blow to the young artist, who was known to be extremely confident in his own abilities.<sup>8</sup> The episode may well have prompted his departure in search of other aristocratic patrons in England and Flanders. During his time away he studied the work of Anthony van Dyck, in particular, and adopted a fashionably smooth and elegant style. Artistic fashion began to swing in this direction in the northern Netherlands during the 1640s, with the House of Orange leading the way. Moreover, this painting by Lievens conforms roughly to the format (96 × 69 cm) and thematic framework of Rembrandt's Passion Series.<sup>9</sup> Even more significant, it shares with that series the conspicuous feature of a rounded top. During the 1640s Frederik Hendrik had given Rembrandt a commission for two more scenes, which he completed around 1646. One of these works – which expanded the initial theme, taking their subject matter from the life of Jesus but not from the Passion itself – was an *Adoration of the Shepherds*.<sup>10</sup> Rembrandt would never paint an

*Adoration of the Magi*, very likely because the theme was being covered by Lievens. Lievens may have been hoping – in vain, as it turned out – to attract a commission from the same prominent patron for a whole series of scenes from the early life of Jesus. Salomon de Koninck appears to have executed a variation on Lievens's composition for the Prince of Orange, attesting to the court's appreciation of this work,<sup>11</sup> and Lievens did earn another major commission for the court's outstanding art project of the decade – the decoration of the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch, commissioned in Frederik Hendrik's honour by his widow.<sup>12</sup>

1. Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 346, no. S 350, and Drossaers 1974-1976, vol. 1, p. 286, no. 1257.
2. See Rooses 1886-1892, vol. 1, p. 147 (ill.), and collection cat. Antwerp 1988, p. 319, no. 298 (ill.).
3. See Rooses 1886-1892, vol. 1, pp. 210-212, no. 159 (with reproductive engraving by Schelte A. Bolswert).
4. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
5. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1785, no. 1205.
6. On Lievens's return to Amsterdam by 1 March 1644, see Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 7, and Obreen Archief, vol. 7, p. 293.
7. Schwartz suggests that Rembrandt received the commission because the House of Orange could no longer patronize Rubens after perceiving hostile intentions in his last diplomatic mission to The Hague in December 1631. Rembrandt's first two paintings for the stadholder closely followed compositions by Rubens; Schwartz 1985, p. 106.
8. See cat. 111, especially note 9.
9. On Rembrandt's commission from the House of Orange, see exhib. cat. The Hague 1997, pp. 192-197.
10. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1646, oil on canvas, 97 × 71 cm, signed, Munich Alte Pinakothek, inv. 393; see Bredius/Cerson 1969, pp. 485 (ill.), 608, no. 575.
11. Salomon de Koninck, *The Adoration of the Magi*, oil on canvas, 81 × 66 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 36; see Drossaers 1974-1976, vol. 3, p. 19, no. 24, and p. 209, no. 35, and collection cat. The Hague 1993, p. 83 (ill.).
12. Jan Lievens, *The Five Muses*, 1650, oil on canvas, 319 × 240 cm, signed, The Hague, Huis ten Bosch, Oranjezaal (south wall); see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1785, no. 1206, p. 1845 (ill.). ◆





119.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*River Landscape with a Resting Traveller*

Mid-1650s

Oil on panel, 46 × 66.5 cm

Monogrammed lower right, at the edge: *IL*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, with Edward Speelman, in 1960; Haarlem, with J.R. Bier, in 1962; Véwey, collection of J. Dick, in 1970; Zurich, with Bruno Meissner, in 1979; Montreal, collection of Michal Hornstein; sale, London (Christie's), 7 July 1995, lot 41 (colour ill., as monogrammed), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Brown 1979, p. 745 (as not by Lievens); Sumowski 1980, pp. 12, 24 (fig. 8, as by Lievens, around 1650); Eikemeier 1980, p. 7 (as not by Lievens); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1814, no. 1306, p. 1905 (ill., as around 1640)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Tentoonstelling van Hollandse 17de eeuwse meesters* (Haarlem: J.R. Bier, 1962) unpaginated, no. 15 (ill., as signed); Braunschweig 1979, pp. 128-130, no. 44 (ill., as by Lievens, around 1644); Tokyo, Chiba and Yamaguchi 1992, p. 127, no. 58 (colour ill.)

IN THE LOWER right-hand corner of this picture a young man reclines on a riverbank, at the foot of a tree. To the left a river winds its way into the distance, where a tower can be seen emerging above the treetops. In the mid-ground stand several large trees, their trunks and crowns strongly silhouetted against a pale sky. The scene is handled with a free brush, the strokes visible in the thin dark colours of the trees, and in the paler, more impastoed areas of the figure and tree in the right foreground. The strong, warm colours, light contrasts and assured brushwork connect the panel to several landscapes by Jan Lievens. The artificial light effects and striking brushwork lend the scene a slight aura of unreality.

Jan Lievens began taking an interest in the Flemish landscape tradition after arriving in Antwerp around 1637, following



Fig. 119a. Jan Lievens, *Self-portrait*, around 1638, oil on canvas, 96.2 × 77 cm. London, National Gallery, inv. 2864.

in the footsteps of Peter Paul Rubens in paying homage to the celebrated achievements of its 16th-century proponents. His loose, painterly handling in the genre in fact derives from Rubens's own less formal approach to landscape. One of Lievens's earliest paintings from his Antwerp period is the well-known *Self-portrait* of around 1638, now in London, which features a background landscape passage visible through a window (fig. 119a).<sup>1</sup> Both there and here, the imaginative arrangement and features, which create liveliness and drama, follow the Flemish tradition of the fantasy, or composed, landscape. Sabine Jacob has noted more specifically Lievens's tendency to create a shallow accented area in the foreground, to incorporate warm reddish tones in the ground and foliage, and to cut off the view to the distance with trees that show light patches of sky between them.<sup>2</sup> This latter device is a corollary to the effects of light and shadow that Lievens developed in his work at large during these years. He was moving away from the Caravaggesque use of strong light to model forms and figures, and beginning to treat figures as pale patches reflecting a soft, indeterminate light against a darker background. This decorative effect appears in his 1644 *Adoration of the Magi*, in Kingston (cat. 118), and in the present painting, where the reclining traveller is similarly isolated – but less dramatically – against the ground. Although Sumowski last proposed a date for this picture of around 1640,<sup>3</sup> the striking use of impasto to emphasize the figure departs from the more fluid treatment of forms in other landscapes of that period. It does relate, however, to several of Lievens's expressive portraits of the late 1650s and the 1660s, such as that of Jacob Junius (cat. 120), indicating a date later than previously thought – perhaps the mid-1650s.

1. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1809, no. 1289, p. 1928 (colour ill.).

2. Sabine Jacob, "Zur Entwicklung der Landschaftsmalerei von Jan Lievens," in exhib. cat. Braunschweig 1979, pp. 21-22.

3. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1814. ◆



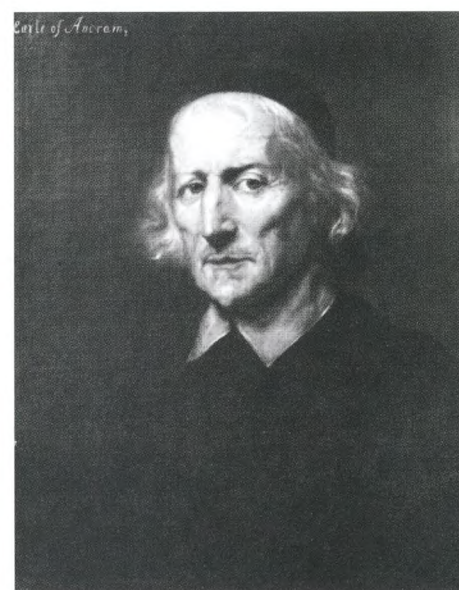


Fig. 120a. Jan Lievens, *Portrait of Sir Robert Kerr, The Earl of Ancrum*, 1654, oil on canvas, 62 × 52 cm. Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery (on loan from the Marquess of Lothian, Newbattle Abbey).

120.

Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)

*Portrait of Jacob Junius*

Around 1658

Oil on canvas, 79 × 53 cm

Formerly inscribed on the back: *Junius*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Delft, collection of the sitter, Jacob Junius; left to his second wife Maria Leonards (1641-1710); by descent to their son Jacob Junius; by descent to his daughter Maria Jacoba Emmen; Schlochteren, Netherlands, Slot Fraeylemaborg; by descent to the collection of the Thomassen à Thuessink van der Hoop van Slochteren family; by descent to the De Sandra family collection, until 1971; Boonstra collection, in 1971; The Hague, with Han Jüngeling Gallery, in 1972; purchased by Alfred Bader; purchased by Bert van Deun, Beerse, Belgium, in 1972; reacquired in trade by Alfred Bader, in 1990

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol.3, pp. 1769, 1810, no. 1934, p. 1295 (colour ill.); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 23, no. 2 (1990), p. 29 (colour ill. on cover); Bader 1995, pp. 210-211, 217 (pl.7)

AN INSCRIPTION FORMERLY on the reverse of this painting links it to the Delft regent Jacob Junius (1608-1671), who sat on the board of the city's Oud en Nieuw Gasthuis (municipal hospital) in 1667.<sup>1</sup> Born in Warmond to the *predikant* (minister) Isaäc Junius and his first wife Maria Corneliszdr. Duyckers, Jacob Junius registered as a law student at Leiden University on 16 June 1626. He later entered the merchant trade with the East Indies, and in 1650 was working alongside his half-brothers François and Louis in the office of the East India Company at Masulipatnam.<sup>2</sup> By 1657 he was back in the Netherlands. In that year, in the city of Amsterdam, he married Maria Leonards, who was born in Batavia (now Djarkarta). Four of the couple's six children died young.<sup>3</sup> At his own death in 1671, Junius left a will indicating that his activities in India had won him a large fortune<sup>4</sup> – a circumstance that no doubt fuelled his ascendance into the ruling patriciate of Delft.

This impressive, gripping portrait stands out among Jan Lievens's later works. The bleak gaze and downturned mouth



suggest a mood of weary perseverance. Lievens painted Junius in a rough style, with open strokes of dragged impasto that evoke the sitter's ravaged skin and the heavily expressive lines of his face. Most of the works painted after the artist's return to the northern Netherlands in 1644 show a very smooth finish, with strong local colours set against a cool black background tone. However, several later works dating from the 1650s on reveal that he sometimes adopted a looser, more painterly style recalling Van Dyck, whose work he had observed in Antwerp. Lievens's sympathetic and attentive depiction of old age had been an innovative strength of his early career in Leiden, during the 1620s. After this period, it was a penchant that would re-emerge only occasionally.

An important comparison for the present work is the well-known *Portrait of Sir Robert Kerr, The Earl of Ancram*, of 1654, now in Edinburgh (fig. 120a),<sup>5</sup> for which Lievens also employed a free handling reminiscent of Van Dyck. The attribution and dating of the Kerr portrait are based on the sitter's own correspondence.<sup>6</sup> Sumowski has dated the present work to same period, the mid-1650s, but its even rougher style, with sharper strokes of colour giving a more dramatic effect, points to a still later date. Also significant is the fact that Junius is not documented to have returned to the Netherlands before 1657. Lievens likely painted his portrait the following year, when he married, and the artist was still nearby in The Hague, before returning to Amsterdam.

1. Reinier Boitet, *Beschrijving der Stadt Delft* (Delft: Reinier Boitet, 1729), p. 332; see J. de Loos-Haaxman, "Afstamming en nakomelingen van D<sup>r</sup>. Isaäc Junius Frz.," *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 71 (1954), col. 282 note 25.
2. See Jan H. Junius, "Junius," *De Navorscher* 47 (1897), p. 578, and De Loos-Haaxman 1954 (see note 1 above), p. 282.
3. Junius 1897 (see note 2 above), p. 579.
4. Algemeen Rijksarchief, Delft Notarial Archive, inv. 1853, Notary Willem van Assendelft; see De Loos-Haaxman (see note 1 above), col. 282.
5. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1810, no. 1294, p. 1933 (colour ill.).
6. *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancram and His Son William, Third Earl of Lothian* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1875), vol. 2, p. 383; see Schneider 1932, p. 147, no. 244. ♦



121.

Attributed to Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 – Amsterdam 1674)  
and

Jan Andrea Lievens (Antwerp 1644 – Amsterdam 1680)

*A Standing Woman in Profile, Facing Left*

Around 1670

Oil on panel, 62.4 × 47.2 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Hannover, collection of the King of Hannover, by 1891 (as by Jan Lievens); collection of Walter Edward Guinness, Lord Moyne (1880-1944); his sale, London (Christie's), 20 April 1945, lot 106 (as attributed to Jan Lievens); sale, New York (Sotheby's), 27 January 2005, lot 359 (colour ill., as by Circle of Jan Lievens), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Hannover 1891, p. 139, no. 282 (as by Jan Lievens, "Halbfigur eines jungen gelbgekleideten Mädchens mit braunem Haar, ganz im Profil nach links hin gewendet. Hintergrund dunkler Fels. Eichenholz [Half-length of a young girl dressed in yellow with brown hair, in full profile turned to the left. Background dark rock], oil on oak panel, 62 x 46 cm)

JAN ANDREA LIEVENS was the only surviving child of Jan Lievens's first marriage, to Susanna Colyns de Nole.<sup>1</sup> He was born in Antwerp in 1644, and his mother died shortly thereafter, whereupon his father returned to the northern Netherlands with his infant son. The earliest record of Jan Andrea's activity as an





Fig. 121a. Jan Andrea Lievens, *Portrait of Vice Admiral Engel de Ruyter*, around 1671, oil on canvas, 147 × 123 cm, signed. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1660



Fig. 121b. Jan Lievens, *Profile Portrait of a Woman*, pen and ink, 21.1 × 14.6 cm. Location unknown (photo: Sumowski Archive, Museum het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam).

artist is as an assistant in the commission awarded to his father for a chimneypiece for the Rijnlandhuis in Leiden – a *Mathematician*, dated 1666.<sup>2</sup> He is also known to have caused his father some trouble, as witness a deposition of the same year in which Jan Lievens acknowledges the unruly public behaviour of his son.<sup>3</sup> Around 1668 Jan Andrea began to produce independent works. Only four signed paintings by him survive: a *Hagar in the Wilderness* of 1669,<sup>4</sup> an equestrian portrait of 1671, in Cambridge,<sup>5</sup> and two portraits – one of Jan van Gelder, of 1668,<sup>6</sup> and the other of Engel de Ruyter, of around 1671 (fig. 121a)<sup>7</sup> – both of which are in the Rijksmuseum. Jan Andrea Lievens was also one of the many artists whose opinion was solicited in the controversy over the sale of Italian paintings by Gerrit Uylenburgh to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1672.<sup>8</sup> His career was cut short by his death in 1680, only six years after that of his famous father.<sup>9</sup>

The present painting depicts a young woman in profile, shown in three-quarter length and facing left. She wears a robe of golden-coloured fabric over a white undershirt, with a narrow red scarf around her neck. With her arms held in front of her, covered in the robe's ample sleeves, she grasps the scarf with her right hand. Her hair is braided and pinned up at the back of her head, and a pearl earring dangles from her visible ear. The background is almost entirely filled by a dark rock face, which opens at the upper right onto a dark, cloudy sky. A strong light coming from the left illuminates the figure dramatically and also picks out a patch of ground behind her, on the right. Although the panel appears at first to be a portrait, the garb and unusual pose – generally reserved for rulers – suggest that it is most likely an anonymous figure produced for the open market. The woman, whose stern expression is also uncommon in a portrait, appears to represent the generic type of a princess from classical antiquity.

The few known paintings by Jan Andrea Lievens show that he adhered closely to the late style of his father. The luminescent rendering of the figure against a dark, murky ground, the deft combination of smooth yet loose handling of impasto and translucent colour, the profile pose and the small but lively passage of landscape all reflect aspects of the elder Lievens's style.

However, the abrupt transitions of tone, unresolved suggestion of form and direct, unmodulated brushwork indicate that another hand was also at work. These characteristics can be found in Jan Andrea's *Hagar*, but the rough facture relates even more closely to the aforementioned *Mathematician*, most of which was executed by Jan Andrea. It is probable that in the present instance, too, the elder Lievens contributed to the conception of the work but left the execution to his son. In fact, the figure closely follows an earlier signed drawing by the elder Lievens, even down to details of the costume (fig. 121b).<sup>10</sup> This connection fits in with the pattern of Jan Andrea's dependence on his father's work and also underscores the anonymous, genre character of the present painting.

An X-ray of this panel has revealed an underlying landscape, which may have been part of an original background that was painted over in darker tones to evoke the rock face. Although the curiously fresh, smooth surface of the paint layer creates an impression of modernity, an examination under microscope has revealed a craquelure pattern typical for paintings of this period, as well as the characteristically uneven size of pigment particles. A date of around 1670 is most likely.

1. Hans Schneider, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 23, p. 215.
2. Jan Andrea Lievens, *A Mathematician*, oil on canvas, 134 × 168.5 cm, 1666, signed, Leiden, Rijnlandhuis; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1798, no. 1248, p. 1887 (ill.). The contract specifies that the elder Lievens was to supply the design and carry out the final retouching and that Jan Andrea was responsible for most of the execution of the painting; C. H. Dee, *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1875), p. 126, and Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 121, no. 117.
3. See Schneider/Ekkart 1973 p. 279 (with an incorrect reference to an article by "Leupe" in *De Nederlandsche Spectator* [1874], p. 122).
4. Jan Andrea Lievens, *Hagar in the Wilderness*, 1669, oil on canvas, 84 × 163.5 cm, signed, sale, London (Sotheby's), 19 May 1965, lot 84; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1770, 1772 note 36, p. 1773 (ill.).
5. Jan Andrea Lievens, *Equestrian Portrait of Dirck Decker*, 1671, oil on canvas, 137.8 × 131.4 cm, signed, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 28; see exhib. cat. Cambridge 1988, p. 18 (colour ill.), p. 28.
6. Jan Andrea Lievens, *Portrait of Captain Jan van Gelder*, 1668, oil on canvas, 147 × 124 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1661.
7. See collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, pp. 347-348 (ills.), and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, pp. 1770, 1772 note 37, 1774 (ill.). The bold presentation of the present figure relates to this portrait.
8. See Schneider/Ekkart 1973, p. 280, and Bredius 1886, p. 42.
9. Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 1, p. 227, L.
10. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 13 December 1973, lot 138; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 7, pp. 3658-3659, no. 1641<sup>x</sup> (ill., as by Jan Lievens, around 1635-1643). ♦





122.

Johannes Lingelbach (Frankfurt 1622 – Amsterdam 1674)

*A Garden with an Artist Drawing from Antiquities*

Around 1671

Oil on canvas, 102.5 × 133.7 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1987, acc. no. 30-089

#### PROVENANCE

Antwerp, collection of P.J. Huybrechts, by 1878; Antwerp, collection of Edmund Huybrechts; his sale, Antwerp (Le Roy, Delahaye), 12-15 May 1902, lot 140 (as by Jan Baptist Weenix, signed and dated lower left, on the ground: *J.B. Weenix*); Collection de feu Armand Hessel Consul d'Autriche sale, Antwerp (Eugène van Herck & Fils), 29 May 1933, lot 174 (ill., as by Jan Baptist Weenix, 95 x 130 cm); Den Bosch, De Gruyter collection; sale, The Hague (Marcel Diederiks), 29-30 November and 13 December 1982, lot 8 (ill., as by Jan Baptist Weenix), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Burger-Wegener 1976, p. 137, p. 325, no. 202 (as an autograph replica of the Nuremberg picture; see other versions below)

#### OTHER VERSIONS

Oil on canvas, 99.8 x 137 cm, signed and dated lower centre: *I. LINGELBACH / fecit 16...* (formerly legible as 1671), Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. Gm 440; see collection cat. Nuremberg 1995, pp. 159-160, no. 76 (ill.)

JOHANNES LINGELBACH WAS born in Frankfurt am Main in 1622,<sup>1</sup> and moved with his family to Amsterdam in 1637.<sup>2</sup> Houbraken tells of the young artist's subsequent travels to France, which included a sojourn in Paris (1642-1644), and to Italy, where he stayed until 1650.<sup>3</sup> On the 8th of May of that year he departed for the Netherlands, travelling via Germany and arriving the following month in Amsterdam. There he married, took up citizenship (in 1653)<sup>4</sup> and remained until his death in

1674.<sup>5</sup> Following artists such as Jan Baptist Weenix, Lingelbach specialized in depicting Italianate landscapes, street scenes and harbours. The artist's brother, David Lingelbach, is known for his membership in the literary society *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, which was devoted to classicizing ideals in poetry and theatre.<sup>6</sup> With the present image of a young pupil sketching from classical sculpture, Johannes Lingelbach was promoting a parallel ambition in visual art: the study of the heritage of antiquity.

The artist was in fact partaking in a trend that united Dutch and Flemish artists who had worked in Italy and inherited the tradition of the Bamboccianti. They had by this time begun to move away from the model of founder Pieter van Laer, who concentrated on lowlife genre scenes set in the streets and countryside, and to introduce a more elevated tone, with religious and classical themes, and a smoother, more idealizing style. The most prominent artist to follow this path was Michiel Sweerts, who likely had a direct influence on Lingelbach during his stay in Italy.<sup>7</sup> Sweerts's portrait of Lingelbach, made after his return to Amsterdam, attests to their possible contact and friendship in Rome.<sup>8</sup> Lingelbach almost certainly derived the motif of a young artist sketching after sculpture – an anomaly in his oeuvre – from paintings by Sweerts, such as his *Painter's Studio*, now in Amsterdam,<sup>9</sup> or the *Drawing School* in Haarlem.<sup>10</sup> Sweerts's own academic bent was reflected in his organization of a short-lived art academy in Brussels during the 1650s.<sup>11</sup> He visited Amsterdam at the end of that decade and likely encountered Lingelbach there. However, it was some years later, and well after Sweerts's departure for the Far East and subsequent death, that Lingelbach took up a similar scene in his own work. Andreas Tacke has observed that Lingelbach may have adapted the





Fig. 122a. Karel du Jardin, *Park Scene with Hunters*, 1664, oil on canvas, 54.6 × 66.7 cm. Cape Town, The Old Town House, inv. 14/14.

sculpture pictured here from the *Park Scene* of 1664 by Karel du Jardin (fig. 122a).<sup>12</sup> He may even – as Ernst Brochhagen and Catja Burger-Wegener posit – have employed Du Jardin's composition as a starting point.<sup>13</sup>

Lingelbach's setting appears to be the grounds of a country villa, with imposing buildings in the classical style on either side, an ornamental fountain to the right, and in the middle distance a garden laid out in strict geometric order and punctuated with sculptures and rows of poplars. Further away are more buildings set against a backdrop of mountains. The present painting must be from around 1671, the date recorded on a nearly identical version in Nuremberg. In 1990 an earlier variant bearing a signature and a date of 1668 resurfaced on the art market in London.<sup>14</sup> The artist evidently found a ready market for his combination of Italianate landscape and aesthetic idealism.

1. Burger-Wegener 1976, p. 9, pp. 163–164 note 12.
2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 145–146.
4. Burger-Wegener 1976, p. 15. On his marriage to Tietje Hendrickje Poussi, see also De Vries 1885, p. 159.
5. Havard 1879–1881, vol. 1, p. 115, and Burger-Wegener 1976, p. 19.
6. See A.J.E. Harmsen, *Onderweys in de tooneel-poëzy: Nil Volentibus Arduum* (Rotterdam: Ordeman, 1989), p. 1.
7. See Thomas Kren, "Jan Lingelbach in Rome," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 90 (1982), pp. 45–62.
8. Bernard Vaillant, after Michiel Sweerts, *Portrait of Johannes Lingelbach*, mezzotint, 24.2 × 17.4 cm, 2 states, inscribed: *Johannes Lingelbach / Apud Amstelodamensis pictor*; see Hollstein, vol. 31, p. 46, no. 20 (ill.). For discussion of its significance see Jonathan Bikker, in exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, p. 26 (fig. 20).
9. Michiel Sweerts, *A Painter's Studio*, oil on canvas, 71 × 74 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1957; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, pp. 97–99, no. 7 (colour ill.).
10. Michiel Sweerts, *The Drawing School*, around 1655–1660, oil on canvas, 76.5 × 110 cm, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, pp. 133–135, no. 19 (colour ill.).
11. See Jonathan Bikker, in exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, p. 31.
12. See collection cat. Nuremberg 1995, p. 160.
13. See collection cat. Cape Town 1997, pp. 98–99, no. 16 (colour ill.), and Burger-Wegener 1976, p. 160.
14. Johannes Lingelbach, *An Artist Sketching a Statue in a Park*, 1668, oil on canvas, 84 × 109 cm, signed, London, with Johnny Van Haften, in 1990; advertised in *Burlington Magazine* 132 (May 1990) (colour ill.). See collection cat. Nuremberg 1995, p. 160. ♦

123.

Jan Linsen (Hoorn 1602/03 – Hoorn 1635)  
and an anonymous 17th-century artist, possibly Italian

### *Hagar and the Angel*

Around 1625

Oil on canvas, 105.4 × 132.7 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Acquired in Italy around 1660 by Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland (1641–1702); his collection, Althorp, Northamptonshire; thence by descent; London, with Johnny Van Haften; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1986

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 21, no. 3 (1988), p. 57 (cover ill.); Bader 1995, p. 218 (pl. 12); Sellin 2006, pp. 96–97 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Exhibition of Works by Holbein and Other Masters of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1950–1951), p. 122, no. 302; Milwaukee 1989, pp. 120–121, no. 55 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

K. Garlick, "A Catalogue of the Pictures at Althorp," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 46 (1974–1976), p. 24, no. 216 (pl. 24, as *Hagar and the Angel*), p. 95 (1746 list), no. 42, p. 113 (1750 list)

LEANING AGAINST A FOUNTAIN fed by a spring arising in a hillside cave, a despondent Hagar looks up at the angel approaching her from the right. This vibrant canvas depicts Hagar's first banishment, as told in the Book of Genesis (16:1–16). Sarah, doubting the divine promise of a son, presents her Egyptian servant Hagar to her husband, the patriarch Abraham, so that she may bear him an heir. Once Hagar is pregnant, however, she develops contempt for Sarah, who reacts in rage and treats her so harshly that she flees the household. The angel finds her in the wilderness, near a spring on the way to Shur, and persuades her to return and submit to her mistress, at the same time prophesying a life of conflict for the son in her womb. As a result of the encounter, Hagar names the place "Beer-lahai-roi" (God sees me). In this picture, the fountain figures prominently at the left edge of the composition, set against the backdrop of a craggy outcrop. The right side opens onto a view of fields, lush trees and a distant sea. The laughing face incorporated into the fountain's basin may be a reference to the vanity of Hagar, now brought low.<sup>1</sup> The scene is framed at the left edge by a dark, vertical, creeper-covered rock face that acts as a repoussoir. Alfred Bader has pointed out that Hagar's headdress, a Gypsy *bern*, possibly alludes to her Egyptian origins, since it was once thought that Gypsies originated there – hence the name.<sup>2</sup>

The landscape, with its brilliant effects of light and painterly handling, betrays the hand of the Dutch painter Jan Linsen,<sup>3</sup> who was born in the West Frisian town of Hoorn. Documentary evidence places Linsen in Rome in 1625 and gives his age at that time as twenty-two, which establishes his date of birth as 1602 or 1603.<sup>4</sup> In Rome he was one of the founders of the Schildersbent, the society of Dutch and Flemish artists working there, and acquired the Bentname of *Hermaphrodit*.<sup>5</sup> Houbraken asserts that



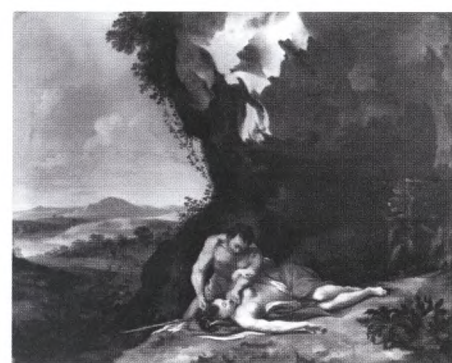


Fig. 123a. Jan Linsen, *Procris and Cephalus*, 1626, oil on canvas, 40.3 × 52.7, signed. Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, inv. 1606.

Linsen's journey to Rome was interrupted by Barbary pirates, who took him captive, but that he managed to escape and pursue his trip.<sup>6</sup> Once he had returned to his native town and settled there, misfortune struck again, when during a card game his opponent (who was losing) threatened him with a knife. He blithely ignored the danger, even offering taunts, and the ensuing attack led to his death, at the age of only thirty-two.<sup>7</sup>

Linsen specialized in genre and history paintings with Italianate landscape settings. While his smoothly idealizing figure style is clearly linked to the Utrecht history painter Cornelis van Poelenburch, who also worked in Rome, the dramatic flair of his landscapes also betrays native Italian influences, such as the work of Salvator Rosa. The setting here compares closely to that of Linsen's own 1626 depiction of *Procris and Cephalus*, in Frankfurt (fig. 123a), although the composition is reversed, with the hillside opening onto a vista at the left.<sup>8</sup> Also sharing with the Frankfurt canvas such stylistic details as the handling of foliage, and the choppy hatching used to indicate grass and earth, the present work is likewise datable to the years of the artist's Italian sojourn. Furthermore, this painting is recorded as having been purchased in Italy around 1660 by its earliest known owner, the Earl of Sunderland.<sup>9</sup>

Comparison to the painting in Frankfurt at the same time makes clear that Linsen was not the author of the figures in this work. Their fine, solid rendering in dense hatching of thin strokes is almost the antithesis of Linsen's abstracted classicism, modelled after Van Poelenburch's. Also, the colourful palette employed in the flesh and fabric is inconsistent with the more limited tonal rendering of the landscape, resulting in mild disjunction. It is possible that the figures of Hagar and the angel

were executed by another Dutch artist working in Italy, although no plausible name has been proposed. In fact, most Dutch Italianates tended toward a smooth, sensual rendering of the figure not far removed from Van Poelenburch. Nor do any of their works feature the distinctive shot-silk fabric worn by Hagar. Various technical elements, such as the use of white in light tones, rather than warm pigments, and the stylization of hair and features, point instead to an Italian artist active in Rome during the mid-1620s. The Earl of Sunderland attributed the painting unconvincingly to Domenico Feti. Although the somewhat awkward rendering of the angel's head and neck betrays a certain limitation, the beautiful, expressive head and pose of Hagar affirm this painter's considerable ability.

1. See Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 21 (1988), no. 3, p. 57.
2. The term "Gypsy *berri*" is used to refer to this type of headdress in John Walsh, "The Earliest Dated Painting by Nicolaes Maes," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 6 (1972), pp. 111-112. On Gypsy costume, Walsh cites H. T. Crofton, "The Former Costume of the Gypsies," *Journal of the Gypsy Love Society* (2nd series) 2 (1908-1909), pp. 207-231.
3. A letter of 16 January 1987 from Marcel Roethlisberger to Alfred Bader relates that Jan Nieuwstraten at the RKD was reminded of Linsen; Bader Collection work files.
4. See Renckens 1947, p. 113, at 26 May 1625.
5. Hoogewerff 1952, pp. 51-52, 139.
6. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 31.
7. Ibid. and supported with archival documentation in Renckens 1959, pp. 112-113.
8. This painting is falsely signed and dated: *C. Poelenburch 1641*; see Renckens 1947, p. 1 (fig. 2).
9. See Provenance and K. Garlick under Collection Catalogues at the head of this entry. ♦





124.

Attributed to Dirck van der Lisse  
(The Hague 1607 – The Hague 1669)

and

Alexander Keirincx

(Antwerp 1600 – Amsterdam 1652)

*Arcadian Family*

1640s

Oil on panel, 35.9 × 45.3 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

London, collection of Efim Schapiro; London, collection of  
Susanne Lepsius; purchased by Alfred Bader

A NUDE WOMAN reclines on a flat-topped boulder, delicately grasping a single flower in her right hand. Leaning on her other elbow, she looks down to the left, where a man wearing what is apparently an animal skin climbs up toward her. Behind the woman to the right a contented child reclines in a carrier, against the backdrop of a bright orange satin drapery suspended from the tree above. This scene, depicting a primitive family, offers an image of Arcadia, the mythological paradise inhabited by shepherds and shepherdesses that is described in the bucolic poetry of ancient Greece.

The rounded abstraction of the figures in this work and the smooth, sensuous touch resemble the manner of the Utrecht painter Cornelis van Poelenburch, who also favoured the idealized nude. However, Van Poelenburch tended toward smaller figures and less dynamic compositions. Both the figure scale and

the powerfully diagonal structure of this picture compare closely to a painting of a *Sleeping Nymph of the Hunt* by Dirck van der Lisse in the Mauritshuis (fig. 124a),<sup>1</sup> and a scene by the same artist of *Nymphs Bathing*, last in London.<sup>2</sup> All three pictures also show similarly angular folds in the drapery. As Marijke de Kinkelder has pointed out, it is likely that the foliage above the Arcadian mother and child was painted by Alexander Keirincx, who also collaborated with Van Poelenburch in this fashion.<sup>3</sup> The same distinctive leaf forms can be seen in the Mauritshuis painting, suggesting the hand of Keirincx there as well. Specializing in fantasy forest scenes in the Flemish tradition, Keirincx first established himself in Antwerp before moving to the northern Netherlands in the late 1620s.

Dirck van der Lisse was born in 1607 in The Hague<sup>4</sup> and probably trained there first before proceeding to Utrecht in 1626



Fig. 124a. Dirck van der Lisse, *Sleeping Nymph of the Hunt*, oil on panel, 44 × 51.8 cm, monogrammed. The Hague, Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, inv. 1093



Fig. 124b. Jacob Jordaens, *Allegory of Fertility*, around 1623, oil on canvas, 180 × 241 cm. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. 119.



to study under Van Poelenburch.<sup>5</sup> He appears to have remained in Van Poelenburch's studio for a long time as an assistant, first emerging as an independent master in 1635, when he joined his teacher, Abraham Bloemaert and Herman Saftleven in completing a decorative cycle of scenes from Guarini's pastoral poem *// Pastor Fido* at Honselaarsdijk, Prince Frederik Hendrik's hunting palace.<sup>6</sup> Van der Lisse had apparently moved to The Hague by 1639, when he married Petronella van der Houve, the daughter of a lawyer, in that city. The next year the couple moved to Utrecht, then in 1642 to Amsterdam, before returning to The Hague for good in 1644.<sup>7</sup> Van der Lisse immediately registered with the painters' guild and sat on its board the following year.<sup>8</sup> He also served as a deacon in the Reformed Church and was one of the founders of the Confraternity Pictura, a society of artists.<sup>9</sup> Also in the 1650s, he embarked on a political career, holding the positions of alderman, councillor and burgomaster between 1656 and his death in 1669.<sup>10</sup>

The artist's experience working on the pastoral cycle for Frederik Hendrik perhaps directed him toward the pure pastoral theme of this painting. The fashion for the work of the Flemish painter Jacob Jordaens at the court in The Hague may also have influenced his choice of pose for the central female figure, for it borrows directly from the foreground figure in Jordaens's famous *Allegory of Fertility* of around 1623, now in Brussels, which may have been in The Hague during the 17th century (fig. 124b).<sup>11</sup> Van der Lisse even departs from the smooth forms of his master Van Poelenburch to suggest some of the sensual fleshiness characteristic of this and other figures by Jordaens. His interest in this Fleming, a tolerant Calvinist like himself, is confirmed by the presence of a painting by Jordaens in his own collection.<sup>12</sup> This painting may possibly have been executed in the 1642-1644 period, when both Van der Lisse and his collaborator Keirincx were working in Amsterdam.

1. See "Dirk van der Lisse, 'Slapende nimf,'" *Mauritshuis in Focus* 6, no. 2 (August 1993), pp. 26-27.
2. Dirk van der Lisse, *Nymphs Bathing*, oil on panel, 49.5 × 41 cm, monogrammed, sale, London (Sotheby's), 3 June 1981, lot 79 (ill.).
3. It was De Kinkelder who first proposed the attribution to Van der Lisse and Keirincx, in a letter to Alfred Bader of 12 January 1999. For an example of Keirincx's collaboration with Van Poelenburch, see *Cimon and Iphigenia*, oil on panel, 41.2 × 47.3 cm, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 11137.
4. See Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 385.
5. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 129, where he is mistakenly given as Johan van der Lis; see Abraham Bredius, "Aanvullingen op Kramm. V. Diederick van der Lisse," *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 3 (1881), p. 196.
6. Exhib. cat. The Hague 1998, pp. 195-196.
7. See Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 385.
8. See Edwin Buisen, in exhib. cat. The Hague 1998, p. 198.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. See collection cat. Brussels 1984, p. 156 (ill.). The painting first resurfaced at the De la Faille sale in The Hague in 1730; see Rooses 1908, p. 45.
12. See Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 385. ◆



125.

Attributed to Isaack Luttichuys (London 1616 – Amsterdam 1673)

*Portrait of a Gentleman*

Around 1638

Oil on panel, 91.3 × 74.9 cm

Falsely monogrammed on step, in a later hand: TDK (interlaced)

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1979, acc. no. 22-062

#### PROVENANCE

London, with Glen, in 1924 (as by Thomas de Keyser); sale, London (Christie's) 9 June 1944, lot 121; London, with Frost and Reed; Akron, Ohio, private collection; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1979

#### LITERATURE

"Principal Acquisitions of Canadian Museums and Galleries, 1979," *RACAR* 7 (1980), p. 163, no. 73 (ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 17 (ill.); Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 28-31, no. 7 (colour ill.)

IN THIS PORTRAIT a man is shown in full length, standing on the landing of a stone stairway with his dog. In the background, a bridge over a waterway leads to what appears to be a medieval castle. The man's gloved right hand rests on a walking stick, and he holds a heavy mantle under his left arm. On his head is a hat with a wide, curled brim, pinched at the front. The most distinctive features of his costume, however, are the wide lace collar and tan leather boots. The white collar, with its scalloped edge, reflects





Fig. 125a. Attributed to Isaack Luttichuys, *Portrait of a Man, with the Amsterdammerpoort in Haarlem*, 1635, oil on panel, 41.6 × 30.9 cm. St. Omer, Musée Sandelin, inv. O283 CM.



Fig. 125b. Isaack Luttichuys, *Portrait of a Man*, 1638, oil on panel, 30.5 × 22.9 cm, signed. London, with Raphael Valls, in 2007.

fashions in the northern Netherlands toward the end of the 1630s. A similar collar is worn by the male figure on the right in the *Portrait of a Family in a Landscape* by Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp and Aelbert Cuyp, of 1641, now in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The buck hunting boots with turned-down tops are from the same period, and a similar pair is being sported by the man on the left in the Cuyp portrait. Like the Cuyp, this picture alludes to the country life cultivated by many affluent citizens of the northern Netherlands during the mid-17th century. The motif of the small French hunting hound gazing upward<sup>2</sup> was borrowed almost without modification from a famous print by Albrecht Dürer of *St. Eustace*, which shows the saint having a vision while out hunting.<sup>3</sup>

Hunting and country estates, the traditional preserve of the landed nobility and aristocracy, had by this time come within the reach of Dutch burgers who had grown wealthy through seaborne trade. The imposing medieval structure in the left background seems at first glance to belong to an old country estate, but its character is actually urban: it is the city gate of Haarlem for the road leading to Amsterdam – the Amsterdammerpoort. The same structure appears, in much the same position but on the opposite side, in a series of portraits often attributed to Luttichuys but evidently by an unknown and less accomplished hand (fig. 125a).<sup>4</sup> Here, as in these other portraits, it is an allusion not to the subject's private possessions but to his civic allegiance. The only reference to a country residence are the steps on which the man stands, which seem to belong to an imposing house located outside Haarlem's city walls.

The traditional attribution of this picture to Thomas de Keyser<sup>5</sup> was based on the monogram on the vertical riser to the right of the man's boots, but this appears to be a later addition. The figure's curiously rounded, abstracted forms speak strongly against this artist's authorship, as does the conspicuously smooth

handling of surfaces. Neither does the imposing figure fit within the oeuvre of Gerard Donck, the object of another suggested attribution.<sup>6</sup> The closest connection is with a 1638 *Portrait of a Man* signed and dated by Isaack Luttichuys, which recently resurfaced on the market (fig. 125b). The handling of the face, of the figure's form and pose, and of the light are strikingly comparable to the present work. A similar style can be seen in a slightly later full-length family portrait by Luttichuys, of 1641, now in Emden, which for one of the figures employs the same forceful pose seen here.<sup>7</sup>

Isaack Luttichuys was born in London in 1616, and his presence in Amsterdam was first recorded in 1638. He married there in 1643, and again in 1645.<sup>8</sup> While his brother Simon specialized in still life, Isaack is best known for his many fashionable, smoothly executed portraits from the 1650 and 1660s. There are relatively few surviving examples of his early work, which appears to be based largely on the idiom of Thomas de Keyser. Luttichuys's precocious success seems to be demonstrated by the evident affluence of the gentleman pictured in the present portrait, which can be dated to around 1638.

1. Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp and Aelbert Cuyp, *Portrait of a Family in a Landscape*, 1641, oil on canvas, 155 × 245 cm, signed, Jerusalem, The Israel Museum.
2. William Secord, *Dog Painting, 1840-1940: A Social History of the Dog in Art* (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1992), pp. 33-38.
3. Albrecht Dürer, *St. Eustace*, around 1501, engraving, 35.5 × 26 cm; see German Hollstein, vol. 7, pp. 52-53, no. 60 (ill.).
4. See Guy Blazy, *Catalogue des peintures, St. Omer, Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin* (St. Omer: Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin, 1981), p. 69, no. 204; another is: Attributed to Isaack Luttichuys, *Portrait of a Man*, 1635, oil on panel, 42.5 × 30.5 cm, Vienna, collection of Julius Kien, in 1935.
5. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
6. Note by Jan Gerritsz. van Gelder with a photograph kept at the RKD.
7. Isaack Luttichuys, *Family Portrait with a Beach, Shipping, and the Village of Sandvoordt in the Background*, 1641, oil on panel, 67 × 50.5 cm, signed, Emden, Landesmuseum; see H. Eichhorn, *Für den interessierten Besucher der Sammlungen des Ostfriesischen Landesmuseums und der Emden Rüstkammer im Rathaus am Delft, Emden* (Emden: Ostfriesisch Landesmuseum Emden, 1987), pp. 59-61 (pl. IX, 1).
8. See Thieme-Becker, vol. 23, p. 483. ♦





126.

Nicolaes Maes (Dordrecht 1634 – Amsterdam 1693)

*Self-portrait at the Age of Twenty-two*

1656

Oil on panel, 46 × 38.5 cm

Signed and dated middle right: *N MAES 1656*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 July 1986, lot 155 (colour ill.); purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 3110, no. 2130, p. 3277 (colour ill., as possibly a self-portrait); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 20, no. 2 (1987), p. 33 (cover ill.); Robinson 1996, pp. 179-180, 254, no. A 49 (ill.); Krempel 2000, p. 28 Table 3, p. 285, no. A 20 (fig. 60)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1989, pp. 100-101, no. 45 (ill.); Dordrecht 1992, pp. 234-235, no. 59 (colour ill.)

NICOLAES MAES, born in 1634,<sup>1</sup> was one of Rembrandt's later pupils, entering the master's studio in Amsterdam around 1650.<sup>2</sup> The son of a silk merchant in Dordrecht,<sup>3</sup> he studied first with a local master<sup>4</sup> and then followed in the footsteps of several of his fellow townsmen by seeking instruction from Rembrandt. In the Amsterdam studio, he joined Willem Drost, Abraham van Dijck and Heyman Dullaert, who were among those already working there, and acquired the combination of painterly handling, broad forms and monumental composition that constituted Rembrandt's manner during these years. Maes's earliest dated paintings are from 1653, by which time he was probably back in his native city, where he married the following year.<sup>5</sup> He started by executing a number of history paintings in the mould of the master but soon abandoned this category in favour of genre themes, executing mostly scenes featuring young women in domestic settings reminiscent of paintings by Samuel van Hoogstraten, who had preceded him in Rembrandt's studio and had already been





Fig. 126a. Nicolaes Maes, *Self-portrait*, around 1685, oil on canvas, 62 x 48 cm. Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum, inv. DM/928/114.



Fig. 126b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait in a Beret*, 1652, oil on canvas, 112.1 x 81 cm, signed. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 411.

established in Dordrecht for several years.<sup>6</sup> By the end of the 1650s Maes had turned to another genre, portraiture, which he practised for the rest of his career, with great success. Houbraken tells an amusing anecdote about Jacob Jordaens sympathizing with Maes on his chosen specialty when the younger artist visited his atelier.<sup>7</sup> It may have been a Flemish journey that led Maes to adopt the flamboyant, robust approach to both composition and figure evident in his portraits. Likely as the result of the high demand for his work among Amsterdam's elite, Maes moved to that city in 1673<sup>8</sup> and continued working there until his death in 1693.<sup>9</sup>

The present picture is dated 1656, when Maes was still painting in a style indebted to Rembrandt. The warm palette, loose handling and solid presentation of the figure all point to the influence of Rembrandt's style of the early 1650s. Maes was probably also following his master's devotion to the self-portrait. The identification of the sitter as the artist himself was first proposed by Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann,<sup>10</sup> and subsequent authors have signalled their agreement<sup>11</sup> – although William Robinson has expressed ambivalence.<sup>12</sup> Sumowski, too, has cautioned that the sitter appears younger than Maes would have been at the time. Nevertheless, the likeness compares closely with the only secure self-portrait by the artist, dating to around 1685, in which he is shown at work (fig. 126a).<sup>13</sup> The two subjects share the same slightly raw-boned appearance, with prominent cheekbones, heavy upper eyelids with a sharp fold, a square jaw, strong rounded chin, thin upper lip and powerful nose with bulbous end. A similar physiognomy appears in two of Maes's early genre paintings.<sup>14</sup>

This work does not provide any specific indications of profession or social position. The sitter wears a white shirt with a frilled neckline, covered by a garment of heavy, rough cloth. The latter lacks functionality and appears to be part of a fantasy costume, placing this depiction partially in the category of the *tronie*,

or anonymous character head. By incorporating his own likeness into such an anonymous study, the artist was following his master Rembrandt's application of the self-portrait, already displayed in such paintings such as the 1629 self-portrait in Boston.<sup>15</sup> Rembrandt also painted an imposing *Self-portrait in a Beret* in 1652, during Maes's period in his atelier (fig. 126b).<sup>16</sup> Its uncompromising frontal view compares to the one adopted by Maes for the present painting, and may have served as its inspiration.

1. On the year of Maes's birth, see Wilhelm Martin, *De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de zeventiende eeuw*, 2nd edition (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1942), vol. 2, p. 512, note 325. Houbraken reports it erroneously as 1632; Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 273.
2. Maes would have started his training around 1646, at the age of twelve, and would have proceeded to Rembrandt three or four years later, around 1649–1650.
3. Bredius 1923–1924, p. 208.
4. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 273.
5. Veth 1890, p. 127.
6. The influence of Van Hoogstraten was posited in the early 20th century by Valentiner; see Valentiner 1924, p. 15.
7. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 273.
8. Veth 1890, p. 134.
9. Bredius 1923–1924, p. 208.
10. Letter of around 1987 from Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
11. Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 5, p. 3110, no. 2130; Krempel 2000, p. 285, no. A 20; Marjorie Wieseman in exhib. cat. Dordrecht 1992, pp. 235.
12. See Robinson 1996, pp. 179–180.
13. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 2035, no. 1437, p. 2163 (colour ill.). Unfortunately no existing work can be linked to either of the two self-portraits by the artist mentioned in a 1773 sale. One shows the artist seated with a drawing in his hand, and the other standing at a dead-coloured painting on an easel, palette in hand; sale, Amsterdam (De Winter, Yver), 25 August 1773 (Lugt 2189), lots 423, 424 (see Moes 1897–1905, vol. 2, p. 50).
14. The face can be seen in the picture hanging at the upper left in Nicolaes Maes, *The Naughty Drummer*, canvas, 62 x 66 cm, Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 2016, no. 1348, p. 2074 (colour ill.). It also appears to the far right in *The Quarrelling Vegetable Sellers*, oil on canvas, 71 x 91 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3254; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 2020, no. 1361, p. 2087 (ill.).
15. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait in Fantasy Costume*, 1629, oil on panel, 89.5 x 73.5 cm, signed, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, inv. P21N6; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 218–224, no. A20 (ill.).
16. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 38 (ill.), p. 550, no. 42, and Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4, pp. 410–417, no. IV 8 (colour ill.). ♦



127.

Nicolaes Maes (Dordrecht 1634 – Amsterdam 1693)

*Portrait of a Man Wearing a Plain Collar*  
(Self-portrait?)

1673

Oil on panel, 41.3 × 31.1 cm

Signed and dated middle right: *MAAS . 1673*

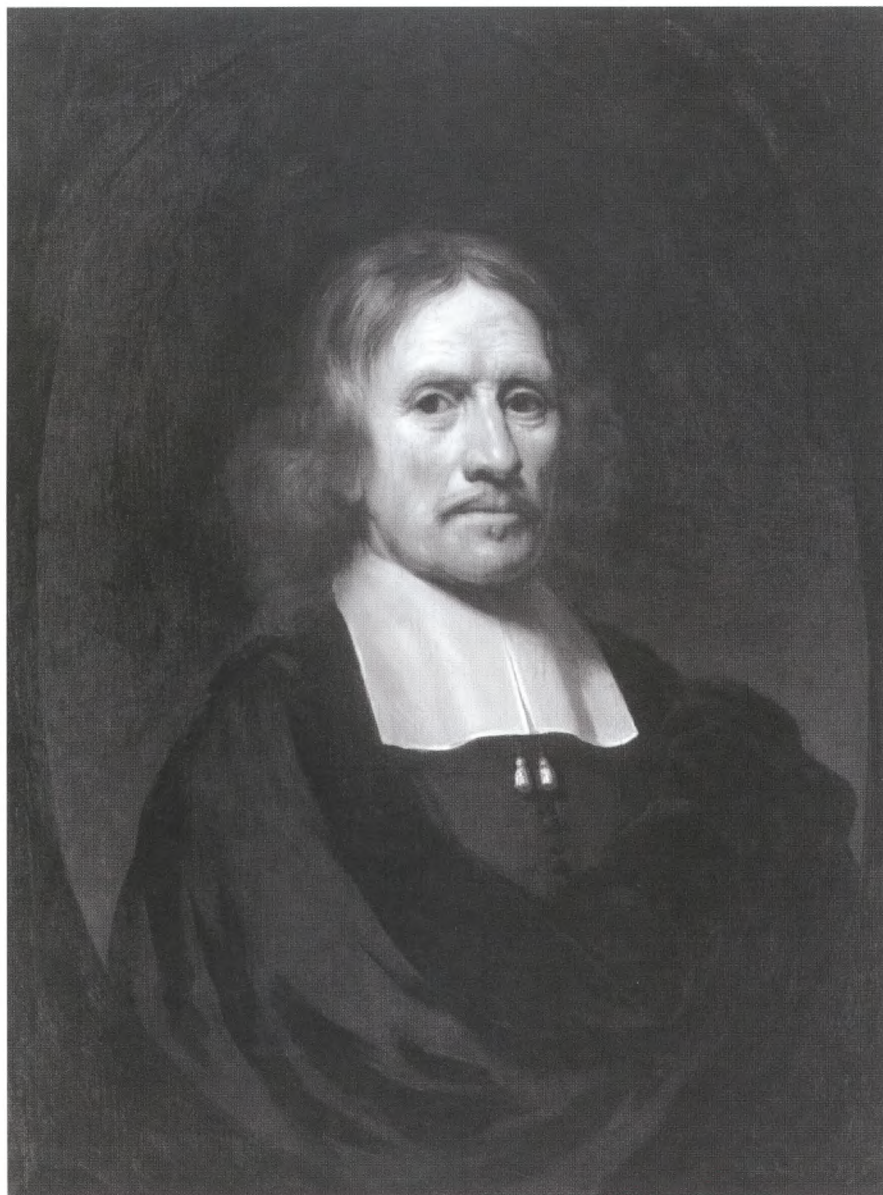
Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, Crewkerne (Lawrences), 28 December 1998, lot 78 (ill., as by Circle of Adriaen Hanneman); purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Krempel 2000, p. 182, no. 126 (fig. 182)



BY THE TIME THIS portrait resurfaced in 1998, the background had been completely painted over. A subsequent cleaning revealed the signature of Nicolaes Maes, accompanied by the date of 1673.<sup>1</sup> Under the influence of Flemish art, the artist had at this point in his career already adopted a loose handling and sweeping movement. In its painted oval format and restrained handling (with just a few loose brushstrokes marking the shadows of folds in the black mantle), the present portrait can be related to the *Portrait of Paulus Buys* in a private collection<sup>2</sup> and to another *Portrait of a Man* last seen in London.<sup>3</sup> However, compared to these and other works by Maes from the period, this painting shows a very fine execution – although areas of the dark background have suffered slight abrasion – and it is possible that Maes devoted extra attention to this work because it was a portrait of himself. The eyes, chin and upper lip, the slightly protruding lower lip and the long form of the face are similar to those in both the late *Self-portrait* in Dordrecht (see fig. 126a)<sup>4</sup> and the early *Self-portrait at the Age of Twenty-two* in the Bader Collection (cat. 126),

also thought to represent the artist. Both of the most distinctive facial features in these two works – the bulbous end of the nose and the prominent cheekbones – seem to be hinted at here. Certainly, the sitter displays the same stern expression, and this *Man Wearing a Plain Collar* has none of the ease and liveliness common in Maes portraits of this period. In the absence of closer comparisons, however, identification of the work as a self-portrait must remain tentative.

1. Condition and treatment report, Charles Munch and Jane Furchgott, dated April 1999; Bader Collection work files.
2. Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of Paulus Buys* (1625–1717), *Lawyer in Amsterdam*, oil on canvas, 44 × 31 cm, around 1675, private collection; see Krempel 2000, pp. 310–311, no. A 142A (fig. 225).
3. Nicolaes Maes, *Portrait of a Man*, 1675 or 1676, oil on canvas, 44 × 32.5 cm, signed, London, with Cevat, in 1960; see Krempel 2000, p. 315, no. A 168 (fig. 231).
4. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 2035, no. 1437, p. 2163 (colour ill.). ♦





128.

Aert Jansz. Marienhof (Utrecht 1626 – ? after 1659)

*The Three Marys at the Tomb*

1659

Oil on canvas, 59.4 × 70.9 cm

Signed and dated lower left: *A marienhof. f. / 1659*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1987, acc. no. 30-081

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 23 July 1975, lot 43 (as oil on canvas, 34.5 [sic] x 28 in./60 x 71 cm, signed and dated 1659); sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 February 1976, lot 36 (with identical description); sale, London (Christie's), 4 April 1986, lot 121 (ill., as attributed to Marienhof), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

AERT JANSZ. MARIENHOF was born in Utrecht in 1626, the son of Jan Aertsz. Marienhof, a glass engraver.<sup>1</sup> Houbraken describes him as a follower of Rubens, but tells us nothing further about him other than that he moved to Brussels, married young and died young.<sup>2</sup> A document dated 1651 attests to the fact that around 1648 he did indeed travel to the southern Netherlands to further his studies in art.<sup>3</sup> Marienhof favoured historical themes and many-figured compositions, but beyond this his work does not show the distinctive imprint of Rubens. That Marienhof enjoyed considerable success as an artist seems to be indicated by the presence of one of his paintings – *Alexander Visiting the Grave of Achilles*<sup>4</sup> – in the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.<sup>5</sup> The small number of known paintings by him would appear to substantiate Houbraken's claim of a brief career. The present canvas, signed and dated 1659, is the latest trace of his existence and activity as an artist. Its horizontal composition echoes that of other works by him, including the depiction of Alexander.

The choice of theme here is consistent with the artist's penchant for scenes of visitation or confrontation, also reflected in the Alexander painting. Marienhof has offered his interpretation

of the pictorial tradition of the visit to Jesus' tomb by the three Marys: Mary Magdalene, Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome. The iconography of the scene relates most closely to the narrative in the Gospel of Matthew (28:1-8), which tells how Mary Magdalene and "the other Mary" went to the sepulchre in which Jesus was buried. On their arrival, an angel appeared and rolled back the stone from the entrance to the sepulchre, revealing it to be empty and pronouncing the resurrection of Jesus as prophesied. The other Gospels do not mention the angel; Mark speaks of one young man sitting in the tomb, and Luke mentions two, while John describes the tomb as empty. The iconographical tradition for this scene does draw on the Gospels of Mark and Luke by including a third "Mary": Mary Salome. Referred to by Mark simply as "Salome," she is also mentioned earlier as being with the other two Marys at the foot of the cross, and in the corresponding verse in the Gospel of Matthew (27:56), she is identified as "the mother of the sons of Zebedee." She is commonly regarded to be the sister of the Virgin Mary, and in the Christian tradition she acquired the name Mary Salome. Here, the angel appears to the left as a winged figure swathed in drapery and emanating light. This accords with Matthew's description of his face as being like lightning and his clothing like snow. He stands on top of the stone slab that has been pulled away from the chest-like tomb and with an outstretched hand points down into it, underscoring his message of the Resurrection. To the right are the three Marys, illuminated by the angel's light, with the Magdalene standing in front and holding a jar of ointment – her traditional attribute. The women's surprise and awe is registered in their wide-open eyes and parted lips, and in the clasped hands of the figure furthest to the right.

As an affirmation of the special status of these female saints, this theme speaks of a Roman Catholic context, not unusual for Utrecht or for an artist who moved to the southern Netherlands, as did Marienhof. A rare Dutch example attributed to Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, a Catholic artist who had many Catholic patrons, shows a similarly monumental arrangement and may have supplied Marienhof with a model.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that the artist was initially prompted to choose the theme because of its connection to his own name, which translates as "the court of the Marys."

1. See Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. The Hague 1992, p. 251.

2. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 291.

3. See Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. The Hague 1992, p. 251.

4. Aert Jansz. Marienhof, *Alexander Visiting the Grave of Achilles*, 1649, oil on canvas, 57 × 73.5 cm, signed, Europe, private collection; see exhib. cat. The Hague 1992, pp. 252-255 (colour ill.).

5. See Garas 1968, p. 236, no. 92.

6. Attributed to Pieter Fransz. de Grebber, *The Three Marys at the Tomb*, oil on panel, 57.5 × 74 cm, falsely signed: *B.G. Cuypp*, sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 15 May 1999, lot 1053 (ill., as by Pieter Fransz. de Grebber). ◆





129.

Master I.S. (active in Delft and Eastern Europe 1633-1659)

*An Old Woman Singing*

Around 1638

Oil on panel, 47 × 35.5 cm

Monogrammed upper right: *IS* (intertwined)

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 7 November 1984, lot 118 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol.4, p.2550 notes 14 and 15 (as two different paintings); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 22, no.2 (1989), p.29 (cover ill.in colour)



Fig. 129a. Master I.S., *Young Man in a Tall Fur Hat* (Self-portrait?), 1638, oil on panel, 48 × 38 cm. Location unknown.

THE MASTER I.S. remains one of the great enigmas of Dutch 17th-century art. He was first identified in 1904 by Theodore von Frimmel<sup>1</sup> in connection with a number of distinctive works, executed in the manner of Gerrit Dou and his Leiden followers (such as Jacob van Spreeuwen) and bearing nothing but the monogram "IS," which could also be read as "JS." In an unpublished study, B. R. Renckens sought to connect this painter with Johannes Sanert – an artist whose name appears only once (in David Teniers's 1673 inventory of the Archducal collection in Vienna) – and catalogued twenty-six paintings by him.<sup>2</sup> Werner Sumowski published a range of works attributed to this artist, offering the hypothesis that he was German and only studied in the Netherlands, later returning to practice in his homeland.<sup>3</sup> The group of works identified by these scholars presents a consistently severe aesthetic, honed by a refined, arid, yet monumental sensibility. Taken together, they represent a significant achievement within the Dutch artistic tradition that clearly nurtured their author's talent.

More recently, Fred Meijer has revived the connection made by Abraham Bredius to the name of Jan Spanjaert, a genre painter who registered in the Delft St. Luke's Guild in 1632 and left the city sometime after 1644, reappearing in 1665 as a cloth dyer in Amsterdam.<sup>4</sup> Since the early 1990s, a number of peasant and barn interiors bearing the same distinctive monogram have surfaced on the art market, all datable to the 1630s. Meijer perceives in them the influence of Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681), who was active in nearby Rotterdam during the first half of this decade. While a number of these works are clumsy and unsure, the more advanced among them (dating from 1637 and later)<sup>5</sup> show considerable refinement in the handling of light, space and still-life detail. It is possible, moreover, to place the two 1630s works showing young men at study that are traditionally given to the Master I.S. within the context of these examples belonging to a different genre.<sup>6</sup> It is also possible to trace a development from these works to the later, more restrained and severe figural pieces traditionally assigned to the Master I.S. However, in the absence of a conclusive connection between any of these paintings and the name of Jan Spanjaert, this identification must remain tentative. The examples given securely to the Master I.S. do come within this artist's known span of activity, which ranges from 1633 to 1659.

In this work, an old woman, sitting in a chair with a book on her lap, turns toward the viewer. Her lips are parted, and she appears to be singing. Her modest, sober demeanour strongly suggests that her activity is an expression of religious piety, and that she is obeying the traditional exhortation to old people to prepare themselves for impending death through spiritual reflection and worship.<sup>7</sup> The absence of a rosary or crucifix indicates that the woman – and probably also the artist – was an adherent of a Protestant denomination. This panel is only one of many such depictions of elderly women that can be attributed to Master I.S. Although his early pictures adhere to the tradition of peasant genre painting, he developed an increasing focus on the figure, and on the earnest, contemplative face. It seems likely that



in the late 1630s the artist began to study the earlier works of Rembrandt and Lievens. Significantly, it is their Leiden work that had the greatest impact on him; during this period both artists depicted pious old women at study, typically wearing Oriental costumes suggesting a biblical prophetess. Rembrandt seems to have been the dominant example, for elements like the sinuous contour of the sleeve and head covering in the present painting appear to draw directly upon his *Prophetess Hannah* of 1631 (see fig. 114c).<sup>8</sup> But here, instead of a spectacular fantasy costume with Oriental touches, such as a striped scarf, the woman wears garments that appear to be Eastern European, consisting of a heavy mantle with a fur collar extending over the shoulders, a long heavy skirt, and a black headscarf with an embroidered border. The rather distinctive features leave open the possibility that the work is a portrait.

In his later depictions of old women, the artist abandoned moralizing overtones to focus on the aged features of the faces – as in the remarkable example in Vienna, one of his best-known works.<sup>9</sup> Here, he is already displaying the uncompromising attention to form and detail, and the dry, crisp manner that generate such a forceful physical presence in many of his paintings. Also characteristic is the placement of the figure in a large, otherwise empty space, which helps generate a meditative atmosphere. The lively brushwork and thin pigment layers in the mantle resemble the facture seen in the *Young Man in a Tall Fur Hat* (possibly a self-portrait) of 1638 (fig. 129a),<sup>10</sup> a work that again reveals the influence of the early Rembrandt. A particular homage to the master is evident in both works in the virtuoso device of casting the face partially in shadow.

1. Theodore von Frimmel, "Vom Monogrammist I S (I S)," *Blätter für Gemäldekunde* 1 (1904), pp. 132–135.
2. B. R. Renckens, "De Monogrammist I S," unpublished manuscript, unpaginated; Renckens's manuscript is kept at the RKD, The Hague, identified as *Archief Renckens, B.R.*
3. Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, pp. 2548–2560.
4. See Meijer and Van der Willigen 2003, p. 187. On Spanjaert, see Montias 1982, pp. 178, 207, and 340.
5. For example Master I.S., *Peasant Interior with Still Life of Barrels and Pots*, 1637, oil on panel, 32 × 47 cm, monogrammed and dated lower left: *IS* (intertwined), f. 1637, sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 11 June 2003, lot 90 (colour ill.); and Master I.S., *Peasant Interior with a Couple Preparing Mussels*, 1638, oil on panel, 47.6 × 60.6 cm, monogrammed and dated lower left: *IS* (intertwined) 1638, sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 October 1997, lot 31 (colour ill.).
6. Master I.S., *A Young Scholar in His Study*, 1633, oil on panel, 22.6 × 24.1 cm, monogrammed, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, and Master I.S., *A Half-naked Young Man Studying*, 1638, oil on panel, 54 × 40 cm, monogrammed and dated lower right, on the book: *IS* (intertwined) 1638, Amsterdam (Christie's), 2 December 1987, lot 150 (ill.); see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, pp. 2549, 2551, 2552 (ills.).
7. Wayne Franits, "Zwischen Frömmigkeit und Geiz: Das Alter in Genredarstellung," in exhib. cat. Braunschweig 1993–1994, p. 79.
8. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 351–357, no. A37 (ill.).
9. Master I.S., *Head of an Old Woman in a Turban, Facing Left*, 1651, oil on panel, 41 × 33 cm, formerly signed, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1257; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 6, p. 3734, no. 2392, p. 4007 (ill.).
10. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, pp. 2549, 2553 (ill.), where the date is not cited although it is legible in the illustration. The panel, deaccessioned from the collection of the Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. 70PB13), recently appeared in a sale: New York (Sotheby's), 26 January 2007, lot 137 (colour ill.). ♦



130.

Master I.S. (active in Delft and Eastern Europe 1633–1659)

*Two Scholars in a High Room*

1640

Oil on panel, 40.6 × 33 cm

Dated and monogrammed in ligature lower left: *1640 IS* (The numeral 40 is painted twice, once in an underlying layer covered with lighter colour, and again on top. The imperfect alignment has resulted in past misreadings as "49")

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Diss, Norfolk, collection of Admiral A.H. Taylor (as by Pieter Quast); London, with Duits; London, collection of Efim Schapiro; his sale, London (Christie's), 22 October 1982, lot 31 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 16, no. 1 (1983), p. 1 (cover ill.); B.R. Renckens, "De Monogrammist I S," unpublished manuscript, unpaginated;<sup>1</sup> Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, pp. 2549, 2558 (colour ill.); vol. 6, p. 3634; Bader 1995, p. 247

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1984, pp. 32–33, no. 14 (ill.); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 20–21, no. 7 (ill.)

THE COSTUMES IN most of the Master I.S.'s works consistently reflect the culture of Eastern Europe and the Baltic states.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, many of these paintings have initially resurfaced in collections in Sweden, a country that in the 17th century took possession of Baltic regions as far east as Lithuania, which later





Fig. 130a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Two Old Men Disputing* (Sts. Peter and Paul?), 1628, oil on panel, 72.3 x 59.5 cm. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest 1934.



Fig. 130b. Master I.S., *A Clergyman in a High Room*, oil on panel, 35.5 x 28 cm. Location unknown.

fell to Russia. The military destruction of these regions has likely eliminated any documentary traces of this artist's existence there, but the descriptive works attributed to him present specific details of costume, interiors, decorative arts and physical types peculiar to the region. Incidentally, the date of the present painting, 1640, and its Eastern costumes, appears to exclude identification of the mysterious Master I.S. with Jan Spanjaert, who did not leave Delft until 1644 or later.<sup>3</sup>

This small panel is one of this master's most striking achievements in the art of arranging figures within space for evocative effect. It shows two men of mature age standing facing one another, just to the right of centre in a high-ceilinged room with three articulated Doric/Tuscan pilasters punctuating the wall to the left. The clean-shaven man on the left is dressed in a full-length golden robe with a collar and buttons and a sash around the waist, covered by a heavy purple cloak with an embroidered border that is secured at the neck with a gold chain. He wears a high fur hat, accented on the front with a red stone, possibly a ruby, set in a rich rosette of gold. Clearly a figure of some power and authority, he holds an open book and looks gravely at an older, bearded man dressed in a long black mantle, whose pointed cap is encircled by a scarf tied at the back. This second figure holds a hat in his left hand and wears a gold chain around his neck that indicates considerable social standing. Looking down at the book, he appears to be listening to the other man, whose solemn expression suggests that their conversation might be of a religious or theological nature. Such an interpretation would be consistent with the predilection for the pious and religious reflected in the *vanitas* references of early Master I.S. paintings<sup>4</sup> and in his later depictions of ecclesiastical personages, such as the portrait of an abbeys now in Stockholm.<sup>5</sup>

In conjuring this exchange between two august persons, the artist was possibly influenced by Rembrandt's early depiction of *Two Old Men Disputing*, now in Melbourne (fig. 130a).<sup>6</sup> Instead of Rembrandt's setting in antiquity, however, the scene here is contemporary. The costumes worn by the two figures are Eastern

European – possibly Polish or even Russian. The unusual chandelier hanging above their heads is fashioned from the antlers of a European elk (*Alces alces*). The slenderness of the tines points to the variety that is common in Russia (although not exclusive to that region), again suggesting an Eastern European context of production.

Dated to 1640, this scene marks a shift in the artist's style from lively, anecdotal compositions after the manner of the Leiden painters toward the distinctively spare and static arrangements that characterize his later production. In another painting, last in Kisa, Sweden, the artist set the scene in a similar interior featuring a high space and pilasters, but showed a single figure ascending a staircase set in the floor at the back of the room (fig. 130b).<sup>7</sup> The same monumental interior appears to have been the starting point for both works. An infrared study of the present work undertaken by Molly Faries and Cathleen Hoeniger in the 1980s revealed that the artist completed the background setting first and then painted the figures on top.<sup>8</sup> The numerous pentimenti of the present panel – in the figures, but also in the perspective lines of the interior – suggest that it is the earlier of the two works.

1. Renckens's manuscript is kept at the RKD, The Hague, identified as *Archief Renckens, B.R.*
2. My thanks to Marieke de Winkel for her advice on the costumes appearing in the works of this artist. In collaboration with Volker Manuth, she is preparing a monograph on the artist.
3. See Meijer and Van der Willigen 2003, p. 187; see also Montias 1982, pp. 178, 207 and 340.
4. Master I.S., *A Young Scholar in His Study*, 1633, oil on panel, 22.6 x 24.1 cm, monogrammed, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, and Master I.S., *A Half-naked Young Man Studying*, 1638, oil on panel, 54 x 40 cm, monogrammed and dated lower right, on the book: *IS* (intertwined) 1638, Amsterdam (Christie's), 2 December 1987, lot 150 (ill.); see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2549, 2551, 2552 (ills.).
5. Master I.S., *An Abbess Reading a Letter*, 1658, oil on panel, 50 x 35 cm, monogrammed, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM 1117; see collection cat. Stockholm 1990, p. 235 (ill.).
6. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 159-168, no. A13 (ill.).
7. Kisa, Sweden, collection of Kjell Johnsson, in 1955. This work is documented only in *Archief Renckens, B.R.*; see note 1, above.
8. Report by Molly Faries and Cathleen Hoeniger, 20 September 1984; a copy is in the Bader Collection work files. ♦





131.

Johann Ulrich Mayr (Augsburg 1630 – Augsburg 1704)

*The Poetic Muse Thalia*

Early 1650s

Oil on canvas, 66 × 51 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

The Hague, with Han Jüngeling; sale, Amsterdam (Glerum), 13 May 2003, lot 41 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader



Fig. 131a. Johan Ulrich Mayr, *Virgil*, oil on panel, 66.6 × 56.5 cm. Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame University, inv. 58.46.

JOHANN ULRICH MAYR likely undertook his artistic career at the instigation of his mother, the Augsburg painter Susanna Mayr (1600–1674), and with the support of his wealthy merchant father Christoph Georg Mayr.<sup>1</sup> Around 1645 he travelled to Amsterdam to complete his artistic training in Rembrandt's studio, and by 1648 he was painting independently.<sup>2</sup> Sandrart reports that Mayr also visited England and spent some time in Antwerp, where he worked for a spell in the studio of Jacob Jordaens.<sup>3</sup> By 1662 he had returned to Augsburg, where the city's elite and its churches provided him with numerous commissions for portraits and altarpieces. He became co-director of the Augsburg Art Academy in 1684.<sup>4</sup>

Sumowski has dated the present canvas to this later period, pointing to the influence of the Swiss-born painter Joseph Werner (1637–1710).<sup>5</sup> Werner arrived in Augsburg in 1667 and forged a link with Mayr by marrying his sister.<sup>6</sup> He inspired Mayr to adopt the Italianate classicism of his own work and to travel to Italy for further study. Sumowski has perceived Werner to be the source of the idealization in this depiction of Thalia, the Muse of Poetry. However, it shows no connection to Werner's elegant, agitated compositions. Moreover, it cannot be said to fit within Mayr's later work, which – as can be seen in his genre depiction of *A Man with a Bag of Money*<sup>7</sup> – shows a softer effect of modelling and a more decorative use of colour. Here, the imposing presentation of the figure, bold painterly handling, stark chiaroscuro effect and muted palette all point to his work of the early 1650s, such as the depiction of *Virgil* in Notre Dame (fig. 131a).<sup>8</sup> This and the present picture, which also share similar dimensions and present their subject's attributes in a similar way, may actually have formed part of a series representing literary figures. Both compare in their handling to Mayr's 1650 *Self-portrait*, in Nuremberg, and can be dated to around the same period.<sup>9</sup> Another slightly smaller painting recently on the art market, possibly representing the musical Muse Polyhymnia, could also be connected to this *Thalia*.<sup>10</sup> It too shows the figure in half-length and displays the same distinctive handling of the laurel wreath worn as a crown.

1. Sandrart published biographies of both Susanna Mayr and Johann Ulrich Mayr; see Sandrart 1675–1679, vol. 1, p. 329, and Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, pp. 206–207.
2. Mayr's earliest dated work is a *Self-portrait as the Young Alexander* known only through an engraving after it by Johann Conrad Schnell. The inscription dates the original portrait to 1648. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 2179, no. 1451, p. 2186 (ill.).
3. Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 207.
4. Ibid.
5. Letter from Werner Sumowski, published in the sale catalogue of 2003; see under Provenance at the head of this entry.
6. On Werner, see Jürgen Claesemer, *Joseph Werner (1637–1710)* (Zurich: Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, 1974).
7. Johan Ulrich Mayr, *A Man with a Bag of Money: Allegory of Avarice*, around 1670, oil on canvas, 80 × 95.3 cm, private collection; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 2181, no. 1646, p. 2199 (ill.).
8. See *ibid.*, p. 2179, no. 1455, p. 2190 (colour ill., as around 1653).
9. Johan Ulrich Mayr, *Self-portrait*, 1650, oil on canvas, 107 × 88.5 cm, signed, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. 757; see collection cat. Nuremberg 1995, pp. 172–173, no. 80 (colour pl. 58). A similar date can be assigned to the *Self-portrait as St. George*, presently with Alfred Bader Fine Arts, Milwaukee: oil on canvas, 91.6 × 78.5 cm; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 2179, no. 1450, p. 2185 (ill.).
10. Johan Ulrich Mayr, *Allegory of Music, Possibly the Muse Polyhymnia*, oil on canvas, 59 × 45.5 cm, sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 19 October 1993, lot 177 (colour ill., as attributed to Mayr). ♦





132.

Attributed to Pieter van Mol

(Antwerp 1599 – Paris 1650)

*Susanna and the Elders*

1640s

Oil on panel (a single plank), 106.7 × 81.3 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Vienna, with Kunstgalerie Tomas Metlewicz (as by a Pre-Rembrandtist; attributed to Pieter Lastman by Dr. Herbst of the Dorotheum); purchased by Alfred Bader in 1971

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 5, no. 2 (1972), inside cover (cover ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 136-137, no. 63 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 2-3, no. 1 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 10 (ill.)

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS ranks among the most popular themes of history painting during the Baroque era. The “History of Susanna” (an apocryphal chapter of the Old Testament Book of Daniel) tells how two elders become obsessed with the wealthy Joachim’s beautiful wife Susanna. Frequent visitors to Joachim’s house, where they preside over legal cases, the men observe Susanna as she walks every afternoon in her husband’s garden. Conspiring together, they stay behind one day and hide. The weather is hot, and Susanna decides to bathe. As soon as her maids leave on an errand, the two men emerge and accost her, threatening to accuse her of adultery if she refuses their advances. When she resists, they make good their threat and use their position as judges to have her condemned to death. After the trial, however, the young Daniel intervenes, insisting that the elders be forced to testify separately. Exposed as liars, they are put to death, and Susanna is exonerated. The pictorial tradition presents Susanna as an exemplar of chastity and righteousness,

and the elders as exemplars of lust and falsehood. The scene of the initial confrontation proved irresistible to artists – as much for the erotic material it provided in the nude figure of the bathing Susanna as for the moral message of the story. Here, she is shown in a quite modest pose, seated on a bench by the fountain and clutching a cloth to her body as the two elders menace her from behind.

The authorship of this impressive and serious depiction of the theme has until now eluded scholars. Ellen Bernt hesitated to proffer any name.<sup>1</sup> Kurt Bauch<sup>2</sup> and Johan Quirijn van Regteren Altena<sup>3</sup> pointed to the Amsterdam history painter Cornelis Holsteyn, while Edouard Trautscholdt – probably motivated by the work’s obvious Flemish qualities – suggested Covert Flinck.<sup>4</sup> Wolfgang Stechow shared these scholars’ impression of a Flemish style in a Dutch hand and cautiously suggested Bartholomeus van der Helst.<sup>5</sup> Yet the work is even closer to the idiom of Rubens than to that of these Dutch artists, who only





Fig. 132a. Lucas Vorsterman, after Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1620, engraving, 38.7 x 28 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Fig. 132b. Pieter van Mol, *Deposition*, around 1635, oil on canvas, 204 x 145 cm, signed. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1577.



Fig. 132c. Attributed to Pieter van Mol, *Pietà*, around 1645, oil on panel, 103 x 74 cm. Valenciennes, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. P.46.1.11.

absorbed certain aspects of his style, for it is actually a free adaptation of one of the Flemish master's compositions, now lost but known through an engraving after it by Lucas Vorsterman (fig. 132a).<sup>6</sup> The artist has adopted several components of this image, including Susanna's hunched-over pose, the simple inverted-triangle arrangement of the figures, the bald and bearded types of the elders, and the distinctive motifs of the elder on the left tugging on Susanna's drapery and the multi-basined fountain to the right. The panel clearly follows the print, rather than the painting, where the orientation would have been reversed. Larry Silver's suggestion of an attribution to a Flemish artist, perhaps Gaspar de Crayer, seems closer to the mark.<sup>7</sup> But De Crayer's style does not accord with the painting's precise description and wealth of detail – no doubt the elements that led scholars to consider a Dutch artist in the first place.

These aspects do, however, characterize the work of another Rubens follower, the Antwerp painter Pieter van Mol. Born in 1599 in Antwerp, Van Mol first studied under Zeger van den Grave in 1611<sup>8</sup> and later likely entered the workshop of Artus Wolfordt (1581-1641)<sup>9</sup> before joining the city's guild as a master in 1622-1623.<sup>10</sup> In 1631 he left his native city for Paris, where he was appointed court painter in 1640 and where in 1648 he became one of the founders of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.<sup>11</sup> An early painting by him, the signed *Deposition* in the Louvre (fig. 132b), suggests he had already looked closely at the work of Rubens. Yet even there the figure of Jesus departs from the typical Rubenesque fleshiness, displaying sharp contours of musculature and skeletal structure. A similar handling appears in a more tempered form in a *Pietà* in Valenciennes, which has been assigned to Van Mol by Jacques Foucart

(fig. 132c).<sup>12</sup> This painting offers the most direct comparison with the present composition. Both works show recognizably Rubenesque emotional expressions and character types, as well as the master's physical and monumental handling of figures. At the same time they retreat from his energetic fleshiness and sweeping compositional lines, establishing a calmer, quieter mood that perhaps reflects the influence of Roman classicism. Most significantly, they show the same rather distracting tendency to a display of masterfully described detail – a trait also evident in the signed painting in the Louvre. While the Louvre painting can comfortably be dated to the beginning of Van Mol's period in Paris, the present work and the one in Valenciennes date from his second decade there, the 1640s, perhaps while he was working for the court.

1. Letter of 28 January 1972 from Ellen Bernt to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
2. Letter of 16 July 1974 from Kurt Bauch to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
3. Undated letter from Johan Quirijn van Regteren Altena to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
4. Letter of 21 September 1973 from Edouard Trauttscholdt to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
5. Hand-written notation made by Alfred Bader on 18 October 1972 on a copy of a letter of 10 October 1972 from him to Wolfgang Stechow; Bader Collection work files.
6. See Hollstein, vol. 43, p. 12, no. 4 (ill.).
7. Letter of 5 April 1989 from Larry Silver to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
8. De Maere and Wabbes 1994, vol. 1, p. 285, and Liggeren, vol. 1, pp. 477, 479.
9. See Félibien, vol. 3, Book 7, p. 403, s.v. *Wolfar*.
10. Liggeren, vol. 1, pp. 587-588.
11. De Maere and Wabbes 1994, vol. 1, p. 285.
12. See exhib. cat. Lille, Calais and Arras 1977, no. 87 (ill.).





133.

Monogrammist M.C.G.

(active around 1670)

*Noah after the Flood:*

*The First Rainbow*

1670

Oil on canvas, 78.1 × 100.3 cm

Monogrammed and dated lower

right: *MCG 1670*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

The Hague, with Hoogsteder-Naumann (as by Johan Hulsman); purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 16, no. 4 (1983), p. 65 (cover ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1989, pp. 22-23, no. 8A (ill., as by Master M.C.G.)

THIS PAINTING is a rare depiction of the events related in chapter 9 of the Book of Genesis (11-17), when God addresses Noah after the floodwaters have subsided and he has left the Ark with his family and all the animals. They receive the promise that the earth will never again be destroyed in a flood and that the rainbow will serve as a sign and reminder of this pledge. The text is interpreted as implying that a rainbow appeared at that moment, although this is not explicitly stated. Here, the rainbow is shown on the left, marvelled at by Noah and his family, who are gathered on the opposite bank of a river, on the right. The Ark can be discerned perched on a high plateau in the mid-distance. Noah, kneeling in the centre of the group, is isolated from the darker figures around him by a ray of light. He stares up at the sky above the rainbow at a point where light bursts through a clearing in the clouds and there appears the Tetragrammaton, the four Hebrew letters signifying Yahweh, the name of the God of the Old Testament. Thus did the work's creator seek to represent God's verbal declaration of the covenant. The artist seems not to have consulted anyone conversant with Hebrew, however, for he wrote the letters incorrectly.

This painting bears a date of 1670 and the initials MCG. Unfortunately, this monogram cannot be connected to any known artist from this period. While the deft, solid rendering of the figures relates to the work of David Teniers the Younger, the smooth surfaces, idealization and emphasis on antique costume reflect the influence of French classicism, which places the canvas in the later context indicated by the date. The fantasy Alpine

landscape, pictured as lively and rugged, carries forward a rich Flemish tradition. It is a combination that also appears in the work of other Flemish artists of this generation, including the Antwerp painter Anton Goubau (1616-1698). Another link to the Low Countries can be seen in the weeds and grass that hang from the tree branches above, deposited there by the high water that has since receded – a detail that suggests personal experience of flooding. This artist's specialization seems to have lain in figures and history painting, in contrast to Lambert de Hondt I (active 1635-1665), who, though he also depicted several scenes of Noah's Ark, consistently emphasized the animals.<sup>1</sup>

1. See for example Lambert de Hondt I, *Landscape with Noah's Ark*, oil on canvas, 56.8 × 42 cm, signed, sale, London (Christie's), January 3, 1991, lot 141 (colour ill.), and *The Animals Going to Noah's Ark*, oil on canvas, 51.9 × 63.6 cm, sale, London (Sotheby's), 16 December 1999, lot 110 (colour ill.). ♦





134.

Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert

(Durgerdam around 1590/91 – Amsterdam 1655)

*Jacob at the Spring, Asking after Laban*

Around 1628

Oil on panel, 31.6 × 45.8 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

London, collection of Efim Schapiro; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Tümpel 1974, p.250, no.27 (fig.220)

CLAES CORNELISZ. MOEYAERT began his career as a painter with the privilege of descending from one of Amsterdam's historic regent families. The name Moeyaert came from his grandmother, whose roots in the city went back to the patriciate of the late Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> As Catholics, they were excluded from the oligarchy in the Alteration of 1578 (when Amsterdam came under Calvinist rule) and subsequently left the city. Claes Cornelisz. was born to Cornelis Jobsz. Moeyaert and Geert Jacobsdr. in his mother's home village of Durgerdam, in the municipality of Waterland, just north of Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> The Moeyaert family returned to their city in 1605. Although there is no documentary evidence to prove it, Dudok van Heel reasonably suggests that Moeyaert began soon thereafter to study painting under fellow

Catholic Pieter Lastman, who returned from Italy in 1607 and settled nearby.<sup>3</sup> Dudok van Heel also posits that Moeyaert himself made a trip to Italy in the years before his marriage in 1617, thus following in the footsteps of his humanist ancestors.<sup>4</sup> The same inclination no doubt prompted his participation in the city's chambers of rhetoric and his service as regent of the Stad-schouwburg (City Theatre) in 1640-1641.<sup>5</sup> Such connections to Amsterdam's literary life likely secured him the commission to execute painted decorations for the visit of Maria de' Medici in 1638.<sup>6</sup> He also received a commission from Christian IV of Denmark during this period, the heyday of his success. Moeyaert painted a number of portraits, but concentrated principally on history paintings, mostly – following Pieter Lastman – of biblical themes. He is rightly placed among the artists in Lastman's circle, those who exercised considerable influence on Rembrandt and who have come to be known as the "Pre-Rembrandtists."

At first sight Moeyaert seems to have depicted here a simple pastoral scene with cattle, sheep and a goat. The classical temple in the distance on the right points to the age of antiquity. Distinguishing the scene from an Arcadian idyll, however, is the dress of the man on the left, which consists of a turban and a robe. This orientalizing costume accords with the way Dutch artists typically pictured the Jews of the Old Testament. This lavishly dressed figure is in fact a biblical patriarch addressing a humble shepherd tending his flock, for Astrid Tümpel has



convincingly identified the theme as Jacob asking after Laban.<sup>7</sup> The Book of Genesis (29:2-5) tells how Isaac's younger son, fleeing from his brother Esau, travels to visit his kinsman Laban and on the way encounters shepherds watering their flock at a well. When Jacob asks about his relative, one of the men assures him that Laban is well and points out that Rachel, his daughter, is approaching from afar, bringing her father's flock to water. Moeyaert seems to have included Rachel and her sheep in the distance, at the right edge of the composition just in front of the temple, thereby conjuring the moment of the couple's first encounter.

By emphasizing the context of shepherds and pasture, Moeyaert has deployed the traditional thematic combination of the pastoral mode and romantic love. Best exemplified by such pictorial themes from literature as *Granida and Daifilo*, the pastoral setting for love also appeared in simple scenes of shepherds and shepherdesses, of which one of the earliest is a panel from 1611 by Pieter Lastman<sup>8</sup> – likely an important model for Moeyaert in his choice of subject for the present painting. Moeyaert even engaged the animals in the foreground as rhetorical commentators, for they seem to smile and cast tender but knowing glances at the viewer. A similar group of animals, with more sober expressions, appears on the right in his depiction of *Joseph Taken Out of the Well*, from around 1625.<sup>9</sup>

A measure of wit is discernible in Moeyaert's conception of this biblical theme. A subsequent depiction by him places greater emphasis on the narrative, showing the well just being closed as Jacob approaches and a figure pointing to Rachel in the distance.<sup>10</sup> In a later interpretation last in Amsterdam, the artist reverts to his initial concept, showing the well but placing greater emphasis on the setting and thus evoking the same tender, pastoral mood conveyed here.<sup>11</sup>

The small figure scale and deep space are characteristic of the artist's adaptation in his earliest paintings (from the 1620s) of Lastman's compositional style. These traits appear in Moeyaert's *Mercury and Herse* in The Hague (see fig. 43a), dated to 1624, which also shares such features as the round temple and small figures in the distance.<sup>12</sup>



135.

Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert

(Durgerdam around 1590/91 – Amsterdam 1655)

*Elisha and the Shunammite Woman*

Around 1636

Oil on panel, 61 × 49 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 20 October 1932, lot 27 (pl. 10, as *Biblische Szene*); sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 27 March 1933, lot 24; sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby Mak van Waay), 12 November 1991, lot 28 (ill., as attributed to Nicolaes Moeyart), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Pigler 1956, vol. 1, p. 180 (as *Elisha and the Shunammite Woman*); Tümpel 1974, p. 256, no. 85 (fig. 233)

THIS IMAGE IS TAKEN from the remarkable biblical story of the Shunammite woman. She appears in chapter 4 of the Second Book of Kings as someone who extends hospitality to the prophet Elisha and his servant Gehazi. In gratitude, and because the woman despairs of having children, Elisha promises she will bear a son, which she subsequently does. When later her child succumbs suddenly to illness and apparently dies, she saddles a donkey, rushes to the prophet at Mount Carmel and protests to him that his promise bore false hope. Elisha then returns with her to her house and revives the boy. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert has portrayed the dramatic moment when the woman confronts

1. Dudok van Heel 1976, pp. 13-14.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

3. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

4. Ibid., p. 19.

5. Ibid., p. 25.

6. Ibid., p. 26.

7. Tümpel 1974, p. 250, no. 27 (fig. 220).

8. Pieter Lastman, *Pastoral Scene*, 1611, oil on panel, 38.5 × 54 cm, New York, private collection; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 88-89, no. 2 (colour ill.). The rise of the pastoral in Dutch art is discussed more generally in McNeil Kettering 1983 and exhib. cat. Utrecht and Luxembourg 1993.

9. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Joseph Taken Out of the Well*, around 1625, oil on canvas, 103 × 127 cm, Stockholm, with B. Rapp, in 1974; see Tümpel 1974, p. 86 (fig. 114), p. 251, no. 40.

10. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Jacob at the Spring, Asking after Rachel*, 1629, oil on panel, 28.5 × 42.5 cm, signed, Amsterdam, with Gebroeder Douwes, in 1996; *ibid.*, p. 274, no. 264.

11. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Jacob at the Spring, Asking after Rachel*, oil on panel, 53 × 91 cm, Amsterdam, with Dr. A. Wieg, in 1993; see Tümpel 1974, p. 105 (fig. 144), p. 250, no. 31.

12. See *ibid.*, p. 79 (fig. 106), p. 265, no. 167. ◆



the prophet with her tragedy. The text specifies that in her despair she clasps the holy man by the feet, and here she is shown on her knees, reaching forward and seizing his foot in her hand. Elisha looks down in bafflement, while his servant Gehazi expresses rather wary concern. In the distance to the left, the woman's servant, accompanied by another man, attends to the donkey.

Moeyaert depicted this theme in two other known paintings, one earlier and one later. The earlier interpretation, now in Moscow, places a small-figure group in a sweeping landscape.<sup>1</sup> The monumental presentation of the figures in the foreground of the present picture reflects Moeyaert's style of the 1630s, after he turned from Rembrandt's manner to that of Jan Symonsz. Pynas (1581/82-1631) as a model.<sup>2</sup> In the second half of the decade, he nevertheless began drawing away from Pynas's stark representation of figures, adopting the richer approach to features and dress seen here. For these stylistic reasons, Astrid Tümpel dates this work to around 1636.<sup>3</sup> Although it reverses the composition left to right, a drawing on the same theme in the Getty Museum is clearly linked to this image, as it shows the same tree and the same cast of characters.<sup>4</sup> The woman, though, is given a more open-armed pose and is not actually touching the prophet's feet. Her pose there is similar to the one in Moeyaert's subsequent treatment of the theme, from around 1653.<sup>5</sup> In fact, none of the other versions shows the distinctive motif seen here, of the woman actually making physical contact with Elisha's foot. It is a feature that contributes greatly to the sense of psychological engagement the picture conveys – and one that undoubtedly reflects the influence of Rembrandt.

1. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Elisha and the Shunammite Woman*, around 1624, oil on panel, 32.8 × 43 cm, Moscow, Pushkin Museum, inv. 3236; see collection cat. Moscow 1995, p. 524 (ill.), and Tümpel 1974, p. 256, no. 84 (fig. 97).
2. Tümpel 1974, pp. 92-102.
3. Ibid., pp. 102-104. Tümpel's reference point is a depiction of *Hippocrates and Democritus* that was formerly dated 1636; oil on panel, 80 × 85 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 115; see Tümpel 1974, p. 269, no. 191 (fig. 234).
4. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *The Prophet Elisha and the Shunammite Woman*, red chalk, 30.5 × 21.6 cm, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, inv. 99.CB.25; see *ibid.*, p. 256, with no. 86 (fig. 235).
5. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Elisha and the Shunammite Woman*, around 1653, oil on panel, 50 × 62 cm, Den Bosch, private collection; see Tümpel 1974, pp. 256-257. ♦

136.

Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert (Durgerdam around 1590/91 – Amsterdam 1655)

*Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*

Around 1650

Oil on canvas, 136 × 179 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1980, acc. no. 23-038

PROVENANCE

Hovingham Hall (as by Diepenbeeck? and by Breenbergh?), Worsley collection, by 1770; London, with Agnew's, in 1969 (as by Bartholomeus Breenbergh); Pennsylvania, private collection; sale, New York (Sotheby Parke Bernet), 30 May 1979, lot 110 (colour ill., as by Moeyaert); purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Tümpel 1974, pp. 117, 121-123 (fig. 167), p. 253, no. 50; "Principal Acquisitions of Canadian Museums and Galleries, 1980," *RACAR* 7 (1981), p. 190, no. 57 (ill.); exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992, pp. 13-14 (fig. 4); exhib. cat. Münster 1994, pp. 13-14 (fig. 4)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition* (Yorkshire 1886) (as by Diepenbeeck); *Old Masters: Recent Acquisitions* (London: Agnew's, 1969), no. 24 (as by Breenbergh); Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 102-105, no. 25 (ill.)

COLLECTION CATALOGUES

"Hovingham Hall Collection" (unpublished manuscript, 1770; see *Old Masters: Recent Acquisitions*, exhib. cat. [London: Agnew's, 1969], no. 24)

MOEYAERT HERE DEPICTS the biblical story of Joseph in Egypt, as told in the Book of Genesis. Joseph, the favourite son of the Hebrew patriarch Jacob, suffers slavery and imprisonment before rising to the top of government in Egypt. His ascendancy turns on his compelling interpretation of the Pharaoh's dreams as forecasting seven years of good harvests followed by seven years of drought. Appointed to administer the collection of stores during the time of plenty and their distribution during the famine, he is shown in this image during the final period of hunger, when the population is forced to exchange their remaining possessions, and even their freedom, for food. The scene presents Joseph as an exemplar of prudence, or foresight, a quality seen as essential for the rulers of the Dutch Republic.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 136a. Pieter Lastman, *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*, 1612, oil on panel, 57.6 × 88.2 cm. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. 890.





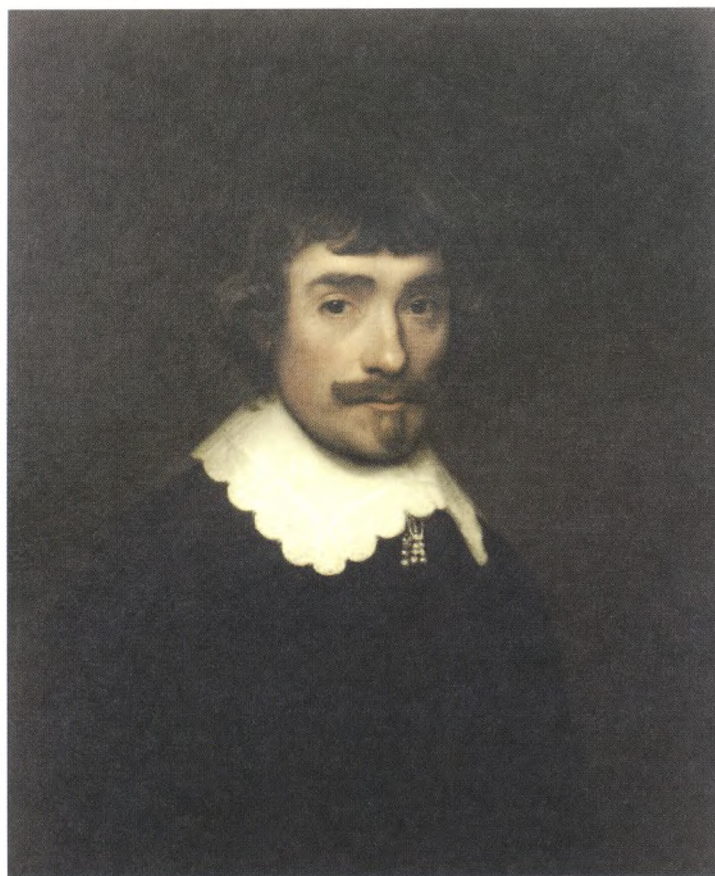
Joseph, standing on a dais to the right, turns to speak to the scribe beside him, who listens attentively while writing in a large book. The man is evidently recording Joseph's transaction, as he agrees to the offer being made by the couple below. They hold a baby up to him, and one of Joseph's assistants reaches down with one hand to accept it while motioning with the other off to his right. The couple, he seems to be indicating, should go to receive their grain at the spot where another man is carrying a sack down the stairs on his back. They represent the desperate situation facing the people, after they had spent all their money and sold their possessions to buy grain: to survive, they were forced to surrender their children, and then themselves, to the Pharaoh. Moeyaert has also included other groups of figures in rather less dire straits: a peasant on the steps is accompanied by a peacock and a sheep, while a wealthy woman in the foreground, still wearing rich clothes, laments the fact that she will have to give up her costly jewellery. This latter figure provokes the irritation of two poorer men to the right, who are loading grain onto a donkey.

Moeyaert's complex, bustling scene is typical of his later pictures, in which he habitually included many figures and much detail. There are two known paintings by the artist on the same theme, both earlier. A panel of 1633, now in Budapest, displays slender figures and a sparse composition, reflecting the influence of Jan Symonsz. Pynas.<sup>2</sup> Moeyaert then revisited the theme in a

painting of 1644,<sup>3</sup> last in a private collection, for which he drew upon a 1612 depiction of the same subject by Pieter Lastman, now in Dublin (fig. 136a),<sup>4</sup> taking up its more robust figures, crowded composition and positioning of Joseph above the crowd. The present painting is a thorough recasting of this version, with new figures and poses, a more monumental presentation and the addition of the well-to-do group in the foreground. Instead of a round temple, Moeyaert has placed an obelisk in the background to identify the setting as Egypt. The picture's lavish execution, with strong colour and rich detail, places it among others that Moeyaert painted around 1650 – his *Moses Instructing the Israelites to Destroy the Midianite Booty*, for example, which is monogrammed and dated to that year.<sup>5</sup>

1. Joost van den Vondel speaks specifically of this virtue in a poem from 1655 on a depiction of the theme by Nicolaes van Helt Stokade in the City Hall, now the Royal Palace; see Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 367.
2. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*, 1633, oil on panel, 69 × 103 cm, signed, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 5259; see collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 109 (ill.), and Tümpel 1974, p. 94 (fig. 126), pp. 252–253, no. 48.
3. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*, 1644, oil on canvas, 122 × 168 cm, monogrammed, Stockholm, with B. Rapp; see Tümpel 1974, p. 114 (fig. 154), p. 253, no. 49.
4. See collection cat. Dublin 1986, p. 81 (fig. 92).
5. Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, *Moses Instructing the Israelites to Destroy the Midianite Booty*, 1650, oil on canvas, 132 × 177 cm, monogrammed, Geneva, collection of Marcel Roethlisberger, in 1974; see Tümpel 1974, pp. 116–117 (fig. 159), p. 254, no. 62. ◆





137.

Hendrik Munnicks (active in Utrecht and The Hague 1633-1644)

*Portrait of a Man*

1640s

Oil on canvas, 71.6 × 58.5 cm

Signed upper left: *Hen: Munnikus fecit*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1978, acc. no. 21-75

PROVENANCE

Oakland, California, collection of Ian Snowdon; purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

"Principal Acquisitions of Canadian Museums and Galleries, 1978," *RACAR* 6 (1979-1980), p. 158, no. 71 (ill.)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 32-35, no. 8 (ill.)

OUR KNOWLEDGE of Hendrik Munnicks goes back no further than 1627,<sup>1</sup> when he is documented as having registered in the Utrecht artists' guild as a pupil, graduating to master in 1638.<sup>2</sup> In 1639 Aernout van Duyverden became his pupil in Utrecht, and in 1643 Munnicks served as beadle of the guild.<sup>3</sup> It is also known, however, that by that same year he had completed a commission for a painting of Venus for Prince Frederik Hendrik in The Hague<sup>4</sup> and that the following year he registered with the St. Luke's Guild in that city.<sup>5</sup> Munnicks's style has been linked to that of Jan van Bijlert (1597/98-1671), but it was likely a connection with Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), who had left Utrecht

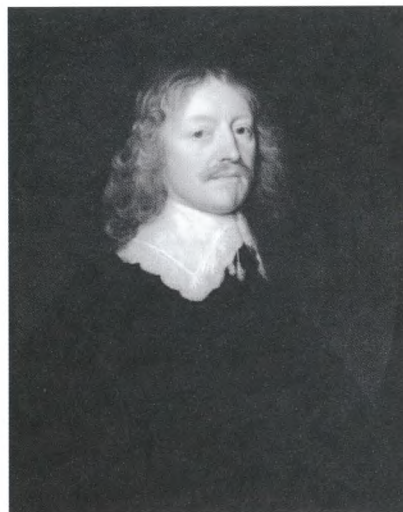


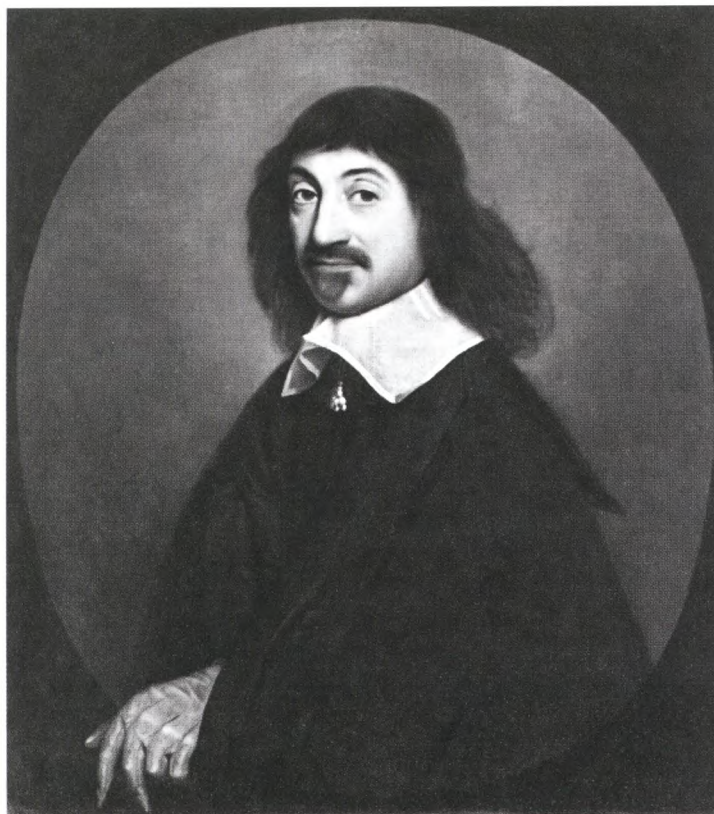
Fig. 137a. Gerrit van Honthorst, *Portrait of a Man*, 1645, oil on panel, 74.9 × 59.7 cm. Location unknown.

in 1637 in response to court patronage, that drew Munnicks to The Hague. Although he received a major commission for a group militia portrait shortly after his arrival in his adopted city, he soon encountered financial difficulties and by 1646 had been forced to give up his possessions to his creditors. There is no further trace of him after 1648. Old inventories list history paintings, portraits and genre depictions by Munnicks's hand.<sup>6</sup> His known surviving works include only three paintings, one in each of these categories.<sup>7</sup>

This picture, Hendrik Munnicks's only surviving portrait, shows a young man with an elegantly trimmed moustache and goatee, his bobbed hair falling onto his forehead and curling over his ears. The man's simple costume consists of a black coat closed with buttons at the front, and a flat white lace collar with a scalloped edge, held together with tasselled strings. The broad, smooth handling of the facial features displays a level of abstraction and idealization that relates markedly to the portraiture of Gerrit van Honthorst. A particularly close comparison is Van Honthorst's *Portrait of a Man*, dated 1645, which appeared quite recently at a sale in New York (fig. 137a).<sup>8</sup> The costume and the facial hair are also similar, both likely reflecting fashions in The Hague around this time. Munnicks appears to have chosen the model of Van Honthorst (also evident in his other surviving works) as a deliberate strategy – and a well-chosen one, to judge by his surprising, if short-lived, success in gaining the patronage of the House of Orange in The Hague. It may well be a member of the court who is represented here.

1. See Van Eynden and Van der Willigen 1816-1840, vol. 1, p. 38, and Thieme-Becker, vol. 25, p. 272. Abraham Bredius mentions that Munnicks studied in Antwerp, under Pauwels van Overbeeck, in 1627. However this is not confirmed in the guild records; see Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 2, p. 693.
2. Van Eynden and Van der Willigen 1816-1840, vol. 1, p. 38.
3. See Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2, p. 206.
4. Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 2, p. 693.
5. Obreen Archief, vol. 5, p. 103.
6. See Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 2, pp. 694-696.
7. The other two are Hendrik Munnicks, *Flute Player*, oil on canvas, 81 × 63.5 cm, sale, Paris (Poulain Le Fur), 28 May 1997, lot 179 (colour ill.), and *Democritus*, oil on canvas, 71 × 59.5 cm, sale, London (Sotheby's), 5 February 1989, lot 103 (ill.); see Nicolson 1989, vol. 1, p. 151 (figs. 1361, 1362).
8. Sale, New York (Sotheby's) 28 January 1999, lot 482 (colour ill.). ♦





138.

Pieter Nason (Amsterdam 1611/12 – The Hague 1688-1690)

*Portrait of René Descartes*

1647

Oil on canvas, 75 × 62.5 cm

Signed and dated middle left: *PETER NASON / 1647*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Dublin, collection of James Murnagham, by 1933; London, with Raphael Valls; London, with Neville Orgel; London, Wilson collection; bought back by Neville Orgel; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1982

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, *Aldrichimica Acta* 21, no. 2 (1988), p. 29 (cover ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Eau Claire 1987, pp. 9-10 (ill.); West Lafayette 1992, pp. 22-23 (ill.); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 40-41, no. 6 (ill.)

ALTHOUGH TRADITIONALLY connected with The Hague, Pieter Nason's roots lay in Amsterdam, where he was born to the Flemish émigré butcher Herbert Cornelisz. Nason and his wife Sara van Soom, and where he likely received his artistic instruction in the studio of Nicolaes Elias. Pickenoy (1588-1650).<sup>1</sup> Around 1638 or 1639 he moved to The Hague and established himself as a portraitist, adapting aspects of the style of Gerrit van Honthorst. He became a *hoofdman* (director) of the St. Luke's Guild in 1657. Commissions regularly came his way, but he never achieved the status of portraitists like Adriaen Hanneman or Jan Mytens, and he had to accept work as a copyist as well. No works by him dated later than 1675 are known, and documentary evi-



Fig. 138a. Frans Hals, *Portrait of René Descartes*, around 1649, oil on panel, 19 × 14 cm. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. DEP7.

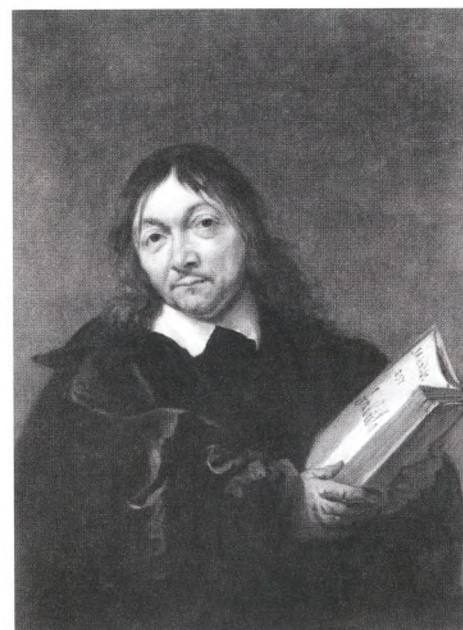


Fig. 138b. Jan Baptist Weenix, *Portrait of René Descartes*, 1648, oil on canvas, 45.5 × 35 cm. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 7386.

dence places his death in The Hague sometime between 1688 and 1690.

Nason's subject here is the great philosopher and mathematician René Descartes (1596-1650). Born to landed gentry in the former French province of Touraine, Descartes received a Jesuit education and entered military service in 1617, but abandoned this career for a life of study. After a period of travel throughout Europe, he settled on the northern Netherlands as a place in which to work undisturbed, remaining there from 1629 to 1649. His impact on the Dutch scholarly world was considerable, and he drew the ire of leaders in the Reformed Church for the systematic worldview he propagated, based on reason and analysis.





Fig. 138c. Franciscus van Schooten, *Portrait of René Descartes*, 1644, etching, 16.8 × 10.2 cm. Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, inv. 00-836.



Fig. 138d. Pieter Nason, *Portrait of a Man with a Landscape Background (Self-portrait?)*, 1648, oil on canvas, 94 × 77.5 cm. Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie.

Descartes was portrayed several times by Dutch artists, most famously by Frans Hals in about 1649 (fig. 138a)<sup>2</sup> and around the same time by Jan Baptist Weenix (fig. 138b),<sup>3</sup> resulting in two depictions replete with vivacity and humour. Another portrait, less known but equally significant, is the severe and modest 1644 rendering by Nason's own disciple, the mathematician-artist Franciscus van Schooten (fig. 138c).<sup>4</sup> The present portrayal – calm and restrained, and bearing a date of 1647 – falls between these examples, both stylistically and chronologically. Descartes is shown wearing a black coat, a broad white collar with tassel-tipped ties, and a black mantle draped over his shoulders. His hair is long, but his small beard and moustache are neatly trimmed. The image is enclosed within a painted oval frame of a type employed regularly by Nason for his portraits, and at the lower left the subject's gloved hand reaches forward to grasp it – an illusionistic device applied even more daringly by the artist in a work from the following year, possibly a self-portrait (fig. 138d),<sup>5</sup> where the tips of the fingers were painted on the picture's actual frame.

The smooth, abstracted forms of Descartes's features reflect Nason's adaptation of the style of Gerrit van Honthorst, the leading portraitist in The Hague during these years. Scholars have questioned whether or not Descartes sat for Nason.<sup>6</sup> The artist was accustomed to copying on commission,<sup>7</sup> and his rendering of the scholar's facial hair appears to follow that in the print by Van Schooten, which was actually singled out for criticism by Descartes himself for its lack of accuracy.<sup>8</sup> However, the beard and moustache show much finer form in Nason's painting, and the coiffure is longer, and more elegant and flamboyant. The costume is also updated, with a broader betasselled collar, and a plain untrimmed black mantle. The change in orientation from right to left also makes a copy less likely. Descartes's presence in The Hague in 1647 is documented, moreover.<sup>9</sup> Nason's version, easily the most impressive and idealized of the known portraits, probably answered Descartes's dissatisfactions with Van Schooten's effort. With such admirers of the philosopher as Constantijn Huygens resident in the city, there would have been ready patronage for another portrait presented in a current and flattering manner.

1. For Nason's biography, see Rudi Ekkart, in exhib. cat. The Hague 1998, pp. 212–215.
2. See Slive 1970–1974, vol. 3, pp. 89–91, no. 175.
3. See collection cat. Utrecht 1999, vol. B, pp. 1505–1506, no. 687 (colour ill.).
4. See Hollstein, vol. 26, p. 55, no. 1 (ill., incorrectly attributed to the artist's father). Van Schooten's etched mimicry of engraving has led the print to be misidentified as such.
5. See exhib. cat. The Hague 1998, p. 214 (fig. 3). Unfortunately, the original frame, long lost, has been replaced with one where the tips of the fingers are also painted on, but in a rather unconvincing style.
6. In a letter of 28 February 1983 to Alfred Bader, Seymour Slive suggested that Nason's painting followed Van Schooten's print, in particular its "toughness and blackness"; Bader Collection work files.
7. On Nason's activity as a copyist, see Guido H. Janssen, "De kunst van het kopiëren. Opdrachten van stadhouder Willem Frederik van Nassau aan Pieter Nason," *Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum* (2001), pp. 37–47.
8. René Descartes, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, eds. (Paris: L. Cerf, 1897–1904), vol. 5, p. 338: "La barbe et les habits ne me ressemblent aucunement."
9. Descartes visited the city regularly. One visit in July 1647 is reported by his biographer Adrien Baillet; *La Vie de Monsieur Des-Cartes* (Paris, 1691), vol. 2, p. 313. ◆





139.

Gillis Neyts  
(Ghent 1623 – Antwerp 1687)

*Landscape with Tobias and the  
Angel, with a View of Antwerp  
in the Background*

1660s

Oil on copper, 20.5 × 26 cm

Signed lower right: *g nyts f*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred  
and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Switzerland, collection of Pieter de  
Boer, before 1960; collection of J.W.  
Loudon; Munich, with Dieter Füssli;  
purchased by Alfred Bader in 2005

GILLIS NEYTS was born in Ghent in 1623 and married Klara de la Porte in Antwerp in 1643.<sup>1</sup> By 1647 he was registered as a member of the St. Luke's Guild of this city, and he appears again in the guild records for 1686-1687.<sup>2</sup> In the interim, he lived for a time in the city of Namur, where he is recorded as a citizen in 1665.<sup>3</sup> Little else is known about this enigmatic painter and engraver, who specialized in small, imaginary landscape scenes, sometimes incorporating historical staffage or views of Flemish towns and cities. His style draws on that of Lucas van Uden (1595-1672), who may have been his teacher.<sup>4</sup> A number of drawings by him also survive, and these are often connected to his prints.

On the left side of this small landscape on copper Neyts has depicted a river receding directly into the distance, where it is spanned by a bridge. Still further back rises the spire of Antwerp's cathedral, accompanied by several of the city's other monuments. Along the right bank of the river runs a road, on which stand two figures, both holding traveller's walking sticks. They seem to be half-draped, suggesting the time period of antiquity. The one on the right raises his arm in an apparent salute to the viewer. His companion, dressed in red and white, has wings rising from his shoulders, identifying him as the Archangel Raphael accompanying the young Tobias on his journey. So, as was his habit, Neyts has created a fantasy landscape that incorporates both biblical characters and a view of a real city, transposing the story of Tobias into a contemporary setting to allow viewers to identify more closely with the story.

The spectacular, arabesque-like form of an arching tree in the centre focuses attention on the landscaping and frames the figures below. The lively rhythm set up by the patches of foliage is echoed in the puffy, rounded forms of the clouds above, which are dramatically lit from the left. The soft, delicate handling evident here and across the whole pictorial surface, typical for Neyts, is unusually well preserved. He painted a larger version of the same theme on panel, which shows a different arrangement of clouds and buildings, and includes no specific reference to Antwerp.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, the paucity of dated works by the artist means there is no firm basis on which to date these pictures.

1. Van Lierius 1880-1881, vol. 2, pp. 61.

2. Liggeren, vol. 2, pp. 186, 520.

3. De Maere and Wabbes 1994, vol. 1, p. 299.

4. Ibid.

5. Gillis Neyts, *River Landscape with Tobias and the Angel*, oil on panel, 45 × 61 cm, signed: *g nyts*, Munich, with Xavier Scheidwimmer, in 1994; see De Maere and Wabbes 1994, vol. 2, p. 893. ♦





140.

Jan van Noordt (Amsterdam 1623/24 – Amsterdam after 1676)

*The Satyr and the Peasant Family*

Around 1650

Oil on canvas, 78.6 × 95.1 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1984, acc. no. 27-016

PROVENANCE

Sale C.E. Vertue et al., London, 18 July 1910, lot 59 (as by Barent Fabritius, 31 × 37.5 in. [78.7 × 94.3 cm]), purchased by Grant for £31.10; collection of Sir Charles Newton Robinson; J.C. Robinson et al. sale, Berlin (Lepke), 31 March 1914, lot 48 (ill., as by B. Fabritius); Melchett collection; sale Lady Gwen Melchett, London (Sotheby's), 23–24 May 1951, lot 11 (ill., as by B. Fabritius); sale, London (Christie's), 18 December 1953, lot 93 (as by B. Fabritius, 31 × 38 in. [78.7 × 96.5 cm]); sale Dr. Max Welti et al., Lucerne (Fischer), 22 June 1954, lot 2309, purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

LITERATURE

Van Braam 1951, p. 208, no. 1339 (ill., p. 29, as by Barent Fabritius); Pont 1958, p. 131, cat. B, no. 15 (as by Joan van Noordt?); Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 142 note 64, vol. 5, pp. 3062 note 2, 3112, with no. 2142, and vol. 6, p. 3588; Sumowski 1986, pp. 27, 28 (fig. 8), 36 note 34; De Witt 2007, pp. 5, 111, 130–133, 172, 190, 231, no. 23 (colour ill.)

JAN VAN NOORDT was born in Amsterdam into a musical family: his father Sybrand was a *carillonneur* (carillon player), and his brothers Jacobus and Anthoni worked as organists in the city's churches.<sup>1</sup> An Orphan's Chamber document of 1641, drawn up after the death of his mother, gives Jan's age as seventeen, placing his birth in 1623 or 1624.<sup>2</sup> A number of his early works point clearly in both style and subject matter to tutelage under Jacob Adriaensz. Backer.<sup>3</sup> Initially striking out on his own as a history painter, Van Noordt turned subsequently to small pastoral genre depictions, often featuring single figures, before earning commissions for portraits and history paintings in the late 1650s.<sup>4</sup> No record of him after 1676 survives.<sup>5</sup> Unrelenting in his creative development, Van Noordt had gradually arrived by the mid-1660s at a strikingly robust and flamboyant aesthetic, which

drew on Rembrandt, Flinck, Rubens and Jordaens and which has earned him a unique place in Dutch art of the 17th century.

This painting by Jan van Noordt is based on Aesop's fable about the Satyr and the Peasant. According to the version pictured here, a passing peasant finds a satyr, freezing and starving, in a hollow in the woods. The man takes the satyr home and sets him near the fire while the family is at supper. Upon reviving, the satyr notices that the peasant, after having blown into his hands to warm them, is now blowing on his soup to cool it. Seriously alarmed by this person who "blows hot and cold," he takes flight. The moral of the story is that one should never trust those who voice contradictory views. Aesop's Fables – short, colourful tales typically featuring animals and commoners – aimed to instruct by way of their moralizing conclusions. They had been used in the education of children since antiquity.<sup>6</sup>

The pictorial tradition for this particular fable had developed earlier in the 17th century. The Flemish artist Jacob Jordaens was the best-known artist to have taken it up, and he did so several times. In the painting by Jordaens in Brussels, the Satyr actually strikes an admonitory pose, facing the view and raising his finger.<sup>7</sup> This picture, and the print by Vorsterman after it, both widely known, were mentioned by Arnold Houbraken in his 1717 biography of Jordaens.<sup>8</sup> Among northern artists, the Rembrandt pupil Barent Fabritius took up the theme at least twice,<sup>9</sup> and it was also painted by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, another Rembrandt disciple.<sup>10</sup> The seminal image seems, however, to have been the illustration print in the edition of the Fables published in 1567, in Bruges, by Pieter de Clerck. This image was subsequently re-used in the northern Netherlands for Joost van den Vondel's translation of the Fables, published in 1617 as *Vorstelijke Warande der Dieren* (Royal Animal Park).<sup>11</sup> The engraver Marcus Cheeraerts depicted the satyr rising up from the table and looking askance at the peasant sitting across from him, who is blowing into his soup. By setting his own picture out of doors, Van Noordt seems to have



Fig. 140a. Jan van Noordt, *Cimon and Iphigenia*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 94 × 122 cm. Cherbourg, Musée Thomas Henry-Octeville, inv. 986.



been drawing on this engraving rather than on any of the above-mentioned paintings. In his interpretation the story has even progressed a little further, with the satyr already beginning to make his way off to the right.

Like those by Barent Fabritius, Jan van Noordt's interpretation functions more as narrative than a didactic moralization, for it focuses attention on the scene's actions and emotions. Van Noordt has emphasized the surprised reaction of the satyr by placing his dark figure, caught in an awkward, back-stepping pose, against the light background sky. The other figures are set against their shadowy, ramshackle dwelling. The peasant and his wife look over in surprise at the satyr, while their daughter sits leaning against the table, oblivious to the drama taking place above. The expressions are not clearly articulated, however – an aspect that is consistent with the artist's early work, which shows a rather timid handling of facial features generally rendered in thin, semi-transparent paint. In this respect the present work is similar to Van Noordt's *Cimon and Iphigenia*, in Cherbourg (fig. 140a), where the treatment of the silhouetted figure of Cimon also recalls the satyr of the present work.<sup>12</sup> Looser in handling and technique, the Cherbourg canvas was likely also executed around 1650.<sup>13</sup> The paint in the present work has almost certainly become more transparent with age, and a large reclining figure in the centre, once painted over, has become visible again.

1. On Van Noordt's family, see De Witt 2007, pp. 8–10.
2. Ibid., p. 8.
3. On the evidence for Backer's tutelage, see De Witt 2007, pp. 10, 17–20.
4. On the market and patronage for Van Noordt's work, see *ibid.*, pp. 38–50.
5. This date appears on a painting: Jan van Noordt, *Madonna and Child (Rest on the Flight into Egypt)*, 1676, oil on canvas, 88 × 124 cm, signed, Gavno, Gavno Castle Foundation; see De Witt 2007, p. 112, no. 13 (ill.).
6. See George D. Copen, in Robert Henryson, *The Moral Fables of Aesop*, George D. Copen, ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), pp. 6–7. Copen relates the wide use in England of Aesop's Fables and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as school texts. This pedagogical practice had continued in Europe unabated from the days of the Roman Empire.
7. Jacob Jordaens, *The Satyr and the Peasant Family*, oil on canvas, 185 × 168 cm, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 6179; see D'Hulst 1982, pp. 97, no. 62, 98 (colour ill.).
8. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 157. Houbraken even included a note explaining the fable. Vorsterman's print reproduced the version in Munich: Lucas Vorsterman II, after Jordaens, *The Satyr and the Peasant Family*, engraving, 40.8 × 39.9 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 43, pp. 92, no. 97, 93 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Ottawa 1968, p. 242, no. 293, 404 (ill.).
9. There are two known depictions by Barent Fabritius: *The Satyr and the Peasant*, oil on canvas, 50.8 × 63.5 cm, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (see Pont 1958, pp. 32–33, 113, no. 26 [as around 1653–1654], and Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, pp. 910, 915, no. 549, p. 929 (ill.); *The Satyr and the Peasant*, oil on canvas, 194 × 95 cm, signed and dated 1662, Bergamo, Accademia Carrara (see Pont 1958, pp. 49, 113, 114, no. 27, and Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, pp. 910, 912, 920, no. 568, 946 [ill.]).
10. Two depictions can be given to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout: *The Satyr and the Peasant*, oil on canvas, 57 × 76 cm, signed, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. 418 (see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, pp. 721, 731, no. 421, 784 [ill.]), and another version of the subject, on the art market in 1950: 1653, oil on canvas, 56 × 65 cm, signed (see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, pp. 721, 730, no. 416, 779 [ill.]).
11. See Joost van den Vondel, *Vorstelijke Warande der Dieren Waerin de Zeden-rijcke Philosophie, Poëtisch, Morael, en Historiæ, vermakelijck en treffelijck wort voorghestelt...* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz., 1617), no. 67.
12. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 67, 172 (ill.).
13. Sumowski, in his 1986 article (see under Literature at the head of this entry), viewed it as a late picture. However, in his later corrigenda, he reported a date of 1649, which has not been confirmed. ♦



141.

Jan van Noordt (Amsterdam 1623/24 – Amsterdam after 1676)

*The Massacre of the Innocents*

Around 1660

Oil on canvas, 93.3 × 112.8 cm

Formerly signed and dated 1660

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1980, acc. no. 23-040

#### PROVENANCE

C. Sherston et al. sale (anonymous section), London (Christie's), 29 October 1948, lot 150 (as signed and dated: *J. van Noordt 1660*); London, collection of Efim Schapiro, in 1953; purchased from his estate by Alfred Bader in 1980

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, pp. 140, 143 note 61, 169 (colour ill.); vol. 5, p. 3061; vol. 6, p. 3588; De Witt 2007, pp. 5, 23, 73, 104, 113–14 no. 14 (colour ill.), pp. 126, 128, 138, 215; underdrawing p. 79 (fig. 36)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988–1991, pp. xi, 106–109, no. 26 (ill.)

THE STORY DEPICTED in this painting appears in only one of the four gospels: it is the Book of Matthew (2:1–18) that tells of the notorious mass infanticide of baby boys in Bethlehem, ordered shortly after Jesus' birth by Herod, the ruler of Judea under the Romans. Herod had earlier been informed by the three Magi of the presence of a future king in Israel. Worried about being usurped, he attempts to eliminate the infant Jesus by having all baby boys in the town killed.

The Massacre of the Innocents is not a common theme in Dutch 17th-century art. The most direct precedent for Jan van Noordt's depiction is a work by Pieter Lastman in Braunschweig (fig. 141a), from which the artist borrowed the motif of soldiers throwing babies from a building.<sup>1</sup> The obelisk that appears prominently on the left, which Van Noordt seems to have chosen independently, could be a proleptic reference to the Flight into Egypt, by which the young Jesus escapes the violence.<sup>2</sup> In terms of style, however, Jan van Noordt drew heavily on the Flemish





Fig. 141a. Pieter Lastman, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, around 1607-1608, oil on panel, 85 × 122 cm. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. 209.



Fig. 141b. Jan van Noordt, *Nymphs and a Satyr*, around 1660, oil on canvas, 83 × 67 cm. The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland, inv. NK 3260.

Baroque for this painting, which is emotionally intense and full of movement. Nervously sinuous lines of reflection on drapery accent a surface mobilized overall by sweeping lines, powerful gestures, and expressions of panic, anguish and brutality. A few other paintings by Van Noordt use similar effects to generate an equally turbulent atmosphere – for example, the *Nymphs and a Satyr* at the Instituut Collectie Nederland in The Hague (fig. 141b).<sup>3</sup> Like that work, the present picture can be dated to around 1660, which is consistent with the traces of a date (no longer visible) reported in a sale catalogue entry of 1948.<sup>4</sup> Both paintings strongly evoke the style of the Fleming Jacob Jordaens, an artist held in high regard by many of Amsterdam's regent art patrons, and also by the House of Orange in The Hague. But Van Noordt has not used a grand scale – one of the most important devices of Jordaens and his fellow artists in Antwerp – and it seems probable that a depiction by Rubens,<sup>5</sup> published in a print by Paulus Pontius,<sup>6</sup> served him as a direct model. The type of energetic overall effect seen here, common among the Mannerist painters of the late 16th century, is also present in a treatment of the same subject by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638),<sup>7</sup> which hung during this period in the Prinsenhof in Haarlem and which Van Noordt likely knew, as it was described by Karel van Mander.<sup>8</sup> Van Noordt evidently developed several approaches, ranging from simpler, more monumental figure arrangements, to crowded groupings like the one seen here and in his 1672 painting of *Scipio*, now in the Rijksmuseum.<sup>9</sup>

The central figure of a soldier grasping a baby by one foot reappears in modified form in a painting by Van Noordt's pupil Johannes Voorhout: one of the soldiers tormenting Christ in Voorhout's *Crowning with Thorns*, formerly at Bob Jones University,<sup>10</sup> swings his forearm across in front of him in a pose that is almost the same, and also wears a similar suit of armour. This is a rare sign of the master-pupil relationship that existed between these two artists. Voorhout studied with Van Noordt from 1664 to 1669, a few years after the present painting was likely made, and may have seen it either still in his master's studio, or while it was with a buyer or dealer.

1. See collection cat. Braunschweig 1990, pp. 8-9, no. 3 (colour ill.).
2. My thanks to J. Douglas Stewart for sharing this observation.
3. See collection cat. The Hague 1992, p. 227 (ill.).
4. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
5. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, oil on canvas, 198.5 × 302.2 cm, around 1636-1638, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 572; see exhib. cat. Kingston 1988-1991, p. 108, and collection cat. Munich 2002, pp. 296-301 (colour ill.).
6. Paulus Pontius, after Rubens, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, etching, in two sheets, 62.2 × 44.7 and 47.2 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 17, p. 149, no. 5, and Voorhelm Schneevogt 1873, pp. 24, 25, no. 107. I am grateful to J. Douglas Stewart for signalling the importance of Pontius's etching.
7. Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, 1591, oil on panel, 270 × 255 cm, signed, Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland. See exhib. cat. Washington, Detroit, and Amsterdam 1980-1981, p. 78, and Van Thiel 1999, pp. 307-309, no. 42 (colour pl. V).
8. See Van Mander/Miedema, vol. 1, pp. 430-431, fol. 293r.
9. Jan van Noordt, *The Magnanimity of Scipio*, 1672, oil on canvas, 103 × 88 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1762; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, p. 419, no. A708 (ill.).
10. Johannes Voorhout, *The Crowning with Thorns*, oil on canvas, 77.5 × 63.5 cm, signed, sale, New York (Christie's), 21 May 1992, lot 119 (ill.); formerly Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. ♦





142.

Jan van Noordt (Amsterdam 1623/24 – Amsterdam after 1676)

*Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*

Around 1675

Oil on canvas, 75 × 118 cm

Formerly monogrammed: GR

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Heidelberg, Fries collection; Basel, with W.Räber Gallery, around 1930 (as by B. Fabritius); Aarau, collection of Emil Rothpletz, in 1938 (as by Aert de Gelder); Robert Biedermann-Mantel et al. sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 16-20 June 1964, lot 1594 (as attributed to Aert de Gelder, depicting the Census in Bethlehem), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 11, no.2 (1978), p.21 (cover ill., as by Jan van Noordt, *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol.1, pp.140, 142 note 60, 167 (colour ill.), vol.5, p.3111, with no.2138, and vol.6, pp.3588 (as dating to 1675), 3737, with no.2408; Sumowski 1986, pp.28, 37 note 41; collection cat.Bordeaux 1990, pp.226, 227 note 8; exhib.cat.Utrecht and Luxembourg 1993, p.241 note 8; Von Moltke et al. 1994, p.170, no.R 8; Bader 1995, p.229, no.2 (pl.18); Van de Kamp 1994, pp.47, 53 note 159; De Witt 2007, pp.34, 72-73, 83, 91-93, no.2 (colour ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kalamazoo 1967, p.13 (ill., as by Jan van Noordt, *Elisha and the Widow of Obadiah*); Milwaukee 1976, p.60, no.25, and 61 (colour ill.); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, pp.91 (colour ill., as around 1650), 159, no.35; Kingston 1984, pp.74-75, no.35 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no.19 (ill., as *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*)

THE SUBJECT MATTER of this painting by Jan van Noordt, previously thought to be the Census in Bethlehem,<sup>1</sup> has been correctly identified by J. Nieuwstraten as the story of Joseph.<sup>2</sup> Chapter 47 of the Book of Genesis (1-26) tells how, after years of famine, the people of Egypt face starvation. It is Joseph, in his role as highest government official, who is charged with distributing the stores of grain that had been stockpiled by the state during earlier years of plenty. With their money exhausted, citizens are forced to exchange their land – and even their own freedom – for food.

The story was often used to promote the virtue of foresight, as a God-given talent required of a ruler.<sup>3</sup> This rather dry political message is not emphasized by Jan van Noordt, however, who has instead created a human drama. Compared to the depictions of the theme by Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert, Van Noordt's picture imparts a greater sense of pathos. He has emphasized the confusion of the children, the desperation of their parents and the sympathy of Joseph, conveying these emotions largely through facial expression and bodily pose (for example, the subservient bow of the father approaching Joseph from the left), but also through the turbulent movement of his late style. The energetically drawn, somewhat bulging figures are organized into several groups that set up a pulsating rhythm across the horizontal format of the canvas. The Flemish technique of mobilizing the entire picture surface to create an overwhelming effect is here reinforced by the especially strong focus on a few figures, in whom the moment is encapsulated: the anxious father and his distracted son in the foreground, and Joseph, seated pensively on the right, identified by his lavish garments and turban. Unfortunately, the





Fig. 142a. Jan van Noordt, *Portrait of a Widow and Her Two Sons*, around 1672, oil on canvas, 118 x 99 cm. Bordeaux, Musée des beaux-arts, inv.Bx 1988.3.1.

details of Joseph's expression, particularly in the eyes, seem to have suffered under the brush of a restorer. As Olivier Le Bihan has noted, this painting shares its deeply emotional tone with other late paintings by the artist, such as the portrait of a widow and her two sons, in Bordeaux (fig. 142a).<sup>4</sup> In fact, the remarkable painterly application and the range of finish from smooth to rough places this work – along with the *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert* also part of the present collection (cat. 143) – among the artist's latest known works, executed around 1675.

The distinctiveness of Van Noordt's approach emerges if we compare this work with treatments of the same theme by so-called Pre-Rembrandtists Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert (e.g. cat. 136) and Pieter Lastman (fig. 136a).<sup>5</sup> Their static figures and restrained gestures produce very orderly scenes that emphasize Joseph's rationality rather than the crisis faced by the people around him. Interestingly, though, the pose of Van Noordt's Joseph echoes that of the figure of King David in Pieter Lastman's *David and Uriah*.<sup>6</sup>

1. See at 1964 under Provenance at the head of this entry.
2. As stated by Alfred Bader in collection cat. Milwaukee 1974, no. 19.
3. One of the earliest known moral interpretations of Joseph as an exemplar of prudence was provided by Ambrose. See Ursula Nilgen, in LCI, vol. 2, col. 423 (s.v. Joseph von Ägypten). See also States Bible, Genesis 41:16, note 23, which emphasizes that Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, as presaging years of plenty followed by famine, was divinely inspired. Verse 38, note 49 further characterizes Joseph as a leader in Egypt: "Verstaet wijsheyt en voorsichticheyt / die Godt sijne geest desen man op eene bysondere wijze gegeven heeft (Meaning wisdom and foresight, which God gave this man through his spirit in a special way)."
4. See exhib. cat. Bordeaux 1990, pp. 226–227.
5. Astrid Tümpel lists three versions of the theme by Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert: cat. 136 in the present catalogue; *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*, 1633, oil on panel, 69 x 103 cm, monogrammed, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 5259 (see Tümpel 1974, pp. 94 [fig. 126], 252–253, no. 48); and *Joseph Selling Grain in Egypt*, 1644, oil on canvas, 122 x 168, monogrammed, Stockholm, with B. Rapp, in 1956 (see Tümpel 1974, p. 114 [fig. 154], p. 253, no. 49).
6. Pieter Lastman, *David and Uriah*, 1619, oil on panel, 41.5 x 62.5 cm, signed, The Hague, Mauritshuis, on loan from Instituut Collectie Nederland, inv. NK 2834; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 108–109, no. 12 (colour ill.).

143.

Jan van Noordt (Amsterdam 1623/24 – Amsterdam after 1676)

### *Hagar and Ishmael in the Desert*

Around 1675

Oil on canvas, 90.8 x 113 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1997, acc. no. 40-010

#### PROVENANCE

Purchased by Robert Hannington in England in 1848; Baltimore, collection of Dr. George Reuling; Dr. George Reuling et al. sale, London (Anderson Galleries), 4–5 November 1925, lot 156; collection of W. W. Price (niece of Dr. George Reuling); New York, Dr. Frederick Mont; Raleigh, North Carolina, Chrysler Museum; sale Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., New York (Sotheby's), 1 June 1989, lot 49 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Hans Schneider, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 25, p. 511; Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 1, p. 142 note 49, vol. 5, pp. 3061, 3064 note 53a, and 3075 (colour ill.), and vol. 6, p. 3737, with no. 2408; exhib. cat. Münster 1994, p. 31; De Witt 2007, pp. 34, 47, 73, 83, 88–90, no. 1 (colour ill.), pp. 92, 94

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Birmingham, Alabama, et al. 1957–1958, unnumbered, unpaginated

IN THIS WORK, Jan van Noordt has depicted the Old Testament story of the banishment of Hagar and Ishmael to the desert. Chapter 21 of the Book of Genesis tells how Abraham expels Hagar, the Egyptian servant of his wife Sarah, and Ishmael, his son by Hagar, from his household. He does so at the insistence of Sarah, who fears that the inheritance of her own son, Isaac, will be compromised. In the wilderness, Ishmael becomes weak from heat and starvation, and the distraught Hagar abandons him under a bush because she cannot bear to see him suffer and die. Van Noordt has chosen to represent the moment when her lament is heard by God. The angel approaching her from above is about to deliver a divine message of hope – not just that she and her son will live, but that Ishmael will go on to father one of the world's great nations.

Hagar had been forced out of Abraham's household once before, when she was pregnant (Genesis 16), but Ishmael's presence makes it clear that this is the second expulsion. There is



Fig. 143a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Hagar and the Angel*, around 1650–1655, pen and bistre, 18.2 x 25.2 cm. Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 22411.





some confusion concerning Ishmael's age at the time of these events, to which the States Bible adds by explaining that the "child" (*kint*) is actually a boy of seventeen.<sup>1</sup> Van Noordt has nevertheless opted for the traditional portrayal of Ishmael as a vulnerable infant, an element possibly designed to increase the viewer's sympathy. The figure of Hagar also fails to accord with the original story, which describes her as young. The artist has depicted a middle-aged woman, and one who does not display the idealized, generic features typical of history painting. They are in fact the features of the patron who commissioned this *portrait historié*. The sitter may have been seeking to identify herself with Hagar's particular plight – that of having a child in danger – or, more generally, with the exemplary humility shown by Hagar in her desperate situation.

The significance of the story of Hagar and Ishmael to 17th-century northern Netherlanders is not clear. Perhaps they were attracted by its combination of near disaster and redeeming compassion. The moment of divine intervention also provided a parallel – with a female protagonist – to the theme of Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac. The story of Hagar reappears several times in the work of Rembrandt and his followers.<sup>2</sup>

The scene conceived by Jan van Noordt is exceptional in Dutch art for its dramatic force. Rarely do we encounter a composition where the main figures crowd into the immediate foreground, as Hagar and the angel do here. The powerfully foreshortened figure of the angel, especially, seems to project out of the painting and into the viewer's space. In this extraordinarily

dynamic image, Hagar twists away from her child, whom she has laid under a bush on the right, while the angel swoops down from heaven, hurtling toward the viewer with wings spread. Various elements of the composition were derived from other artists' interpretations of the same subject. Particularly significant is a drawing by Rembrandt, now in Hamburg, which shows a similar composition in its central section and which Van Noordt may have taken as his source (fig. 143a).<sup>3</sup> He used a larger figure scale for Hagar, however, permitting a more subtle portrayal of her expression of anxiety.

To add to the dramatic effect, Van Noordt has allowed some of the broad contours of the underpainting to show through, apparently in emulation of the technique used in some of Rembrandt's history paintings from around 1659–1660, such as the *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* in Berlin (see fig. 17b). Visible in the bottom right-hand section, where Ishmael lies on the ground, this daring lapse of finish lends the work an element of raw force. The sweeping movement and loose, direct handling of this picture connect it to the artist's 1675 genre painting entitled *A Boy with a Dog, a Falcon and a Spear*, allowing for a dating to around the same period.<sup>4</sup>

1. See States Bible, Genesis 21:15, note 21.

2. For a survey of the iconography of this and related subjects taken from the story, see Hamann 1936 and Van de Waal 1947.

3. See Benesch 1973, vol. 5, p. 253, no. 904 (pl. 1179).

4. Jan van Noordt, *A Boy with a Dog, a Falcon and a Spear*, 1675, oil on canvas, 81.3 × 65.4 cm, Amsterdam, private collection; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 6, p. 3737, no. 2408, p. 4026 (colour ill.). ♦





144.

Jacob van Oost the Elder (Bruges 1603 – Bruges 1671)

*An Old Man and a Boy: Allegory of the Ages of Man*

Around 1645

Oil on canvas, 61 × 50 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 December 1993, lot 190 (ill., as by Follower of Michiel Sweerts); purchased by Alfred Bader

BY THE 17TH CENTURY, Bruges had declined to the status of a provincial capital, having long since been supplanted as a trade centre by Antwerp. Nonetheless, the city produced a number of artists of merit during this period, the most prominent among them being Jacob van Oost the Elder. Van Oost distinguished himself with a fashionable style based on the dynamic elegance of Van Dyck, but also incorporating the classicizing calm that emerged in the work of the second generation of Flemish Baroque painters. His manner is most closely related to that of the Brussels-based painter Michiel Sweerts, although he does not exhibit that artist's taste for drama, having opted instead for exquisite restraint. Although his training is undocumented, he probably started learning his profession under his older brother Frans. After becoming a master in the guild in 1621,<sup>1</sup> he travelled to Italy, where he stayed for five years.<sup>2</sup> He is documented as being back in his native city by 1628, and he married there two years later. From then until his death in 1671,<sup>3</sup> Van



Fig. 144a. Jacob van Oost, *Old Woman Giving a Letter to a Young Man*, around 1645, oil on canvas, 101 × 78 cm. Lyons, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. A 121.

Oost dominated the Bruges market for altarpieces and portraits, as well as executing a number of genre scenes. His works are sometimes confused with those of his son, of the same name, who at first followed his style closely but went on to incorporate the lighter palette and higher finish of French classicism.

This depiction of an old man and a young boy presents a simple Allegory of the Ages of Man. The smooth forms cast in soft light, the muted tones, stilled poses and stark background all accord closely with Van Oost's style. The impressive head of the man reflects the practice of making head studies that arose in Rubens's studio early in the century and was adopted by Van Dyck as well. Van Oost followed the simple formula of juxtaposing two different heads in several of his paintings – for example, the striking image of two boys in the National Gallery in London.<sup>4</sup> Even closer to the present painting, though, is his depiction of an *Old Woman Giving a Letter to a Young Man* in the museum in Lyons, which is signed (fig. 144a).<sup>5</sup> The present work can be placed in approximately the same period, around 1645. Both pictures emphasize the profile view to monumental effect, a major departure from the Flemish tradition. In contrast to the Lyons work, the combination of youth and old age seen here is not accompanied by a moralizing subtext but leads the viewer instead to the abstract contemplation of time and the fleetingness of life. The elderly man's thoughtful expression seems to indicate that he is reflecting on his own youth.<sup>6</sup>

1. Meulemeester 1984, p. 131.

2. A poem written by Lambertus Vossius on the occasion of the artist's marriage alludes to his extensive travels, in *Alle de werken van Lambertus Vossius, bestaende in seer Aerdige, ende Curieuse dichten* (Bruges, 1679); see Meulemeester 1984, pp. 131–134. For the proposed attribution to the artist of a number of paintings made apparently during his period of travel in Italy, see Gianni Pappi "Un'apertura sul soggiorno italiano di Jacob van Oost il Vecchio," *Studia di storia dell'arte (Todi)* 1 (1990), pp. 171–201.

3. Meulemeester 1984, p. 142.

4. Jacob van Oost the Elder, *Two Boys before an Easel*, oil on canvas, 56.5 × 58.7 cm. London, National Gallery, inv. 3649; see Meulemeester 1984, p. 367, no. B69 (fig. 265).

5. See *ibid.*, pp. 266–267, no. A22 (as around 1645).

6. This interpretation is proposed by the present owner. ♦





145.

Adriaen van Ostade  
(Haarlem 1610 – Haarlem 1685)

*An Alchemist in His Workshop*

Early 1640s

Oil on panel, 19.3 × 24.4 cm

Traces of a signature lower right

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Counts A. and V. Bloudoff sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 25 November 1924 (Lugt 87595), lot 129 (ill.); sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 6 November 2001, lot 8 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

A MAN SITS ON a bench facing an oven, where flames can be seen bursting out of a vessel. He reacts in exasperation, pulling at his hair with both hands. From the many containers related to distillation that surround him, it is clear he is an alchemist. Other items belonging to the apparatus of this profession include the large mortar and pestle to the right of the seated figure and the bellows lying on the floor next to the bench. On a high shelf beside the chimney sits an hourglass, which may have found some use in the conducting of chemical experiments but in this context is more probably intended to convey a message of *vanitas*, in the well-established tradition that reminded viewers of the ephemerality and insignificance of human existence and pursuits in the face of the hereafter. Made part of an alchemical scene, this

element also reiterates the traditional criticism of the pursuit of alchemy as foolish, wasteful and deeply misguided.<sup>1</sup> Pieter Bruegel the Elder's famous print of an alchemist who brings his family to starvation and the poorhouse (fig. 145a) had a great impact on other artists and established the critical pictorial approach to the subject.<sup>2</sup> However, while some artists relished the abundant detail and excess of this model, Van Ostade has conceived a pared-down image, with the hourglass included as a single and quite subtle critical reference.

Neither signed nor dated, this panel can nonetheless be firmly related to Van Ostade's work of the first half of the 1640s. His early works feature simpler compositions and more confined spaces, following the mode of Adriaen Brouwer, who was likely his teacher. He subsequently adopted stronger light effects and a heavier application of paint but by 1640 had moved toward the muted arrangements and monochromatic palette exemplified in his *Peasant Holding a Pipe*, in the museum in Hamburg,<sup>3</sup> to which the present work closely compares. His *Quill Cutter*, now in Budapest,<sup>4</sup> dates from the same period and shows a similarly spare rendering of space, soft forms and free brushwork to evoke texture. One of Van Ostade's multi-figured compositions from the 1630s, the *Peasant Interior* now in the Louvre (fig. 145b),<sup>5</sup> features a very similar figure, shown from the back and in a hunched-over pose. As witness the present picture, the restive energy of his low-life figures from the late 1630s and early 1640s is contained within an atmosphere conjured through spatial and chromatic techniques. In the ensuing decades of his long career, the artist developed a more elaborate, detailed and colourful mode, which is represented by his other known depiction of an alchemist, executed in 1661, now in the National Gallery in London.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 145a. Attributed to Philips Galle, after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Alchemist*, 1558, engraving, 34.2 × 44.9 cm, state II/V. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.





Fig. 145b. Adriaen van Ostade, *Peasant Interior*, 163[6?], oil on panel, 21.2 x 21.9 cm, signed. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MI 947.

The celebrated Haarlem genre painter Adriaen van Ostade was born in 1610 to the weaver Jan Hendrickx van Eyndhoven and Janneke Hendriksdr.<sup>7</sup> According to Houbraken he studied the art of painting in the studio of Frans Hals,<sup>8</sup> where he met Adriaen Brouwer. By 1632 he was established as a painter in the city and had almost certainly become a member of its guild by 1634. He served on the guild board repeatedly from 1647 onwards.<sup>9</sup> In 1638 he married Machteltje Pietersdr. of Haarlem, who died in 1642,<sup>10</sup> and in 1657 he converted to the Catholic faith on the occasion of his marriage to his second wife, Anna Ingels of Amsterdam. She died in 1666.<sup>11</sup> Van Ostade lived a long life, dying in 1685 at the age of seventy-five.<sup>12</sup> Various documented transactions point to considerable prosperity,<sup>13</sup> which was likely the result of his great productivity and his ability to adapt effortlessly to pictorial fashion. His mode was adopted by a number of other artists, including his brother Isaac (1621-1649), who likely studied with him.

1. On the morally critical tradition for depictions of alchemists, see Russell Corbett 2004, pp. 164-165.
2. See Van Bastelaer 1992, pp. 263-265, no. 197 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 82-83, no. 34 (ill.).
3. Adriaen van Ostade, *A Peasant Holding a Pipe*, 1640, oil on panel, 17.9 x 14.8 cm, signed, Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. 123; see collection cat. Hamburg 2001, p. 207 (ill.).
4. Adriaen van Ostade, *Quill Cutter*, oil on panel, 33.2 x 26.7 cm, around 1640, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 286; see collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 130 (ill.).
5. See collection cat. Paris 1992, p. 108, no. 2506.
6. Adriaen van Ostade, *The Alchemist*, 1661, oil on panel, 34 x 45.2 cm, signed, London, National Gallery, inv. 846; see collection cat. London 1991, vol. 1, pp. 298-299, and vol. 2 (pl. 257).
7. He was baptized on 10 December 1610; see Van der Willigen 1870, pp. 234-237.
8. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 347.
9. See Miedema 1980, vol. 2, pp. 420, 613, 665, 667, 672.
10. Van der Willigen 1870, pp. 237, 238.
11. Ibid., pp. 238.
12. Ibid.
13. The artist provided costly burials for his wives and purchased various debts and sureties; see Schnackenburg 1981, pp. 14-16. ♦

146.

Jürgen Ovens (Tönning 1623 – Friedrichstadt 1678)

*A Courtesan Wearing a Black Shawl*

Around 1660

Oil on canvas, 41 x 37 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

New York, Fearon Gallery, in 1925; Montreal, collection of R.W. Reford; Montreal, Elsie Stephen Reford (widow of the preceding); by descent to L. Eric Reford of Montreal, in 1984; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 19 January 1984, lot 1 (ill., as Haarlem School, 17th century), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, p. 3112, no. 2145, p. 3292 (colour ill., as by Jan van Noort), and vol. 6, p. 3737, with no. 2407

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1984, pp. 60-61, no. 27 (ill., as Dutch, 17th century)

IN HIS BIOGRAPHY of Jürgen Ovens, Houbraken identifies him as a pupil of Rembrandt.<sup>1</sup> Sumowski places this period of study at around 1640, but points out that the pupil quickly abandoned his master's style in favour of the Flemish oriented mode developed by artists such as Covert Flinck around 1645.<sup>2</sup> A native of Tönning, in Germany, Ovens enjoyed a prosperous career as a portraitist in Amsterdam, also attaining wealth through his marriage. In 1651 he proceeded to Friedrichstadt, where he enjoyed the patronage of Duke Friedrich III of Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>3</sup> He returned to Amsterdam in 1657 and stayed for another six years, most notably gaining a commission to complete the canvas of *The Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis* for the Amsterdam City Hall, left unfinished by Covert Flinck at his untimely death.<sup>4</sup> Ovens subsequently returned to Friedrichstadt, where aside from his painting practice he also dealt in art, collaborating in this activity with Gerrit Uylenburgh of Amsterdam.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 146a. Jürgen Ovens, *Portrait of a Family*, 166[?], oil on canvas, 152 x 191 cm, signed. Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum.





Although this painting was published by Sumowski as a Jan van Noordt, a number of stylistic aspects point to the later style of Jürgen Ovens. Most distinctive are the wavy linear highlights in the black dress, the neutral-black shadow area on the left side of the face, and the dramatic catch-light in the eyes. The same traits appear in the seated figure of the mother in Ovens's signed *Portrait of a Family*, in Schloss Gottorf (fig. 146a).<sup>6</sup> Ovens also painted a number of appealing depictions of a young woman identifiable as his wife, Maria Ovens, but her features differ from the more generalized ideal presented here.

Portraits like this one, of attractive young women with alluring stares or expressions, have only recently been recognized as depicting courtesans. There survive a few images showing such portraits in use, hanging on the walls of a brothel for perusal and possible selection by visitors.<sup>7</sup> The present work may be a later, anonymous derivation of the type, a kind of *tronie* rather than an actual portrait. These attractive, mildly suggestive images had their roots in 16th-century Venetian paintings by artists such as

Palma Giovane (around 1548-1628). In the northern Netherlands they grew in popularity after the appearance of the famous book of courtesans entitled *Le Miroir des plus belles Courtisannes de ce temps*, translated at the time as *The Looking Glass of the fairest Courtiers of these tymes* (fig. 62b). Published in 1631 by Crispijn van de Passe the Younger, it featured a series of printed portraits of courtesans, accompanied by brief poems praising their virtues.<sup>8</sup>

1. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 273, vol. 3, p. 255.

2. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 2218.

3. See Friso Lammertse, in exhib. cat. London and Amsterdam 2006, p. 258.

4. Jürgen Ovens, *The Conspiracy of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis*, 1662, oil on canvas, 546 × 538 cm, rounded top, Amsterdam, Royal Palace on the Dam, Grand Gallery; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2, p. 1027, no. 614, p. 1073 (ill.).

5. Friso Lammertse, in exhib. cat. London and Amsterdam 2006, pp. 260-263.

6. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 2237, no. 1548, p. 2303 (colour ill.).

7. See, for example, the frontispiece of Crispijn van de Passe's *Le Miroir des plus belles Courtisannes de ce temps/The Looking Glass of the fairest Courtiers* [sic] of these tymes (Amsterdam?: published by the author, 1631).

8. See note 7 above. ♦





Fig. 147a. Anthonie Palamedesz., *Portrait of a Sixty-nine-year-old Woman*, 1667, oil on canvas, 88.5 × 69.5 cm. Location unknown (photo: RKD).

147.

Anthonie Palamedesz., called Stevers (Delft 1601 – Amsterdam 1673)

*Bust-length Portrait of a Woman*

Around 1661

Oil on canvas, 71.8 × 56.7 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1984, acc. no. 27-018

PROVENANCE

Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 10 November 1983, lot 2216 (as by Johannes Cornelisz. Versponck), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp.24-27, no.6 (ill.).

UNTIL RECENTLY this charming portrait of an aging woman with a rather wan smile bore the untenable attribution to the Haarlem portraitist Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy and little was known about the sitter. The only clue the picture offers is the coat of arms in the upper left-hand corner, which consists of a blue-green field crossed by two undulating horizontal white bands – the mark of the patrician De Witte family, of Zierikzee.<sup>1</sup>

The main evidence for the work's date is the woman's costume. She wears a white shift underneath the fitted bodice of her black gown. Over this is her most striking garment: a deep collar, or *labaar*, of thin gauzy fabric, which is fastened by three small bows. These various elements of the sitter's dress can be dated to the 1650s. However, the narrow ribbons, or *nompareilles*, that adorn her hair were current no earlier than the 1660s.<sup>2</sup> It remains possible that this work portrays Jacomina de Witte (around 1580-1661) toward the end of her life. She appears to have died around the same time as her brother Pieter (1589-1661) and his



wife Caecilia van Beresteyn (1589-1661), possibly when an epidemic of some sort struck Zierikzee.

The style of this portrait points to the hand of the Delft-born Anthonie Palamedesz. The son of a gem cutter who spent some time in London undertaking a commission from James I,<sup>3</sup> Palamedesz. studied first in his native city, with the prominent portraitist Michiel van Mierevelt.<sup>4</sup> He entered the painters' guild there in 1621, serving intermittently as its dean in the years 1653 to 1672.<sup>5</sup> His first marriage is recorded in 1630, and it was followed by another in 1658, also in Delft.<sup>6</sup> He enjoyed an extremely successful career as a portraitist and painter of merry companies and other genre themes. His monochromatic palette and careful attention to detail lend his portraits a certain sobriety, but they are enlivened by strong light effects, subtle facial expressions and a deft handling, betraying the influence of the Hals workshop. One refinement that Palamedesz. contributed to portraiture of the time was his smooth, soft handling of flesh in a gentle, glowing light. The present work combines all these aspects of his portrait style. A close comparison can be found in the 1656 *Portrait of a Lady with a Carnation*, in Kiev,<sup>7</sup> which shows the same luminous modelling of flesh and meticulous description of the details of lace and ribbons. Even closer is the 1667 *Portrait of a Sixty-nine-year-old Woman* by Palamedesz., last in The Hague (fig. 147a).<sup>8</sup>

1. De Renesse 1894-1903, vol. 5, p. 294, s.v. Deux fasces ondées.
2. My thanks to Marieke de Winkel for her identification of these features.
3. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 304.
4. Michiel van Mierevelt, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 26, p. 155. However, Van Mierevelt's claim that Palamedesz. studied under Frans Hals has not been supported in subsequent scholarship.
5. He served in this function for the years 1653, 1658, 1663 and 1672; see Montias 1982, pp. 338, 371-373. Houbraken incorrectly claims that he first entered the guild in 1638; see Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 305.
6. See Axel Rüger, in exhib. cat. London and New York 2001, p. 318.
7. Anthonie Palamedesz., *Portrait of a Lady with a Carnation*, 1656, oil on canvas, 80.5 × 67 cm, signed, Kiev, Khanenko Museum, inv. 32; see collection cat. St. Petersburg 1982, pp. 42-43 (colour ill.).
8. The Hague, with Han Jüngeling, in 1970. The attribution by B. Resznicek and Fred Meijer is recorded with the photo at the RKD. ♦



148.

Jan Peeters (Antwerp 1624 – around 1678)

*A Ship in a Stormy Sea*

Before 1652

Oil on panel, with strips added around the edges, 10.8 × 14.6 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Plantation, Florida, with Lewis Nierman; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1999

A DUTCH SAILING vessel known as a *fluitschip* founders in a severe storm. With waves crashing violently against the hull and the prow plunging dangerously, it appears to be on the point of sinking. Ragged clouds billow overhead, but light breaks through an opening and strikes the waves in front of the ship, accentuating their crests and spray. In the left foreground a large wave is cast in menacingly inky shadow, while a dark cloud rises to the right, forming a broad, sweeping diagonal.

This tiny panel has been attributed quite recently by Christina Wansink to Jan Peeters.<sup>1</sup> Jan was the brother, and also the pupil, of the famous Flemish marine painter Bonaventura Peeters I (1614-1652).<sup>2</sup> He registered in the St. Luke's Guild of Antwerp in 1645 as a master.<sup>3</sup> After Bonaventura's death in 1652 he lived for a time in Hoboken, sharing a residence with his sister Catharina, before returning to Antwerp, where he married in 1654.<sup>4</sup> In 1659 he spent six months in the northern Netherlands preparing illustrations for a book on Dutch cities and fortresses.<sup>5</sup> Jan Peeters painted landscapes, seascapes and city views, basing his approach on his brother's work but distinguishing himself with his dramatic, stormy seascapes, which were already being singled out for praise by Houbraken.<sup>6</sup> Having mastered a subtle and refined technique, using thin-layered semi-transparent colours and a monochromatic palette, he became adept at articulating the form and consistency of crashing waves and turbulently cloudy skies. The present painting, a characteristic example of the type, compares closely to another larger and more complex version in the museum in Budapest (fig. 148a).<sup>7</sup> Both pictures





Fig. 148a. Jan Peeters, *Ships on a Stormy Sea*, before 1652, oil on panel, 44 × 78.5 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 587.

still show the deft handling and soft modulation that characterize Jan Peeter's work before 1652, reflecting the continued influence of Bonaventura while he was alive.

1. Communicated in a letter of 5 August 1999 from Jan Kosten to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
2. See Kurt Zöge von Manteuffel, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 27, p. 8. See also Liggeren, vol. 2, pp. 110, 133.
3. Liggeren, vol. 2, p. 167.
4. See De Maere and Wabbes 1994, vol. 1, p. 318.
5. Ibid.
6. Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 140-141.
7. See collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 133 (ill.).

149.

Karel van der Pluym (Leiden 1625 – Leiden 1672)

*The Expulsion of Hagar*

Around 1655

Oil on panel, 67.8 × 57.2 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1976, acc. no. 19-028

PROVENANCE

Possibly sale, London (Phillips), 27 June 1807, lot 36 (as by Rembrandt, "Abraham putting away Hagar – the painter has chosen the time early in the morning, when Abraham gives Bread and Water to Hagar, who departs and wanders in the Wilderness of Beer Sheba – This charming picture is finely composed, the expression of the characters finely marked, and the whole coloured with richness, and replete with that magic effect that pervades his choice works"); possibly John Parke sale, London (Pieter Cox), 8 May 1812, lot 29 (as by Rembrandt, *Abraham Putting Away Hagar* from the collection of Bouchier Cleve); possibly John Webb sale, London (Phillips), 21 April 1818 (Lugt 9357), 3rd day, lot 74 (as by Rembrandt, *Abraham and Hagar*, "a model for a larger picture – an admirable specimen for spirit of pencil, and rich colour with magic effect," purchased at Leiden); sale, London (Christie's), 3 December 1920 (Lugt 81310), lot 107 (as by Rembrandt, oil on panel, 28 × 23 in. [71.1 × 58.4 cm], for 10 guineas), purchased by Skilleter; Uccle, Belgium, Van Gelder collection; William van Gelder et al. sale, London (Christie's), 14 May 1971, lot 97 (as by Rembrandt, panel, 66 × 55.9 cm); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 27 November 1971, lot 2247 (pl. 55, as by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, panel, 60 × 57.5 cm), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Hamann 1936, pp. 63 (ill., as by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout), 64; Schulz 1972, p. 445, no. G6 (as possibly connected to a painting of the same theme by Lambert Doomer, in Doomer's inventory); John Walsh, "The Earliest Dated Painting by Nicolaes Maes," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 6 (1972), p. 112 note 18; "Principal Acquisitions of Canadian Museums and Art Galleries, 1976," *RACAR* 4 (1977), p. 122, no. 5 (ill.); Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 9, pp. 4780, 4976 (fig. 134, as attributed to Karel van der Pluym); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2361, 2364 no. 1591, p. 2371 (colour ill., as 60 × 57.5 cm)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 28-29, no. 9 (ill.); Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 94-97, no. 23 (ill.)

COPIES

Oil on panel, 38.7 × 33.6 cm, sale, London (Christie's), 17 April 1936, lot 57 (as by Rembrandt)<sup>1</sup>

KAREL VAN DER PLUYM, born in 1625 to a prominent Leiden family, was a distant cousin of Rembrandt. After a probable spell in Amsterdam during the early 1640s to study in Rembrandt's atelier, he returned to his native city, where he became a founding member of the painter's guild in 1648, serving between 1652 and 1654 as both its head and its dean.<sup>2</sup> His last known painting dates to 1659, well before his death in 1672. At the start of his career Van der Pluym concentrated on the same biblical history subjects as Rembrandt, but later turned to genre subjects featuring old men and women.

Here, Karel van der Pluym has depicted the biblical story recounting the second expulsion of Hagar from the household of the patriarch Abraham and his wife Sarah (Genesis 21:9-14). Sarah insisted on this drastic measure when she began to see her servant Hagar's son, Ishmael, as a rival for the inheritance of her own son, Isaac. Abraham was distressed by this turn of events, and his ambivalence is evident in this picture, where he gestures to Hagar that she must leave even as his face betrays sadness and





concern for her. Hagar weeps into a handkerchief and Ishmael stands before her with a walking stick, in anticipation of their journey into the wilderness. Sarah can be seen in the doorway on the right, cast in the shadow of the house.

As is typical for this scene, Sarah is depicted negatively, to emphasize the cruelty of her behaviour toward Hagar and in reflection of the tradition of moral criticism concerning her lack of faith: the episode pictured is the third occasion on which she reveals her insecurity about the prophecy concerning Isaac's birth and inheritance. First, so convinced is she of her own barrenness, she offers her servant Hagar to Abraham in the hope that he will have a son by her (Genesis 16:1-4). Later, she doubts the reiteration of the divine message to Abraham and laughs upon overhearing it (Genesis 18:9-12). Here, fearing that Ishmael may lay claim to the inheritance as Abraham's oldest son, she forces him and his mother into exile (Genesis 21:10-14). The

underlying message is that Sarah's doubts were unfounded and her cruelty unnecessary, as God would have secured the inheritance anyway. She serves as a foil to her husband, Abraham, who is traditionally represented as an exemplar of faith.

But Hagar does not escape judgement. Sitting on a ledge behind her is a peacock, the traditional symbol of vanity. This is a reference to the arrogance Hagar showed toward her mistress after she had conceived a son with Abraham – an attitude that resulted in her first exile. It has been suggested that the peacock mirrors the accusatory posture of Sarah as she leans forward through the open half-door.<sup>3</sup> The form of the bird's body also echoes that of the forlorn Hagar's pose, emphasizing the pride that led to her downfall. Van der Pluym probably took a cue here from Rembrandt, who included a peacock in his own drawing of *Sarah Complaining to Abraham about Hagar*.<sup>4</sup>

The theme of Hagar's expulsion appears often in Dutch art,





Fig. 149a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Expulsion of Hagar*, early 1650s, pen and wash in bistre, 18.5 x 23.6 cm. London, British Museum, inv. 1860-6.16-121.



Fig. 149b. Karel van der Pluym, *The Expulsion of Hagar*, around 1655, pen and brown ink, 18.5 x 22 cm. Besançon, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. D 568.



Fig. 149c. Karel van der Pluym, *The Parable of the Unmerciful Servant*, oil on panel, 43.2 x 54.6 cm, signed. Location unknown.

particularly in the work of Rembrandt and his followers.<sup>5</sup> Although no painting on the subject by Rembrandt has come down to us, several drawings by him survive. In fact, Van der Pluym adapted his figural group of Hagar, Abraham and Ishmael from a drawing by his teacher dated to the early 1650s, now in the British Museum (fig. 149a).<sup>6</sup> He also reworked the composition in a drawing of his own, in Besançon, which shows the same arrangement of Abraham and Hagar on the steps, with Ishmael standing before them (fig. 149b).<sup>7</sup> There he included such details as Hagar's trailing foot, which suggests her imminent departure. And as in the Rembrandt drawing, Ishmael carries a quiver and bow – a reference to his future as a hunter. However, in a separate figure study for Ishmael on the right-hand side of the same sheet, Van der Pluym has left these accessories out, as he would do in the painting.

Van der Pluym adapted the overall composition of this work from a painting by Rembrandt that he likely knew from his years of study in the master's atelier. The setting of a house against the backdrop of a deep landscape and the compact arrangement of the group on the steps, isolated in strong light, evoke Rembrandt's *Visitation* in Detroit, painted in 1640.<sup>8</sup> Van der Pluym seems also to have taken his rough brush style from the loose technique employed by Rembrandt in that painting.

The present work once bore an attribution to Rembrandt himself, and later was given to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, another pupil of the early 1640s.<sup>9</sup> Sumowski was the first to note the connection between the figure of Abraham and that of the landlord in a signed Van der Pluym painting of *The Parable of the Unmerciful Servant*, last in a private collection in Amsterdam (fig. 149c).<sup>10</sup> The hollow cheekbones, long nose, wide mouth and full beard are certainly a close match. The works also show a similarly loose and sketchy technique, a thin, dry facture and an emphasis on texture over form. The Amsterdam painting in turn adheres closely to a drawing by Rembrandt depicting *The Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard*,<sup>11</sup> underscoring the adaptive, rather than generative, nature of the artist's approach and talent.

1. Sumowski incorrectly incorporates this reference in his provenance for the present painting (as lot 51 instead of 57).
2. Abraham Bredius, "Karel van der Pluym. Neef en leerling van Rembrandt," *Oud Holland* 48 (1931), pp. 248-249.
3. John Walsh, "The Earliest Dated Painting by Nicolaes Maes," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 6 (1972), p. 112 note 18.
4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Sarah Complaining to Abraham about Hagar*, pen and ink, 18.9 x 30.5 cm, Bayonne, Musée des beaux-arts; see Hamann 1936, p. 554 (fig. 118).
5. Richard Hamann traces the popularity of this theme with Rembrandt and his students and followers; see Hamann 1936.
6. This observation was made by David McTavish in exhib. cat. Kingston 1988-1991, p. 96. For the drawing, see Benesch 1973, vol. 3, pp. 144-145.
7. On the connection between drawing and painting, see Hamann 1936, p. 533. For a discussion of Van der Pluym's authorship of the drawing, see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 9, pp. 4780-4781, no. 2129<sup>ss</sup> (ill.).
8. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Visitation*, 1640, oil on panel, 56.5 x 47.9 cm, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts; Alfred Bader, in exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1976, p. 28.
9. See under Provenance at the head of this entry.
10. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 5, pp. 2363-2364, 2370 (colour ill.).
11. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard*, pen and brown ink with corrections in white, with later washes and pen strokes in grey, 15.1 x 19.5 cm, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, inv. I, 182; see Benesch 1973, vol. 3, p. 163, no. 605 (fig. 778).



150.

Attributed to Karel van der Pluym  
(Leiden 1625 – Leiden 1672)

*Joseph Explaining His Dreams*

Around 1648-1650

Oil on canvas, 111.7 × 139.7 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of  
Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.13

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Christie's), 14 February 1974, lot 27 (as  
by G.W.Horst); London, with Julius Weitzner (as by Jan  
Lievens, *Jesus among the Doctors*); purchased by  
Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel  
Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 14, no.4 (1981), p.61  
(cover ill., as by Jan Victors); Miller 1985, vol.3, p.334,  
no. U 11 (ill., as probably not by Victors); Sumowski  
1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2592, 2593 note 27, p. 2595  
(colour ill., as by Anonymous Rembrandt pupil, per-  
haps Pieter Rottermondt)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1984, pp.40-41, no. 16 (ill., as by Jan Victors);  
Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, p. 93  
(colour ill., as by Jan Victors), pp. 141-142, 159, no.37



IN THIS PICTURE the young Joseph is shown recounting his dreams to his father Jacob, in the presence of his brothers. According to the biblical narrative (Genesis 37:5-10), Joseph relates how in one dream the sun, the moon and eleven stars – an obvious reference to his father, mother and eleven brothers – bowed down before him, and the artist has clearly articulated the mixture of astonishment and irritation with which his family greets his account. So resentful are Joseph's brothers, they later conspire to seize him and throw him into a pit. But he is discovered by passing traders who sell him into slavery, and thus begins his storied rise to power at the court of Egypt.

The longstanding attribution of this canvas to Rembrandt's pupil Jan Victors has not met with scholarly support. Debra Miller rejected it in her monograph on that artist, and Sumowski alternatively suggested the little-known Rembrandt follower Pieter Rottermondt.<sup>1</sup> There exists, however, a close similarity between this picture and some of the works that Sumowski has attributed to the Leiden Rembrandt pupil Karel van der Pluym. The heads of Jacob and the skeptical-looking son behind Joseph recall the facial type and handling seen in a painting entitled *The Gold Weigher* formerly in New York, given to Van der Pluym by Bredius, which Sumowski linked to a drawing that he published under Van der Pluym's name.<sup>2</sup> They show the same fluid, textured application of paint and feature the same narrow eyes and long thin noses that reflect an approach to anatomy based more on invention than observation.

The conspicuously confused sense of space in this picture relates to works from early in Van der Pluym's known oeuvre, including a signed and dated *Fish and Vegetable Seller* of 1648<sup>3</sup> and a signed *Scholar at His Desk* (fig. 150a),<sup>4</sup> which likely dates from a



Fig. 150a. Karel van der Pluym, *A Scholar at His Desk*, around 1650, oil on panel, 71.1 × 58.8 cm, signed. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, bequest of Chester D. Tripp, inv. 1988.265





Fig. 150b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Joseph Telling His Dreams*, 1638, etching, 11 × 8.3 cm. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis.

little later, around 1650. Van der Pluym was able to correct this aspect in his later paintings from the 1650s, employing smaller figures and stronger modelling in light and shade – as seen, for example, in his *Expulsion of Hagar* (see cat. 149). Here, he adopted the complex and crowded composition of Rembrandt's 1638 etching on the same theme (fig. 150b).<sup>5</sup> The evocative pose given in the print to the young Joseph, engrossed in the telling of his dream, is here translated less convincingly, especially in the critical area of the hands. In his early practice Van der Pluym seems to have followed Rembrandt enthusiastically, even into the demanding challenges of history painting. However, he later scaled back his approach to suit his more limited abilities.

Sumowski has also credited a drawing on the same theme to Van der Pluym.<sup>6</sup> Its composition shows a smaller figure scale and a clearer articulation of space, tying it to a number of paintings produced by the artist around 1655–1659 and suggesting a date well after that of the present painting.

1. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
2. Attributed to Karel van der Pluym, *The Gold Weigher*, oil on canvas, 84 × 79 cm, formerly New York, with Julius Weitzner; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, p. 2365, no. 1596, p. 2378 (ill.).
3. Karel van der Pluym, *Fish and Vegetable Seller*, 1648, oil on canvas, 1648, 129.5 × 98.5 cm, signed, location unknown; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, p. 2364, no. 1592a, p. 2373 (ill.).
4. See Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, p. 2366, no. 1598, p. 2380 (ill.).
5. See Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 18, no. B37, and vol. 19, p. 24 (ills.).
6. Karel van der Pluym, *Joseph Explaining His Dreams*, pen and brown ink, 22.3 × 29.7 cm, collection of S. Larpent; see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 9, pp. 4778–4779, no. 2128<sup>a</sup> (ill.). ♦

151.

Cornelis van Poelenburch (Utrecht probably 1594 – Utrecht 1667)

*St. Christopher*

Around 1620

Oil on panel, 15.5 × 20.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Masso & Benoit sale, Paris (Paillet & Chariot), 10 April 1786 (Lugt 4023), lot 97 (as "Saint Christophe qui traverse un bras de rivière, au clair de la lune, portant l'Enfant Jésus sur son épaule. L'effet piquant et précieux fini du faire de ce Tableau, réunis au clair obscur & à sa grande conservation, donne un mérite distingué à ce Tableau [St. Christopher crossing the arm of a river, by moonlight, carrying the Infant Jesus on his shoulder. The striking effect and refined finish of this painting, combined with its chiaroscuro and fine preservation, give this picture a distinguished merit], oil on panel, 6 x 8 *pouces* [16.2 x 21.6 cm]); Florence, collection of G. J. Hoogewerff; purchased from his widow by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1992, p. 41; Bader 1995, p. 232, no. 6 (pl. 22)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Frankfurt 1966, p. 61, no. 80 (fig. 66); Dublin 2005, pp. 56, no. 10 (colour ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 20 (ill.)

#### PRINTS

Possibly I. van der Horst, etching, inscribed: *Ælshamer pinxit I. vander Horst excudit*; see Weizsäcker 1936, vol. 1, pp. 101, 327 note 194, and vol. 2, p. 32 (fig. 35, as after Elsheimer)

UTRECHT WAS STILL a leading centre for painting in the northern Netherlands when, sometime before 1611, its native son Cornelis van Poelenburch embarked on his artistic training in the flourishing studio of Abraham Bloemaert.<sup>1</sup> Born probably in 1594, to the cathedral canon Simon van Poelenburch van Schiedam and his wife Adriaentgen Willemsdr. van Leerdam, he followed the path of many Utrecht painters by travelling to Italy.<sup>2</sup> Recorded to have arrived there by 1617, he was (with Leonard Bramer) one of



Fig. 151a. Adam Elsheimer, *St. Christopher*, around 1598, oil on copper, 22.5 × 17.5 cm. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 1578.





the founders of the Schildersbent, the society of northern artists living in Rome, which gave him the fraternity nickname of *Satiro*, or *Satyr*.<sup>3</sup> Unlike a number of his fellow townsmen, he did not adopt the Caravaggist manner, but chose instead to paint small-figured scenes dominated by landscape backgrounds markedly influenced by Paul Bril and Adam Elsheimer. Van Poelenburch's soft, rounded figural idealizations generate a feeling of other-worldly naiveté. Sandrart records the patronage of his work by the Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici of Florence,<sup>4</sup> and the artist's success continued unabated upon his return in the late 1620s to Utrecht, where he secured commissions from the stadholder in the The Hague and from the King of Bohemia, also resident in that city.<sup>5</sup> Next came an appointment to the court of Charles I of England, which lasted from 1637 to around 1641.<sup>6</sup> After Van Poelenburch returned once more to Utrecht, he established a busy studio with numerous assistants and enjoyed a strong demand for his small pictures, which were often purchased in multiple quantities.<sup>7</sup> His pupils were able to continue supplying this market in the years after his death in 1667.

Van Poelenburch here visited a theme that had already gained popularity among 16th-century Flemish painters, who had seized on its potential for portraying a lavish landscape setting.<sup>8</sup> The image presents a well-known episode in the life of Christopher, a 3rd-century martyr already mentioned by St.

Gregory the Great.<sup>9</sup> In *The Golden Legend*, Jacobus de Voragine recounts the story of his life as a strong man who dedicates himself to carrying travellers across a stream.<sup>10</sup> One day, one of his passengers – a child – seems to grow steadily heavier, and Christopher fears they will both be drowned. The child then reveals himself to be Christ, explaining that the giant has just carried the creator of the world and all its sin upon his back. Van Poelenburch has suggested the strain borne by Christopher through his bent-over pose. The prominent staff is a reference to the subsequent miracle performed by Jesus, who causes it to grow into a fertile palm and thereby confirms his identity. The mass conversions sparked by this miracle resulted in Christopher's martyrdom at the hands of the local ruler Dagnus of Samos, in Lycia, Asia Minor.

This small depiction of St. Christopher originates in the master's Italian period, around 1620. With its night setting and emphasis on landscape, it offers evidence of Van Poelenburch's exposure while in Italy to the work of Adam Elsheimer.<sup>11</sup> He appears to have drawn upon a known painting by Elsheimer on the same theme, now in St. Petersburg (fig. 151a).<sup>12</sup> Elsheimer's dramatically agitated interpretation is recast as a contemplative scene, with the lumbering Christopher doggedly crossing the river at the centre, the young Jesus nestling securely against the back of his bowed head. Gentle moonlight bathes the figures





Fig. 151b. I. van der Horst, after Cornelis Poelenburch, *St. Christopher*, etching, dimensions unknown. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

and delicately illuminates the spacious landscape behind them. A second, more finished treatment of the subject by the artist, bearing his initials, shows Jesus facing forward, thus departing further from the Elsheimer.<sup>13</sup> The present painting, sketchier in technique, likely shows the artist's initial conception of the scene. An etching by I. van der Horst reflects its composition, also showing the child's head turned toward the viewer (fig. 151b).<sup>14</sup> The print's inscription asserts that it is after Elsheimer, but this appears to be an error, since no such painting is known. However, if it is after a lost Elsheimer, the print would further establish the present depiction of the theme as Van Poelenburch's first.

1. Marten Jan Bok, in Roethlisberger 1993, p. 646.
2. Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 387.
3. Thieme-Becker, vol. 27, p. 178.
4. Sandrart 1675-1679, vol. 2, p. 370. For discussion see Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 387.
5. Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 387.
6. Thieme-Becker, vol. 27, p. 178.
7. Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, p. 387.
8. For example Herri met de Bles, *St. Christopher*, oil on panel, 30 x 42 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 2437; see exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1994, pp. 334-339, no. 78 (colour ill.).
9. LTK, vol. 2, col. 1167.
10. See Voragine, vol. 2, pp. 10-14.
11. On Van Poelenburch's early dependence on Elsheimer, see Ekhard Schaar, "Poelenburgh und Breenbergh in Italien und ein Bild Elsheimers," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 9 (1959/60), pp. 25-43.
12. See Andrews 1977, pp. 140-141, no. 5 (pl. 23), and collection cat. St. Petersburg 1982, vol. 2, p. 213, no. 694.
13. Cornelis van Poelenburch, *St. Christopher*, around 1620, oil on panel, initialled lower left: C.P., sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 15 November 2003, lot 1122 (colour ill.). This painting was formerly in Amsterdam with the Stichting P & N de Boer; see exhib. cat. Frankfurt 1966, p. 61, no. 79 (fig. 65). Jan de Bisschop made a drawing after this version, and Wallerant Vaillant reproduced it in a mezzotint; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1992, p. 41, nos. 26, 27 (ills.).
14. The etching is inscribed: *Elsheimer pinxit / I. vander Horst excudit*, see Weizsäcker 1936-1952, vol. 1, p. 101, vol. 2, p. 32 (pl. 35). ♦

152.

Cornelis van Poelenburch (Utrecht probably 1594 – Utrecht 1667)

*The Adoration of the Magi*

1640s

Oil on panel, 45.5 x 34.5 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Possibly Dulac et Lachaise sale, Paris (M. Chariot and P. A. Paillet), 30 November 1778 (Lugt 2197), lot 24 (as "L'Adoration des Rois; riche composition, & d'une belle ordonnance [Adoration of the Shepherds; rich composition and beautiful arrangement]," oil on panel, 17 x 13 *pouces* [45.9 x 35.1 cm], for 800 francs); Maastricht, with Robert Noortman; Nettetal, collection of Hans Berto Korsten; London, with Whitfield Fine Arts, in 1997; purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Possibly Blanc 1858, vol. 1, p. 137; Stephanie Kollman, *Niederländische Künstler und Kunst im London des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 2000), p. 252

NEARLY IDENTICAL VARIANTS

Oil on canvas, 48.5 x 41 cm, D.E. Menten sale, The Hague (Van Marle & Bignell), 26 July 1943, lot 51

Oil on panel, 42 x 31.5 cm, A.G. Hickman et al. sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 July 1969, lot 94

OTHER VARIANTS

Without Balthasar turning around to the crowd: undoubtedly autograph, oil on canvas, 38.7 x 31.8 cm, Longleat sale, London (Christie's), 14 June 2002, lot 602 (colour ill.)

Without putti: oil on panel, 38.5 x 31 cm, sale, Stockholm (Bukowski), 28 May 1997, lot 347 (colour ill.), formerly with B. Rapp, Stockholm

In reverse: oil on copper, 17 x 14 in. [43.2 x 35.6 cm], Rutland sale, London (Christie's), 16 April 1926, lot 31 (ill.)

COPIES

Oil on panel, 69 x 55.5 cm, sale, Cologne (Kunsthau am Museum), 17-20 April 1973, lot 1554 (ill.)

IN EXECUTING THIS painting Cornelis van Poelenburch was taking up the well-established pictorial tradition of the Adoration of the Magi (Matthew 2:11). It was already being interpreted by Hieronymus Bosch in the 15th century<sup>1</sup> and was subsequently revisited countless times in workshops across Flanders. In the northern city of Utrecht it was painted by Jan van Scorel,<sup>2</sup> an artist who joined the entourage of Pope Adrian IV and on his return from Rome established a busy workshop and founded a strong painting tradition in his hometown. A couple of decades into the 17th century, the Adoration of the Magi theme was also explored by Utrecht painters Hendrick ter Brugghen<sup>3</sup> and Abraham Bloemaert, Van Poelenburch's teacher.<sup>4</sup> These two artists modernized the scene by adopting monumental compositions and placing a crowded group directly in the foreground.

Eschewing the monumentalism of his mentor Bloemaert, Van Poelenburch has opted for a small-figured composition dominated by the landscape setting, consistent with his usual approach to history painting, which had been shaped by Paul Bril and Adam Elsheimer. Also guided by his classicizing penchant and his Italian experience, he has given considerable prominence to the antique ruin that offers some protection to the Holy Family as





they receive their illustrious visitors. Along with these influences, the scene reflects the earlier Flemish tradition in its emphasis on the opulent and exotic dress of the Magi, and in the setting in a dilapidated building – two elements also present in the painting by Ter Brugghen. Details such as the putti above and Joseph's pose, as he peers into the ointment cup, are Van Poelenburch's own invention. The section of wall running down the whole of the left-hand edge of the picture introduces a repoussoir element that increases the sense of depth.

During the 1640s, his travels over, Van Poelenburch established a large and busy studio in Utrecht, employing assistants to produce copies and variations in response to the healthy demand for his style. The present work reflects this period in his career, as there are at least five known variations of it, showing the Holy Family on the left and the putti above.<sup>5</sup> The theme, with its indirect reference to the Eucharist and the worship of Jesus, was well suited to Utrecht's thriving Roman Catholic art market. The best version, formerly in the Longleat collection, is certainly autograph but varies slightly in the arrangement of the Magi, showing Balthasar standing to the left of Caspar. The present picture is nearly identical to two other compositions, but shows a higher

quality, suggesting that it is probably from the artist's own hand. Leonard Bramer made a drawing after one of these versions, most likely the one that resurfaced at a 1943 sale, which includes two cherubs below the putti.<sup>6</sup> A distinctive Utrecht touch in this painting is the cup held by Caspar: it is modelled after the famous silver cup fashioned by the Utrecht silversmith Adam van Vianen in 1614, which appears in a number of other 17th-century Dutch paintings.<sup>7</sup>

1. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi*, oil on panel, 138 × 72 cm, signed, Madrid, Prado, inv. 2048; see Marijnissen 1987, pp. 234–259 (colour ill.).
2. Jan van Scorel, *The Adoration of the Magi*, oil on panel, 44.7 × 55.5 cm, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, inv. 1935.381; see Molly Faries and Martha Wolff, "Landscape in the Early Paintings of Jan van Scorel," *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996), pp. 728–730 (fig. 13).
3. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1619, oil on panel, 134 × 160 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4188; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1976, p. 155 (ill.).
4. Abraham Bloemaert, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1624, oil on canvas, 168.5 × 193.5 cm, signed, Utrecht, Centraal Museum; see Roethlisberger 1993, pp. 255–257, no. 387 (ill.).
5. See under Variants at the head of this entry. Further removed is a depiction with its composition reversed from the present picture and rubble instead of a standing ruin: Cornelis van Poelenburch, *The Adoration of the Magi*, oil on copper, 36.5 × 30, monogrammed, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. 1954-2; see *Im Lichte Hollands. Holländische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein und aus Schweizer Besitz*, exhib. cat. (Basel: Kunstmuseum Basel, 1987), pp. 273–274, no. 43 (colour ill.).
6. Leonard Bramer, after Cornelis van Poelenburch, *The Adoration of the Magi*, black chalk, 40.2 × 29.2 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, Album Bramer; see Plomp 1986, p. 137, no. 49 (ill.).
7. Adam van Vianen, *Silver Cup with Lid, Made for the Amsterdam Silversmith's Guild*, 1614, gilt silver, 25.5 × 13.2 × 10.9 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. BK-1976.75; see Duyvené de Wit-Klinkhamer, "Een vermaarde zilveren beker," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 17 (1966), pp. 79–103. ♦



153.

Willem de Poorter (Haarlem? 1608 –  
Haarlem after 1649)

*The Adoration of the Shepherds*

1644

Oil on panel, 33.4 × 28.4 cm

Signed and dated lower right: *W. D. Poorter / 1644*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel  
Bader

PROVENANCE

Van Pappelendam sale, Amsterdam (Van Schouten),  
11 June 1889 (Lugt 48361), lot 143 (as oil on  
panel, signed and dated 1644, 34 × 29 cm, for  
f72.-); Munich, with Dagmar Fleischmann; pur-  
chased by Alfred Bader in June 1986

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2386, 2410, no.  
1621, p. 2434 (colour ill.); *Revue du Louvre* 43,  
no. 3 (July 1991), p. 85, no. 9 (colour ill.)



WILLEM DE POORTER was born in 1608, the son of a Flemish émigré, probably in the city of Haarlem.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that around 1629 to 1631 he studied with Rembrandt in Leiden, or at least familiarized himself with the master's work from this period.<sup>2</sup> From 1633 to 1648 he appears repeatedly in the Haarlem archives, although he is also documented as having been in the village of

Wijk bij Heusden in 1645.<sup>3</sup> De Poorter's signed and dated drawing, now in Berlin, after Rembrandt's *Susanna and the Elders* of 1637 attests to continued contact with the master after his move to Amsterdam.<sup>4</sup> Houbraken identified De Poorter as specializing in history and still life,<sup>5</sup> and while a few still lifes by him survive, he remains best known for his small-figured biblical and mythological scenes in the style of the early Rembrandt. He also appears to have drawn inspiration from the work of Rembrandt's teacher, Pieter Lastman.

In this signed and dated work of 1644, De Poorter was offering his view of the oft-represented story that culminates in the Adoration of the Shepherds, as told in the Gospel of Luke (2:9-18). After being summoned by angels, who appear to them at night in the fields, shepherds hasten to visit the Holy Family. Once they have seen the infant Jesus, they tell everyone they meet about the prophecy concerning him – the “tidings of great joy.” Here, in the space of a barn, with hay spilling over the rough-cut beams above, they gather around the manger where Jesus lies, cradled in the arms of the Virgin. The dark interior's only illumination radiates from the infant, as decreed by the pictorial tradition based on the Nativity vision of St. Bridget of Sweden, who is said to have seen the newborn child bathed in a divine light. Just behind Mary, between the two conversing



Fig. 153a. Pieter de Grebber, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1634, oil on canvas, 141.5 × 177.2 cm. Manchester, City Art Gallery, inv. 1926.34.



shepherds, appear the heads of an ox and a donkey, the traditional references in Nativity scenes to the Gentiles (ignorant of the Gospel) and the Jews (who know it but – according to this anti-Semitic view – stubbornly resist it).

De Poorter has positioned all the figures in a cluster in the centre, strongly differentiating them through expression and gesture, according to the Rembrandt idiom. Yet he did not have a painting by Rembrandt available to him as a model: Rembrandt's earliest depiction of the theme is a panel painted for the stadholder Frederik Hendrik as part of the cycle on the life of Christ known as the Passion Series, which is signed and dated 1646.<sup>6</sup> De Poorter seems, then, to have adapted the Rembrandt idiom independently, taking his cue for the subject from other Haarlem artists. His interpretation agrees in some details with a 1634 version by his fellow townsman Pieter de Grebber (fig. 153a) – in the form of the manger, for example, and the inclusion of the ox and donkey. Stylistically, too, De Poorter's smooth paint handling and strong hues show a debt to the Haarlem tradition. The artist moved even further in a classicizing direction in another depiction of the theme, last in London. This restful horizontal composition, with an even smoother finish, can be dated a few years later.<sup>7</sup> More Rembrandtesque in manner is a small panel now in Remiremont, which shows small figures in agitated, expressive poses and likely dates from earlier in the 1640s.<sup>8</sup>

1. Thieme-Becker, vol. 27, p. 259.

2. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2385.

3. Thieme-Becker, vol. 27, p. 259.

4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1636, oil on canvas, 47.4 × 38.6 cm, signed, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 147 (see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 196-201, no. 117 [ill.]); Willem de Poorter, after Rembrandt, *Susanna and the Elders*, pen and brown ink and brown wash over sketch in black chalk, 22.7 × 19.2 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett inv. 12104 (see Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 9, pp. 4792-4793, no. 2134 [ill.]).

5. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 61.

6. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1646, canvas, 97 × 71.3 cm, signed, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 393, see Schwartz 1985, pp. 238-239, no. 261 (colour ill.).

7. Willem de Poorter, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, mid-1640s, oil on canvas, 21.3 × 28.8 cm, monogrammed, London, with Johnny van Haften, in 1989; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2410, no. 1620, p. 2433 (colour ill.).

8. Willem de Poorter, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, early 1640s, oil on canvas, 26 × 19 cm, Remiremont, Musée Municipal Charles de Bruyères; see *Revue du Louvre* 3 (1991), p. 85, no. 9, and Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2410, with no. 1620. ♦



#### 154.

Willem de Poorter (Haarlem? 1608 – Haarlem after 1649)

#### *David and the Crown of Saul*

Around 1645

Oil on panel, 58.4 × 46.9 cm

Monogrammed lower left: *WDP*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

R.E. Summerfield sale, London (Christie's), 2 November 1989, lot 264 (colour ill., as by Circle of Willem de Poorter); London, with Rafael Valls; purchased by Alfred Bader;

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 24 (1991), no. 1, p. 1 (cover ill. in colour); Manuth 1991, pp. 263-269; Judith van Gent, in exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991, pp. 91, 142 (colour ill., fig. 14); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3739, no. 2420, p. 4038 (colour ill., as around 1645-1650); Volker Manuth, "Zum Nachleben der Werke Hans Holbeins d. J. in der holländische Malerei und Graphik des 17. Jahrhunderts," in Bernd Lindemann, ed., *Hans Holbein der Jüngere, Akten des internationalen Symposiums, Kunstmuseum Basel, 26-28 Juni 1997*, special volume of *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 55, nos. 2-4 (1998), pp. 329-331

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Münster 1994, pp. 91, 273-274, no. 43 (colour pl. 43)

A YOUNG SOLDIER kneels on the right, proffering a golden crown, while a richly dressed man on the left grimaces and gazes upward, reacting in apparent anguish. He even tears open his robe at the chest, rending his garments in despair at the sight before him. Willem de Poorter's painting depicts a scene from an





Fig. 154a. Hans Holbein the Younger, *David and the Crown of Saul*, woodcut, from *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones* (Lyons, 1543).

episode recounted in the Second Book of Samuel (1:1-16). Saul, the first King of Israel, had turned on the young David after his victory over Goliath and begun to pursue him as a rival. Sometime later, in a battle against the Philistines, Saul faces defeat and capture, and orders his Amelekite shield-bearer to kill him.<sup>1</sup> The Amelekite then brings Saul's crown and one of his bracelets to David. But David reacts in grief and anger, for in spite of being the object of Saul's hatred and hostility, he honoured him. Instead of rewarding the Amelekite, David has him executed for killing the king anointed by God. De Poorter highlights the unexpectedness of David's emotional reaction by clearly conveying the Amelekite's surprise.

In making this image, De Poorter was selecting a highly unusual theme apparently not previously represented in painting. He may have known the engraving on the subject by Maerten de Vos,<sup>2</sup> but he chose as his model instead the simpler, more monumental woodcut by Hans Holbein the Younger (fig. 154a).<sup>3</sup> Both prints were widely disseminated as illustrations to various editions of the Bible. The figures of David and the messenger follow the Holbein print almost exactly, but De Poorter, true to his Rembrandtesque idiom, dropped the landscape setting and recast the scene indoors, with a small group of figures. Interestingly, De Poorter worked out the figures of David and the man behind him in a thorough chalk study in Dresden (fig. 154b), which quite strikingly takes up the challenge (laid down by his model Rembrandt) of conveying emotion.<sup>4</sup> The painting renders the sketch's extreme expressions and gestures in a more restrained way, following the dictates of decorum imposed by the prevailing classicizing fashion. A painted depiction by Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael (1628-1675), a *portrait historié*, shows an even greater classicizing calm and almost certainly dates from later – sometime during the 1650s.<sup>5</sup> A drawing in Amsterdam mentioned by Judith van Gent in connection with this theme more likely depicts a scene from the Book of Esther.<sup>6</sup>

De Poorter's handling in this panel departs from his earlier refinement and adopts the same broader, looser touch seen in his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, also in the Bader Collection (cat. 153), allowing, as Sumowski points out, for a similar dating to



Fig. 154b. Willem de Poorter, *Study of a Standing Man Rending His Shirt, with a Frightened Man behind Him*, black chalk with white heightening on blue-grey paper, 22.8 × 17.8 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. C 1981-347.

around 1645.<sup>7</sup> The works share as well a more monumental treatment of the figure and a monochromatic scheme punctuated by areas of bright local colour. A penchant for original or unusual themes emerges elsewhere in De Poorter's work – for example, his depiction of *Pantheia and Cyrus with the Body of Abradatas*, last in Amsterdam.<sup>8</sup>

1. It should be noted that 1 Samuel 31:4 offers a different account of Saul's death, in which he falls on his own sword after his shield-bearer refuses the order to kill him.
2. Maerten de Vos, *David Receiving the News of the Death of Saul*, engraving, 19.8 × 26.6 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 44, p. 33, no. 112, and vol. 45, p. 55 (ill.).
3. Under the heading II Regum I in *Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones*, with woodcut illustrations by Hans Lutzburger (possibly Augsburg? – Basel 1536) after designs by Hans Holbein the Younger (Lyons: Jean Frellon, 1547). For a modern reprint, see *Images from the Old Testament by Hans Holbein*, intro. Michael Marqusee (New York and London: Paddington, 1976).
4. See Christian Dittrich, "Kreidezeichnungen von Willem de Poorter. Eine unbekannte Gruppe von Figurenzeichnungen des Rembrandt-Schülers im Kupferstich-Kabinett Dresden," *Jahrbuch der Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden* 27 (1998-1999), pp. 20-21, no. 14 (ill.).
5. Reyer Jacobsz. van Blommendael, *The Amelekite Presents the Crown of Saul to David*, 1650s, oil on canvas, 215 × 265 cm, traces of a signature, sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby Mak van Waay), 10 May 1994, lot 90 (colour ill.).
6. Anonymous follower of Rembrandt van Rijn, *Esther Accusing Haman?*, pen and brown ink and brown wash, 16.9 × 19.4 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1943, pp. 27-28, no. 57 (pl. 57, as by Rembrandt, *David Receiving the Crown of Saul*); see exhib. cat. Münster 1994, pp. 274, note 2.
7. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3739, no. 2420, p. 4038 (colour ill., as around 1645-1650).
8. Willem de Poorter, *Pantheia and Cyrus with the Body of Abradatas*, oil on panel, 53 × 68 cm, signed, Amsterdam, with John H. Schlichte Bergen, in 1994. This theme is taken from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 347 c, no. 2421. ♦





155.

Willem de Poorter (Haarlem? 1608 – Haarlem after 1649)

*The Idolatry of Solomon*

Around 1645

Oil on panel, 28.2 × 23.3 cm

Inscribed on the back of panel: *pietro nella W[?]inter / n°5*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1986, acc. no. 29-003

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly sale, Amsterdam, 10 October 1742 (Lugt 561), lot 67 (as "Een stuk daar Salomon tot Afgoderij gebracht werd door de Poorter [A piece showing Solomon brought to idolatry, by De Poorter]"); sale, New York (Sotheby Parke-Bernet), 3 November 1983, lot 23 (ill., as by Willem de Poorter), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2410, no. 1624, p. 2437 (ill., as by Willem de Poorter, around 1645)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 86-89, no. 21 (ill.)

THE THEME OF SOLOMON'S Idolatry proved popular among Dutch artists of the 17th century. The First Book of Kings (11:1-4) relates how King Solomon accumulated a large harem that included many foreign women, who eventually persuaded him to join them in the worship of their deities. The story carries a simple warning against the corrupting power of sensuality, and the many painted depictions of Solomon thus brought low also formed a general admonition to men about the power of women,



Fig. 155a. Willem de Poorter, *The Wrath of Ahasuerus*, around 1645, oil on panel, 22 × 27 cm. Location unknown.

similar to the message conveyed by representations of Aristotle and Phyllis. In the present picture the aging monarch kneels before an altar surmounted by a statue that is partially enclosed by a curtain. He is accompanied by a pagan priest and a young acolyte. In the background to the left, standing at the threshold of another chamber, a cluster of richly dressed women – representatives of the concubines – looks on at the scene. The half-crazed expression on Solomon's face underscores the folly of his actions, while the crown lying on the floor in front of him may be an allusion to his neglect of his royal responsibilities.

Sumowski was the first to attribute this panel to Willem de Poorter. It displays this artist's typically solid handling of small figures in a large, dark interior, which was based on the work of the early Rembrandt. Solomon's bright yellow robe, set against a monochromatic background, also reflects De Poorter's interpretation of Rembrandt's approach to colour. Furthermore, the sharp eyebrows and beaked nose of the assistant exemplify a facial type that appears frequently in De Poorter's work. The simple triangular arrangement of the scene can also be seen in a more lavish rendering of the theme now in Amsterdam,<sup>2</sup> whose small figure scale and refined finish point to an early date of around 1636.<sup>3</sup> Here, however, as Sumowski has indicated, the loose, broad facture and simplified composition connect the work to a group of De Poorter paintings from around 1645 that show a rough, unrefined technique, such as his *Wrath of Ahasuerus* (fig. 155a).<sup>4</sup> These pictures probably reflect a revisitation of Rembrandt's work – but this time the small, sketchy paintings of the early 1640s.

1. Hoet 1752, vol. 2, p. 70.

2. Willem de Poorter, *The Idolatry of Solomon*, around 1636, oil on panel, 63 × 49 cm, monogrammed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-757; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2408, no. 1610, p. 2423 (colour ill.).

3. Ibid.

4. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 4 July 1984, lot 59; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2410, no. 1623, p. 2436 (ill.), with further discussion. ◆





A DONKEY AND AN OX relax in the shade of a tree, taking relief from the hot sun. The obviously balmy weather and the mountains to be seen in the distance would have marked this scene for contemporary Dutch viewers as southern, likely Italian. The picture partakes of a vibrant tradition of Italianate landscapes dominated during the mid-17th century by such names as Jan Both, Nicolaes Berchem and Jan Baptist Weenix. Another important proponent of this mode, however, was Adam Pynacker, whose signature this work bears.

Pynacker was born in Schiedam, near Rotterdam, into affluence, his father being a merchant who owned several ships.<sup>1</sup> His mother came from a prominent Delft family of brewers, the Graswinckels, who are represented in the Bader Collection by Constantijn Verhout's astonishing genre-like portrait of Cornelis Abrahamsz. Graswinckel (cat. 189).<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known about Adam Pynacker's training, but Houbraken reported that he spent some time in Italy, probably between 1645 and 1648.<sup>3</sup> He appears to have practised his art while also pursuing the family occupation of trade and did not start producing paintings until the late 1640s.<sup>4</sup> In the 1660s he moved to Amsterdam, where his death is recorded in 1673.

This painting was once owned by Wolfgang Stechow, the pioneering scholar of Dutch landscape painting. There seems to be no reason to doubt the signature. Although Laurie Harwood initially rejected its attribution to Pynacker on the basis of a photograph, she later confirmed it after viewing the work itself.<sup>5</sup> It shows the artist's characteristic use of a grazing light that penetrates foliage and yields a flickering pattern of highlights, as well

as his penchant for sharply emphasized textures and zigzag branch patterns. Equally typical is the foreground cast in shadow and populated by cattle, also seen in an early painting by him in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum.<sup>6</sup> A similar ox appears in another early painting in Montreal<sup>7</sup> and in a later work, of around 1665, now in New York.<sup>8</sup> The same formula of animals, trees and distant mountains forms the basis for several paintings from this later period. However, the light effect here is not as dramatic as in those works, which were painted for the Amsterdam market. The present panel appears to be an experiment in effects of shadow and, though enriched by the same kind of decorative pattern of billowing clouds that appears frequently in the artist's landscapes, is somewhat sparer than many of his works. While it possesses some of his later energy, its calm composition and painterly touch link the composition to Pynacker's earlier style, pointing to a date of around 1655-1660.

1. Harwood 1988, pp. 13-16.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

3. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 96; see Harwood 1988, p. 17.

4. Harwood indicates several paintings by him in inventories of 1653; see Harwood 1988, p. 17.

5. Letter of 22 February 1998 from Laurie Harwood to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.

6. Adam Pynacker, *Landscape with Cattle and Shepherdess*, around 1649, oil on panel, 36 × 48 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-322; see Harwood 1988, p. 48, no. 12 (pl. 12 and colour pl. II).

7. Adam Pynacker, *A Cowherd in a Southern Landscape*, early 1650s, oil on canvas, 50 × 43.1 cm, signed, Montreal, collection of Michal and Renata Hornstein; see exhib. cat. Montreal 1990, pp. 150-151, no. 45 (colour ill.).

8. Adam Pynacker, *Landscape with Enraged Ox*, around 1665, oil on canvas, 98.5 × 86.5 cm, signed, New York, collection of Saul P. Steinberg; see exhib. cat. Montreal 1990, pp. 154-155, no. 47 (colour ill.). ♦

156.

Adam Pynacker

(Schiedam around 1621 – Amsterdam 1673)

*An Ox and a Donkey in the Shade*

Around 1655-1660

Oil on panel, 33.8 × 39.9 cm

Signed lower right: *APynacker*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Collection of Warren Wood; Hertfordshire, collection of P.I. Butler; London, with Eugene Slatter, in 1957; Oberlin, Ohio, collection of Wolfgang Stechow; purchased from his widow by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Harwood 1988, p. 147, no. C80 (pl. 199, as not by Pynacker)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Exhibition of Dutch and Flemish Masters* (London: Eugene Slatter, 1957), p. 24, no. 10; *Italy through Dutch Eyes: Dutch Seventeenth Century Landscape Artists in Italy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1964), no. 53 (ill.)





157.

Jacob Symonsz. Pynas

(Amsterdam 1592/93 – Amsterdam around 1650-1657)

*The Stoning of St. Stephen*

1617

Oil on panel, 74.8 × 73.6 cm

Signed and dated lower left: *Jac. P. f. An. 1617*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1983, acc. no. 26-001

#### PROVENANCE

Almost certainly Amsterdam and Leidmuiden, collection of Arent Pietersz. Brughman (1583-1638), in 1635;<sup>1</sup> Budapest, Esterhazy collection; sale, Budapest (Ernst Museum), 11-15 November 1923 (Lugt 85883), lot 55 (pl.4, as 74.5 x 75 cm, signed and dated 1617); London, collection of Efim Schapiro; his sale, London (Christie's), 30 November 1979, lot 7 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Gabriel von Térey, "Unbekannte Werke seltener niederländischer Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Cicerone* 18 (1926), p. 801 (ill.); Kurt Bauch, "Beiträge zum Werk der Vorläufer Rembrandts III. Die Gemälde des Jakob Pynas," *Oud Holland* 53 (1936), p. 79 (fig. 1); Thieme-Becker, vol.27, p.478; Ludwig Baldass, "Studien über Jacob Pynas," *Belvedere* 13 (1938-1943), p. 157; Seymour Slive, "The Young Rembrandt," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 20 (1963), pp. 130-131 (fig.10); Horst Gerson, "A Rembrandt Discovery," *Apollo* 77 (1963), p.371 (translation of an article in *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 3 [1962-1964]); Lisa Oehler, "Zu einigen Bildern aus Elsheimers Umkreis," *Städel Jahrbuch* 1 (1967), pp. 160, 170 note 16; Ingvar Bergström, "Œuvres de Jeunesse de Rembrandt," *L'Œil* 173 (May 1969), p.4; Judson 1969, p.704; Haverkamp-Begemann 1969, p.282; John Walsh Jr., "New Dutch Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum," *Apollo* 99, no. 348 (1974), pp.343, 349 note 8; Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p.73; Bader 1995, p. 247; Christian Seiffert, in exhib.cat.Frankfurt, Edinburgh and London 2006, p.217 (colour ill.); Dudok van Heel 2006, *passim*, especially pp. 140-143 (fig.67)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Montreal and Toronto 1969, pp. 109-110, no. 103 (ill.); Kingston 1988-1991, pp. xi, 40-43, no. 10 (colour ill.)

JACOB PYNAS WAS an important figure in the first clearly defined school of painting to emerge in the rising metropolis of Amsterdam. Born in the city (although Houbraken says Haarlem) in 1592 or 1593, the son of cloth merchant Symon Jansz. Brouwer (later Pynas), he probably studied first under his brother Jan, who was ten years his senior.<sup>2</sup> Jacob initially followed Jan's model and that of the Amsterdam painters Pieter Lastman and Jan Tengnagel, whose practices were closely aligned. This group produced primarily historical scenes with figures painted in a hard, precise manner and bright colours, following Mannerist practice. They also employed the strong light effects and dramatic expressions of Adam Elsheimer, the German émigré painter working in Rome who was in turn an interpreter of Caravaggio and his followers.<sup>3</sup> These artists travelled to Italy themselves and adapted these aspects from Elsheimer's work. Their scenes were typically set in a deep landscape, whose style was influenced by the work of the Flemish landscapist, also working in Italy, Paul Bril. Because of Lastman's formative role in the career of the young Rembrandt, this group has come to be known as the "Pre-Rembrandtists." But the biographer Arnold Houbraken also identified Jacob Pynas as Rembrandt's teacher – his second, after Jacob van Swanenburg and before Lastman – an assertion that has only recently begun to attract serious scholarly attention.<sup>4</sup> It seems unlikely that Jacob accompanied his brother Jan on his 1605-1608 trip to Rome, as often assumed. He is known to have been in The Hague in 1622 and in Leiden in 1626, but during





Fig. 157a. Adam Elsheimer, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, 1605, oil on copper, 34.7 x 28.7 cm. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, inv. NG 2281.



Fig. 157b. Cherubino Alberti, after Rosso Fiorentino, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, engraving, 39.1 x 28.1 cm.



Fig. 157c. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, 1625, oil on panel, 89 x 123.5 cm. Lyons, Musée des beaux-arts, inv. A 2735.

this period he still maintained a residence in Amsterdam and likely made use of Pieter Lastman's atelier, where, around 1625, he would have taught the young Rembrandt.<sup>5</sup> In 1632 Pynas joined the St. Luke's Guild of Delft, possibly in order to be able to assist on the grand decorative commissions being carried out for the court by Leonard Bramer. He is still documented in that city in 1639, just before he returned to Amsterdam.<sup>6</sup>

The theme of the present painting is taken from the account of the Apostles' evangelical efforts given in the Book of Acts. Owing to his zeal, Stephen is chosen as one of seven "deacons." But he runs into opposition from Hellenizing Jews in Jerusalem<sup>7</sup> and is brought before the Sanhedrin on a charge of blasphemy – an experience that parallels that of Jesus. Stephen does not emulate Jesus' passive approach, however, or seek to appease his accusers but, in a lengthy oration, directly challenges the Jews on their traditionally hostile reception of prophecy. This provokes their wrath, and they spontaneously drive him out of the city and stone him to death. The tragedy is widely considered to be the first Christian martyrdom.

Pynas's painting clearly declares its debt to Adam Elsheimer's well-known depiction of the subject, now in Edinburgh (fig. 157a).<sup>8</sup> The artist has adapted Elsheimer's kneeling pose for the stricken Stephen and his figure of a man reaching down to pick up a stone. He also includes the standing figure poised dramatically to hurl a large stone that frames the composition on the right but has replaced Elsheimer's curious profile of a youth rising up on this toes with a more elegant, twisting figure that derives from a print by Marcantonio Raimondi of *David Cutting off the Head of Goliath*.<sup>9</sup> Pynas also departs from the Elsheimer model by not including the host of angels that Stephen is reported to have seen, probably, as David McTavish has observed, because of the Calvinist-dominated northern Netherlandish context in which his work was made.<sup>10</sup> Dudok van Heel has pointed out that the presence of angels underscores the special intercessory status of

martyr-saints, a notion that would have been anathema to the Calvinists.<sup>11</sup> However, it should be noted that angels do occur in other works by Pynas and his Dutch contemporaries – in scenes portraying Hagar, for example. Here, Pynas found it sufficient to indicate Stephen's vision by means of the ray of light that pierces the clouds above, a device that furthermore suited his tendency toward simplicity and clarity of composition. He may have taken this solution from a picture by Rosso Fiorentino (possibly known to him through a print after it by Cherubino Alberti) (fig. 157b), which also includes the same twisting figure on the right that originates with Raimondi.<sup>12</sup>

It was Horst Gerson who in 1963 first pointed out the connection between the present picture and Rembrandt's earliest signed and dated painting – a panel from 1625 now in Lyons, which represents the same theme (fig. 157c) – observing that "it seems like a preliminary sketch for this painting by Rembrandt."<sup>13</sup> Rembrandt clearly adapted Pynas's figure of the man on the right, who is seen from behind, twisting around and holding aloft a large rock. Moreover, Rembrandt's handling of the background buildings closely approximates that seen here,<sup>14</sup> the mounted rider to the left and the classical temple in the right background also appear in Pynas's painting, and, like Pynas, Rembrandt has placed his scene's main action in the immediate foreground. Christian Tümpel has asserted the significance for the Rembrandt painting of a composition by Lastman known only through a drawing, but concedes that the correspondence is not close, thus concurring with the Rembrandt Research Project.<sup>15</sup> The drawing shows the main group set farther back and takes over Elsheimer's profile figure raising a rock directly above his head. In the absence of any other depictions by Lastman, then, the closest precedent for Rembrandt's composition remains the present painting by Jacob Pynas. As Volker Manuth has argued, the connection supports Houbraken's assertion that Pynas served as Rembrandt's teacher.<sup>16</sup> Rembrandt painted his



*Stoning of St. Stephen* in 1625 and, as Broos has suggested, did probably not begin his period of study under Lastman until afterwards.<sup>17</sup> The fact that the painting is signed and dated implies independence and the completion of the training he would have received around that time from Pynas. It appears that Pynas kept his painting of 1617 and that Rembrandt saw it in his atelier eight years later. Dudok van Heel has expressed the view that the Remonstrant Pynas likely composed his painting as a symbolic protest against the Counter-Remonstrant repression of other beliefs throughout this period, which included the throwing of stones by gangs of youths incited by preachers.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Dudok van Heel has identified a painting by Pynas on the same subject – almost certainly the present work – in an inventory of the possessions of Remonstrant merchant Arent Pietersz. Brughman, taken in 1635.<sup>19</sup> Rembrandt would have adopted this message in his own painting, probably painted for the arch-Remonstrant Petrus Scriverius, then living in Leiden, thereby indicating his sympathy for this Protestant denomination.<sup>20</sup>

A recent cleaning of this panel by Charles Munch has revealed Pynas's characteristic bright palette and a number of *pentimenti*, most notably in the foot of the stone-bearing figure to the right.

1. Amsterdam Municipal Archive, Notarial Archive Amsterdam 486B, Notary E. Cocq, fols. 14v-15v: "Een stuck van Jacob Pynas sijnde de steeninge van Stefanus (A piece by Jacob Pynas, being the Stoning of Stephen)"; see Dudok van Heel 2006, pp. 142-143.
2. See Dudok van Heel and Giskes 1984, pp. 17-18, on his year of birth, as the last of five children of Symon Jansz. Pynas and Oude Neel Jacobsdr.
3. For a survey of these artists, their sources and iconography, see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991.
4. Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 254-255.
5. Lisa Oehler connects the early work of Jacob Pynas to that of the Italian painter Carlo Saraceni, but concedes significant differences between the two, and also between the work of Pynas and Elsheimer; see Lisa Oehler, "Zu einigen Bildern aus Elsheimers Umkreis," *Städte Jahrbuch* 1 (1967), pp. 160-165. More recently, Sebastian Dudok van Heel has expressed doubt that Jacob Pynas joined his older brother Jan on his Italian journey; see Dudok van Heel and Giskes 1984, p. 17. Dudok van Heel argues that Jacob Pynas could no longer maintain his own studio during this period of financial constraint and may well have prevailed upon the resources of Lastman, who remained a close friend of his family; see Dudok van Heel 2006, pp. 146-147. On the artist's presence in The Hague, see Abraham Bredius, "Aantekeningen over de schilders Jan en Jacob Symonsz. Pynas," *Oud Holland* 52 (1935), p. 256.
6. On his registration in the Delft guild, see Montias 1982, p. 340. On his presence there in 1639, see Dudok van Heel 2006, p. 137, with reference to Delft Notarial Archive, Notary J. van Ruyven, date of 8 and 28 March 1639.
7. See LTK, vol. 9, col. 1050, s.v. *Stephanus, Erzmartyrer*.
8. See Andrews 1977, pp. 145-146, no. 15 (pl. 46).
9. Marcantoni Raimondi, *David Cutting off the Head of Goliath*, engraving, 26.4 × 39.2 cm; see Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 26, no. 10, and H. Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi. Étude historique et critique, suivie d'un catalogue raisonné des œuvres du maître* (Paris, 1888), p. 279 (ill.). On the connection, see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 73.
10. David McTavish, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1988-1991, p. 42.
11. Dudok van Heel 2006, p. 187.
12. See Bartsch, vol. 17, p. 68, no. 51, and Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 34, p. 170 no. 51 II (68) (ill.).
13. See Gerson 1963 under Literature at the head of this entry, and Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 67-73, no. A1 (ill.).
14. Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 72.
15. Pieter Lastman, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, black chalk, 29.2 × 36.4 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 10323; see Christian Tümpel, "Pieter Lastman and Rembrandt," in exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 57-57 (fig. 2). For the Rembrandt Research Project's conclusion, see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 71.
16. Paper for the symposium on the occasion of the exhibition Amsterdam and Kassel 2001-2002, Amsterdam, 27 March 2002. For further support of this view, see Dudok van Heel 2006, pp. 146-147, 183.
17. Broos 2000.
18. Dudok van Heel 2006, pp. 91-92, 140-143.
19. See note 1 above.
20. See Bob van den Boogert, in exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002, pp. 142-147, no. 7, especially p. 147. ◆

158.

Jacob Symonsz. Pynas

(Amsterdam 1592/93 – Amsterdam around 1650-1657)

*The Raising of Lazarus*

1624

Oil on panel, 22.7 × 37.1 cm (a strip varying in width from 1 to 1.3 cm has been added along the upper edge)

Signed and dated lower right: *Jac. Pynas f. 1624*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1981, acc. no. 24-030

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Amsterdam, collection of Johannes van Renialme, in 1657;<sup>1</sup> New Jersey, with Stanley Kenneth Jemow; New York, with Christophe Janet; purchased by Alfred Bader around 1980; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

"Principal Acquisitions of Canadian Museums and Galleries, 1981," *RACAR* 9 (1982), p. 148, no. 46 (ill.).

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. xi, 44-47, no. 11 (ill.).

JACOB PYNAS has here chosen a theme that was often depicted by the Pre-Rembrandtists and that Rembrandt himself subsequently took up, even more notably.<sup>2</sup> The Gospel of John (11:1-44) relates how when Jesus hears of the illness of his friend Lazarus, the beloved brother of Mary and Martha, he waits a couple of days before travelling to their hometown of Bethany. When he does arrive, he learns that Lazarus has already died. Moved by his friends' sorrow and his own grief, he proceeds to Lazarus's grave and orders the sealing stone removed. After thanking God, he cries out in a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth," upon which Lazarus emerges from the grave alive. John's narrative emphasizes the faith of Jesus' followers in his healing powers, their resentment at his late arrival on the scene, and the popularity resulting from the miracle. The event prefigures Jesus' own resurrection and occurs in the narrative immediately before the Passion. The gospel describes how Lazarus emerges swathed in burial clothes, which are then removed by onlookers. In the present painting, Pynas shows an old man attending to this task, as Lazarus clambers out of his grave. Behind them, to the far right, a female bystander covers her nose at the smell that is actually mentioned in the text, and a kneeling woman to the left of Jesus clasps her hands and throws her head back in joy. This is almost certainly Mary Magdalene, whose long tresses and expression of ecstatic emotion foreshadow her act of wiping Jesus' feet with her hair. The picture's most poignant element, however, is Lazarus's piercing gaze as he looks across at Jesus: the artist has used its intensity to convey the special significance of this dramatic revelation of Jesus' power over death.

When Jacob Pynas made this painting, his subject was already one of the great traditions of European art. The event depicted was seen as a direct reference to the resurrection of Jesus, and this link to Christianity's central tenet meant that it enjoyed widespread popularity from the religious movement's earliest days. Herwig Guratzsch's magisterial study traces the iconography and





interpretation of the theme's many depictions and points to the special interest shown in it by the circle surrounding Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam.<sup>3</sup> Many of these artists' favourite themes came from Adam Elsheimer, and Keith Andrews has suggested that Elsheimer's painting of the *Three Marys at the Grave*, now in Bonn, served as a model for Jan Pynas's depiction of *Lazarus* in Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup> Yet the connection is not that close, and there may well have been a painting of Lazarus by Elsheimer that is now lost.

Even though this theme was depicted several times by Jacob's brother Jan, one of the most important models for Jacob seems to have been a 1615 work in Copenhagen by Jan Tegnagel, who was the Pynas's brother-in-law (fig. 158a).<sup>5</sup> Tegnagel's painting shows some of the dynamic qualities of Jacob Pynas's

work of nine years later and emphasizes Mary Magdalene's emotion in similar fashion. Yet Pynas went further, creating a crowded scene composed on several receding planes, with strong diagonal axes and a number of sweeping curves. In his dynamic, almost turbulent composition, the shaded figure of Jesus forms a daring repoussoir, creating a dramatic tension with the lighted figures opposite – especially that of Lazarus. Pynas had perhaps also absorbed the example of the Utrecht followers of Caravaggio in his monumental figure scale, which took him away from a tradition that typically emphasized the landscape setting. The same factors drove Rembrandt's development during these critical years, lending further credence to Houbraken's striking assertion that Jacob Pynas served as his teacher during this period.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 158a. Jan Tegnagel, *The Raising of Lazarus*, 1615, oil on panel, 90 × 139 cm, signed. Copenhagen, Statens Museum, inv. KMSS4461.

1. See Van Renialme's inventory of 27 June 1657, in Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 1, p. 237, under no. 16.
2. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 293-308, no. A30 (ill.). Two prominent depictions by Rembrandt's predecessors in Amsterdam are: Pieter Lastman, *The Raising of Lazarus*, around 1629, oil on panel, 62 × 84 cm, Bolsward, Netherlands, private collection (see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1991, pp. 130-131, no. 22 [colour ill.]); and Jan Pynas, *The Raising of Lazarus*, around 1615, oil on panel, 57.8 × 50.5 cm, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John. G. Johnson Collection, no. 47 (see collection cat. Philadelphia 1994, p. 88 [ill.]).
3. Curatzsch 1980, vol. 1, pp. 134-144.
4. Andrews 1977, p. 28. Adam Elsheimer, *The Three Marys at the Grave*, around 1603, oil on copper, 25.8 × 20 cm, Bonn, Landesmuseum, inv. CK 68; see Andrews 1977, pp. 144-145, no. 13 (pl. 43). For Pynas's painting see note 2 above.
5. See Curatzsch 1980, vol. 1, p. 352.
6. Houbraken vol. 1, pp. 254-255. ♦





159.

Jacob Symonsz. Pynas

(Amsterdam 1592/93 – Amsterdam around 1650-1657)

*Elijah Praying in the Desert*

After 1624

Oil on panel, 38.4 × 36.2 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 14 November 1991, lot 153 (ill., as by Jacob Pynas, *A Hermit in a Landscape*); sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 10 November 1992, lot 2 (as by Follower of Jacob Pynas, *A Hermit in a Landscape*); The Hague, with Saskia Jüngeling; purchased by Alfred Bader

AN AGED BUT imposing man wearing a red mantle sits in a clearing in the wild, his hands clasped and his eyes raised heavenward. He appears to be a hermit, although his expression is neither submissive nor contemplative, but somewhat insistent and stern. The figure is probably Elijah, one of the great Hebrew prophets of the biblical tradition, who went into the wilderness to escape Ahab, the King of Judah, and Jezebel his Queen, whose wrath he had provoked by his criticism (I Kings 19:1-9). His countenance here conveys despondency, for Jacob Pynas has shown the prophet at the point when, bemoaning the failure of his mission, he prays to God for his life to end. Instead he falls asleep, only to be wakened by an angel, who brings him food and drink. Thus nourished, he finds the strength to continue travelling for forty days and forty nights, until he arrives at Mount Horeb, where he encounters Yahweh. The present composition once included the figure of the angel in flight, in the upper left quadrant. It was revealed by a cleaning, but was so heavily damaged by previous overcleaning that it was covered up again. The First Book of Kings (17:2-6) relates an earlier desert journey, during which Elijah was also miraculously fed – on that occasion by ravens bringing him bread and meat daily (see cat. 180). Of the two



Fig. 159a. Jacob Symonsz. Pynas, *Elijah Fed by the Ravens*, around 1610-1620, brown chalk, 21.5 × 16.3 cm, signed. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. Jac. Pynas 2.

episodes, this was the one more commonly taken as a pictorial theme by artists.

Elijah's desert sojourns made him an important Old Testament forerunner to the Christian hermitic tradition established by Jesus himself, who likewise spent forty days in the wilderness. Jesus' most prominent emulator, the Latin Church Father St. Jerome, was well known for his hermitic retreat in old age. With the rise of the forest landscape in the work of Flemish painters of the 16th century, these personalities came to enjoy great popularity, for they offered artists the opportunity to portray a variety of religious themes within spectacular fantasy landscape settings. In this painting, the backdrop more closely resembles the dramatic Alpine forests that would have been observed by Flemish artists on their travels to Italy than any landscape associated with the Holy Land. Jacob Pynas, known for his interest in the work of various Italian artists, here also reveals his sensitivity to Flemish art.

Elijah's miraculous repast provides an Old Testament example of divine nourishment offered to the believer – a precedent for the Eucharist. This connection had already been drawn pictorially by the 15th-century Flemish painter Dirk Bouts, who included the scene of the angel visiting Elijah in his famous *Last Supper* altarpiece.<sup>1</sup> Bouts perhaps drew upon the commentaries of Thomas Aquinas and the 13th-century *Bible moralisé* as his sources.<sup>2</sup>

Pynas likely painted this scene sometime after his *Raising of Lazarus* of 1624 (cat. 158), as it follows his later development, with its relatively spare composition, dry handling and muted palette. A drawing by the artist on the same theme (fig. 159a), which shows considerable detail and a powerful sense of volume, was almost certainly made earlier.

1. The scene is depicted on the lower panel of the right wing (88 × 71.2 cm). The altarpiece is now in the treasury of Sint-Pieterskerk, Leuven; see Jan van Lier, "Een vrome herenmaaltijd in Leuven. Theologische analyse van het Laatste Avondmaal door Dirk Bouts," in *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475): een Vlaams primitief te Leuven*, exhib. cat. (Leuven: Sint-Pieterskerk and Predikherenkerk), 1998, pp. 51-52.
2. *Bible moralisée. Faks.-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, edited by Reiner Hauserr (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1973), p. 66, no. 124 (fol. 54), p. 145 (ill. top left, showing the angel bringing food to Elijah). For discussion of Bouts's sources, see Van Lier, "Een vrome herenmaaltijd in Leuven" (note 1 above), pp. 51-52. ◆





160.

Jan Symonsz. Pynas (Alkmaar 1581/82 – Amsterdam 1631)

*Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*

1629

Oil on canvas, 101.6 × 127 cm

Signed and dated bottom centre: *Jan Pynas fec 1629*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

G. Wills Sale, London (Christie's), 10 February 1928, lot 110, purchased by Van Dureng; New York, with Central Picture Gallery; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1977

#### LITERATURE

Bauch 1960, p. 258, note 96; exhib. cat. Sacramento 1974, pp. 25–26, fig. 26 (ill.); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 12, no. 2 (1979), p. 21 (cover ill.); Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1641; exhib. cat. Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1980–1981, pp. 51, 148 (fig. 6); exhib. cat. Jerusalem 1993, p. 163 (fig. 162); exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2006, p. 134

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston, 1984, pp. 10–11, no. 5 (ill.); Tokyo 2003, pp. 64–65, no. 5 (colour ill.)

JAN PYNAS WAS born the second son of the cloth merchant Symon Pynas, in 1581 or 1582, in Alkmaar. Later in the decade his Catholic parents were forced to leave the city with their family, for Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> Although his early training is not known, we learn from Houbraken that Pynas joined Pieter Lastman on a trip to Italy in 1605.<sup>2</sup> He was back in Amsterdam by 1607<sup>3</sup> and lived for a while in Leiden around 1610,<sup>4</sup> returning to Amsterdam in 1611.<sup>5</sup> He later embarked on a second trip to Italy, where his stay in Rome is documented in 1617.<sup>6</sup> Upon returning again to Amsterdam, he probably shared a studio with his younger brother Jacob<sup>7</sup> until his death in 1631.<sup>8</sup> One famous visitor to this studio was likely Rembrandt. Houbraken reports that Rembrandt studied with Jacob, but also refers to a common legend that Rembrandt derived his brownish palette from the work of Jan.<sup>9</sup>

Here, Jan Pynas has depicted an episode from the biblical story of Joseph, favourite son of the patriarch Jacob, as told in the Book of Genesis (39:7–20). Taken to Egypt as a slave, he

serves in the house of Potiphar, deputy to the Pharaoh. But the talented and handsome Joseph falls victim to his master's wife, who attempts to seduce him one day when there is no one else in the house. After he resists and flees, she accuses him of attempting to rape her, whereupon Potiphar has him imprisoned. In Pynas's composition, Potiphar stands at the centre, with his wife seated to the left, looking over at her husband but pointing accusingly with her left hand at Joseph, who stands on the right. Potiphar's gaze is also directed at Joseph, and his brows are raised in shock. Joseph, clad only in a nightshirt – Potiphar's wife had managed to tear off his outer garment as he fled – recoils in protest and fear, bending away to the right and raising his hand in a protective and protesting gesture, even as soldiers seize him to take him away.

In Pynas's version, Potiphar's wife presents her accusation to her husband in Joseph's presence, although the text implies that they are alone. The artist has in fact pictured what amounts to a trial scene, using the theme to present a negative exemplar of justice. The work was thus carrying on the rich tradition in Netherlandish art of exemplars of justice, mostly positive, which include scenes such as the judgements of Solomon and of Cambyses.<sup>10</sup> Pynas has taken pains to emphasize the vanity and hypocrisy of Potiphar's wife through her revealing dress, her ostentatious display of jewellery and the coolly feigned expression of earnestness on her face. Later, Rembrandt offered another interpretation of the theme, conveying a sense of the wrenching emotional and moral drama faced by Joseph but also spotlighting the duplicitous expression of his accuser.<sup>11</sup>

The imposing, frame-filling presentation of the figures, shown full-length and in the foreground, is highly characteristic of the artist's mature style. The decorative colour range – which reflects Jan Pynas's Italian experience and the early interest in Elsheimer that he shared with Lastman – rather undermines Houbraken's characterization of his palette as tending toward brown.

1. Dudok van Heel and Giskes 1984, p. 17.
2. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 214.
3. Dudok van Heel 1976, p. 18.
4. Pynas's presence in Leiden in 1610 is reported in Thieme-Becker, vol. 27, p. 478.
5. On 20 May of that year he purchased a house on the Nieuwendijck in Amsterdam; see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "De Embder ofte Condees Hoeckgen in het Kohier van 1585. De Familie Hooft aan de Nieuwendijck," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 73 (1981), pp. 41–42.
6. A drawing by Jan Pynas in Amsterdam, traditionally thought to be dated 1615, is inscribed: *Jan Pynas fe Rome 1617*; see collection cat. Amsterdam 1998, vol. 1, p. 128, and vol. 2, p. 152 (ill.).
7. Dudok van Heel and Giskes 1984, p. 18.
8. Jan had married the year before he died; see *ibid.*, pp. 17–18.
9. Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 214–215, 254.
10. For a discussion of depictions of Cambyses, see Hugo van der Velden, "Cambyses for Example: The Origins and Function of an *exemplum justitiae* in Netherlandish Art in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries," *Simiolus* 23 (1995), pp. 5–39.
11. Rembrandt, *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*, 1655, oil on canvas, 110 × 87 cm, signed, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 828H; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 433 (ill.), p. 601, no. 524. ◆





161.

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (Leiden 1606 – Amsterdam 1669)

*Head of an Old Man in a Cap*

Around 1630

Oil on panel, 24.3 × 20.3 cm

Monogrammed upper right: *RHL* (in ligature)

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 2003, acc. no. 46-c31

#### PROVENANCE

Vicenza, collection of Prince Gonzaga; Amsterdam, with Van Diemen, in 1931; New York, collection of D. Bingham, in 1933; London, with Charles Duits; Wassenaar, collection of Sidney J. van den Bergh; sale, London (Christie's), 30 March 1979, lot 127 (ill., as not by Rembrandt), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 472 note 115; Bredius 1937, p. 27, no. 633 (ill.); Bauch 1960, p. 261, note 130 (as probably not autograph); De Vries 1960, p. 357 (ill.); Bauch 1966, no. 343 (as not autograph); Gerson 1968, pp. 18, 23 (colour ill.) pp. 194, 489, no. 29, p. 195; Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 617 no. 633 (ill. p. 122, as by Rembrandt); Lecaldano 1973, p. 93, no. 11 (ill.); Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, 1983, pp. 16, 43-44, 576-580, no. C22 (as not by Rembrandt, with Ernst van de Wetering dissenting); Schatborn 1986, p. 62 (as by Rembrandt); Haverkamp-Begemann 1987, p. 516; Held 1991, p. 188 (as by Rembrandt); Hollstein, vol. 41, 1992, p. 166, with no. 23; Tümpel 1993, p. 57 (colour ill.), pp. 405-6, no. 128 (as by Rembrandt); Bader 1995, pp. 216, 240-241 (pl. 33); Liedtke 1998, p. 313 (as by Rembrandt); Ernst van de Wetering, "Oude Man met Tulband," een teruggevonden vroege Rembrandt," pAn Amsterdam exhib. cat. (Amsterdam: pAn Art Fair, RAI Amsterdam, 1998), pp. 13, 18, 19 (ill., as by Rembrandt); Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 4 (2005), pp. 111-112 (fig. 47), p. 628 (colour ill., as by Rembrandt); Van Straten 2005, pp. 189-190 (fig. 327, as probably a copy after Rembrandt, and if so, by Isaac Joudreville); exhib. cat. Leiden 2005-2006, p. 190 (fig. 138); Rønberg and Wadum 2006, pp. 83-85 (fig. 11, as by Rembrandt); exhib. cat. Copenhagen 2006, pp. 72-73 (colour ill.), p. 137, pp. 176-177 (colour ill.); David de Witt, "A Coarse Rugged Way of Painting ... and Other Observations Relating to Rembrandt's *Head of an Old Man in a Cap* in Kingston," in Roscam Abbing 2006, pp. 77-87 (ill.); Gregor J. M. Weber, in exhib. cat. Kassel 2006, pp. 140-141 (fig. 15.3)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Delft 1952-1953, p. 30, no. 59 (pl. 9); Laren 1959, no. 67; Leiden 1965, no. 35; Kingston 1984, pp. 17-19, no. 8 (ill., as by Rembrandt); Naumann 1995, pp. 68-71, no. 13 (colour ill.); Amsterdam 1996, pp. 60-61, no. 10b (colour ill., as by Rembrandt); Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998, pp. 32, 96-98, no. 4 (colour ill.), p. 142; Boston 2000, pp. 117-120, no. 16 (colour ill.); Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002, pp. 370-373, no. 80 (colour ill.); Kyoto and Frankfurt 2002-2003, pp. 66-68, no. 10 (colour ill.); Kingston 2003, no. 1; Amsterdam 2006, pp. 201-204 (colour pl. 229), pp. 216-217 (colour pl. 249), pp. 224-225; Berlin 2006, pp. 180-181 (colour pl. 26), pp. 209, 211 (colour pl. 12), pp. 260-261, no. 11 (colour ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Van den Bergh 1968, p. 84

#### OTHER VERSIONS

Oil on panel, 19.5 x 17.3 cm, sale, The Hague (Van Marle & Bignell), 19 April 1943, lot 71 (pl. IX, as by Rembrandt); see Hofstede de Groot 1922, p. 31 (fig. 2).

Oil on panel, 23.9 x 21 cm, inscribed on reverse: *Loo van Ecouth* (Van den Eeckhout?), inv. MH6893; see *Mémoire du Nord. Peintures flamandes et hollandaises des musées d'Orléans*, collection cat. (Orléans: Musées des beaux-arts d'Orléans), 1996, p. 150, no. 157 (ill., described as a copy after the present painting)





Fig. 161a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of Harmen Gerritsz. van Rijn, the Artist's Father*, around 1630, red and black chalk and bistre, 18.9 × 24 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv.WA1855.11.

REMBRANDT WAS BORN on 15 July 1606 in Leiden, the son of the miller Harmen. Gerritsz. van Rijn and his wife Neeltgen Willemsdr. van Zuytbroek.<sup>1</sup> On 20 May 1620 he was registered as a student of literature at the University of Leiden, after having attended Latin school for several years.<sup>2</sup> But historian Jan Jansz. Orlers tells how the young Rembrandt inclined toward painting and drawing and how his parents were soon forced to accede to his wish, allowing him to abandon his academic studies and begin an apprenticeship with the local painter Jacob van Swanenburg.<sup>3</sup> Rembrandt learned the rudiments of art in Van Swanenburg's studio, but was little influenced by his teacher's specialization in fantastical scenes of hell in the tradition of Hieronymus Bosch. Also present and active in Leiden at that time was the young and precocious painter Jan Lievens, and it appears that he may have served as a teacher or mentor to Rembrandt after this initial formal instruction.<sup>4</sup> It may also have been he who encouraged Rembrandt to complete his training in Amsterdam with Pieter Lastman, who had taught Lievens several years earlier. Arnold Houbraken raised the possibility that Rembrandt also spent some time in the studio of Jacob Pynas, before or after his tutelage under Lastman,<sup>5</sup> which must have taken place sometime in the period spanning 1624 and 1626.<sup>6</sup> The evidence provided by Rembrandt's earliest signed and dated painting, *The Stoning of St. Stephen* of 1625 (see fig. 157c), strongly suggests that he went to Pynas first.<sup>7</sup> Sometime during 1626 Rembrandt returned to Leiden and established his practice there, also renewing his association with Jan Lievens. He focused entirely on history paintings and genre themes, often working in smaller dimensions and employing a smaller figure scale than Lievens. He also began to produce etchings.

Around 1631 Rembrandt started going to Amsterdam to work for the art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh, an erstwhile painter who ran a workshop where young artists carried out commissions he had obtained.<sup>8</sup> Likely at Uylenburgh's instigation, portraiture became

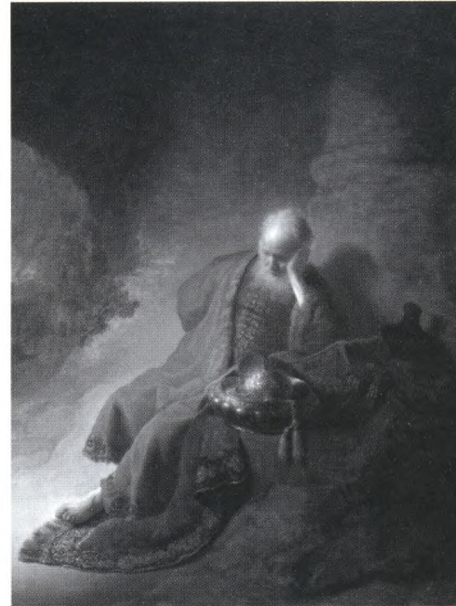


Fig. 161b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem*, 1630, oil on panel, 58.3 × 46.6 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-3276.

an important part of Rembrandt's repertoire. Independently, he had also received a major commission from the House of Orange for a series of paintings on the Life of Jesus.<sup>9</sup> In 1634 Rembrandt married Hendrick Uylenburgh's niece, Saskia.<sup>10</sup> Two years later they were independently established in the city,<sup>11</sup> and in 1639 the couple moved into an imposing house on the Sint Anthonisbreestraat, purchased for an extravagant sum that they never fully paid.<sup>12</sup> On 4 June 1642, when Rembrandt was completing his most spectacular portrait commission – a militia portrait now known as the *Night Watch*<sup>13</sup> – Saskia succumbed to tuberculosis.<sup>14</sup> The care of their infant son, Titus, fell to the child's dry nurse Geertje Dircx, the widow of a ship's bugler.<sup>15</sup> Rembrandt apparently began an illicit affair with Geertje, which led to an ugly legal confrontation between the two in 1649.<sup>16</sup> In that year Hendrickje Stoffels entered the household as a maid and soon took over Geertje's place in Rembrandt's affections.<sup>17</sup> Geertje won a settlement for support but suffered reprisals when Rembrandt had her committed to a house of correction in 1650.<sup>18</sup> Four years later Hendrickje bore Rembrandt a daughter, Cornelia, and became the object of church discipline because of her relationship with the artist.<sup>19</sup> On 14 July 1656 Rembrandt was forced to apply for *cessio bonorum* to gain protection from his creditors; he thus avoided outright bankruptcy, but his possessions were sold.<sup>20</sup> The artist's financial troubles were brought on partly by his conflict with Geertje and partly by his extravagant collecting activity, but were probably also due to losses at sea, which affected many Amsterdam traders. Although his social position was seriously compromised, Rembrandt continued to receive commissions for important paintings in the final decade of his life, including *The Oath of Claudius Civilis*, for the City Hall, and the *Syndics of the Drapers' Guild*, for the Staalhof, where the guild's members met. Hendrickje died in 1663, probably of the plague.<sup>21</sup> This disease also carried off Titus in 1668, only months after his marriage<sup>22</sup> and barely a year before Rembrandt's own death on 4 October 1669.<sup>23</sup>





Fig. 161c. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Study of a Seated Old Man*, 1630, red chalk, 14.4 × 14.6 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. 2561.



Fig. 161d. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of an Old Man*, 1630, etching, 11.9 × 11.7 cm, state I/II, inscribed. Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis.

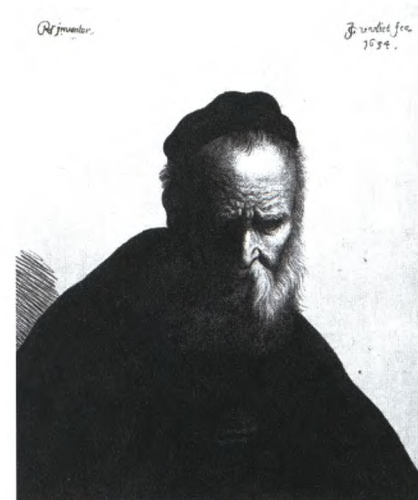


Fig. 161e. Jan Gillisz. van Vliet, after Rembrandt, *Head of an Old Man in a Cap*, 1634, etching, state II/II, 21.3 × 17.8 cm, inscribed. Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, acc. no. 45-059.

Rembrandt's enormous impact on 17th-century Dutch art was generated not only by his many paintings and widely disseminated etchings, but also by his over forty known students – some of them extremely talented – who in producing their own works drew extensively on his style and his approach to subject matter.<sup>24</sup> Many of these pupils went to Rembrandt to complete their studies, having received their basic artistic training elsewhere. Some only took instruction from the master in the form of periodic lessons but nonetheless followed his style faithfully.

Rembrandt had already been working independently in Leiden for around four years when he painted the present work. It shows the head and shoulders of an old man, turned slightly toward the left edge of the painting, gaze lowered. Judging by the hunched shoulders, the figure appears to be sitting down, and the hanging head projects a mood of sadness. This is consistent with the expression of anxious despair on the man's face, indicated by the furrowed brow and the deep grooves running from nose to grimly set mouth. In fact, this small panel constitutes a masterful description of the emotional topography of the aged human face. Deft, visible strokes of impastoed pigment accentuate the folds of flesh on the forehead and around the eyes, cheeks and nose, at the same time articulating their form and enhancing their physical presence. Rembrandt also exploits contrasts of light and dark, a stylistic bent he acquired both from his teacher Lastman and from Lievens, who was inspired by the followers of Caravaggio active in Utrecht in the 1620s.<sup>25</sup> The old man's head catches a strong beam of light coming from the upper left, which casts most of the right side of the face in shadow. The stark presentation of the figure against a plain, flat backdrop lends it a monumental aspect.

The work's dramatic flair points to its status as an anonymous character head. For a long time, however, it was thought to be a portrait of Rembrandt's father, a misidentification in keeping with an attitude that arose early in the 19th century, which was based on the notion that Rembrandt and Dutch artists in general depicted

only what they encountered in their immediate surroundings and everyday lives.<sup>26</sup> This led to the sitters in many of Rembrandt's paintings being wrongly identified as his sister, brother, mother and father. One impulse behind this interpretation was the desire to place Rembrandt completely outside the academic tradition, with its studio artifice and idealization. On account of the expressively loose handling and high emotional tone of many of his paintings, the artist was already seen as an icon of Romanticism. Taken to be an image of his father, the present painting appeared to be the expression of an intimate and sympathetic familial bond.<sup>27</sup> However, the one reliably inscribed depiction of Harmen Gerritsz. van Rijn shows a man with decidedly rounder features and the more fashionable trimming of beard and whiskers that would be expected in a portrait (fig. 161a).<sup>28</sup>

The adherents of Romanticism did not recognize that Rembrandt's practice drew heavily on the existing tradition of history painting. The exploration of this genre was in fact his main aspiration, drawing him to seek instruction from renowned history painter Pieter Lastman. Basing their approach on the head studies used in preparation for history paintings in Flemish studios, including the ateliers of Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, Rembrandt and his associate Jan Lievens developed a type of finished character head that quickly became known as the *tronie*.<sup>29</sup> Usually employing striking physiognomies, dramatic poses and lighting, and fantasy costumes like those used in history paintings, this type of image quickly took on a life of its own, drifting away from any connection to specific historical themes or contexts. A market soon arose for such images, which offered a sample of the artist's ability to express human emotion – the greatest challenge facing the history painter, according to such illustrious theorists as Alberti and Leonardo.<sup>30</sup>

This painting is one of a number of images in which Rembrandt developed the type of melancholic, reflective old man that he eventually employed for the figure of the Old Testament



prophet Jeremiah, weeping for the destruction of Jerusalem, in a famous painting of 1630 now in Amsterdam (fig. 161b).<sup>31</sup> The artist's starting point appears to have been the head of the deacon Philip in his now-lost depiction of *The Baptism of the Eunuch* of around 1627-1628, known primarily through a print after it by Jan Gillisz. van Vliet.<sup>32</sup> He developed this head further in a group of drawings (fig. 161c),<sup>33</sup> several etchings (fig. 161d)<sup>34</sup> and also a painting,<sup>35</sup> all of which probably preceded the present picture. In conjuring here the figure of an Old Testament prophet, Rembrandt emphasized the balding pate, prominent nose and sharp cheek bones, and, especially, the flowing beard. The emotional expression also anticipates that of the despairing Jeremiah in the Amsterdam painting. However, the present picture became more than just a study. With its completed composition and strongly defined forms, plus the inclusion of the monogram at the upper right (which conforms to that of other paintings of the period), it represents a finished work for the market – a simple yet powerfully affective depiction of an aging male head.

This painting by Rembrandt joins two others in the Bader Collection by Lievens – the *Profile Head of an Old Woman* (cat. 114) and the *Penitent Magdalene* (cat. 116) – in demonstrating the pioneering efforts of these two artists during the second half of the 1620s in the sympathetic and discerning representation of old people. This development appears to have accompanied the rise of a monochromatic or “tonal” palette in the Dutch art of the period. The trend did not affect Flemish art, for it seems to have reflected a generally sober cultural tone that was likely the result of conflict and competition between the major Protestant denominations in the northern Netherlands, and especially the repression of the Remonstrant faction.<sup>36</sup> Such serious portrayals of elderly people effectively evaded morally motivated religious criticism of painting, which traditionally disparaged displays of luxury and sensuality – as in the well-known poem “Idolelencus,” by Jan Evertsz. Geesteranus.<sup>37</sup> From the evidence of their works, both Rembrandt and Lievens appear to have been influenced by such criticism in developing their restrained, unadorned style and subject matter. The market for paintings of this type apparently subsided over the course of the following decade, as religious and political pressures abated and the cultural climate became more open.

During this same period – the late 1620s – Rembrandt began to develop a range of different techniques, expanding on his fine, solid description of forms to include a softer and more transparent effect achieved through a rough handling that left visible brush marks and even quite thick impasto in places. This type of facture stemmed from the rough approach used by many artists in their preliminary sketches, although Rembrandt himself does not appear to have adopted the practice of making preparatory studies – at least not until later in his career. He did, however, incorporate this rough, sketchy manner into certain finished paintings, possibly following such genre specialists as Adriaen Brouwer, whom he may have encountered in Amsterdam in 1625 and whose paintings he collected.<sup>38</sup> It appears in the *Head of a Laughing Soldier* in the Mauritshuis (fig. 14b),<sup>39</sup> and *David Presenting the Head of Goliath*

to *Saul* in Basel (fig. 12a).<sup>40</sup> This looser manner made it possible to use the movement and spontaneously rapid action suggested by directional brushstrokes to create a sense of energy and force. Rembrandt succeeded in simultaneously maintaining a powerful definition of form, with individual brushstrokes evoking planes and transitions, while at the same time defining surface tones and the varying consistencies of flesh.

These qualities were overlooked by a number of art historians who dismissed the present painting simply on account of its rough style. Kurt Bauch and later Josua Bruyn opposed the attribution to Rembrandt.<sup>41</sup> As leader of the Rembrandt Research Project, Bruyn was able to impose his position in the face of a great deal of contradictory evidence. He clearly conceived of a relatively narrow range of handling in Rembrandt's work of this period. The present director of the Project, Ernst van de Wetering, registered his dissent in a comment in the entry on the painting that appears in the Rembrandt *Corpus* – an ongoing catalogue raisonné of the master's paintings now into its fourth volume. While many other scholars also disagreed, the first one to state this view in print was Peter Schatborn, in his review of the first volume of the *Corpus*.<sup>42</sup>

The single most important piece of evidence supporting Rembrandt's authorship of this painting was the print made after it by Jan Gillisz. van Vliet (fig. 161e).<sup>43</sup> It bears the inscription “*RH inventor*,” which asserts that Rembrandt was the author of the original painting. Bruyn accepted that Van Vliet reproduced the present painting, but implied that he was mistaken in attributing it to Rembrandt. The turning point came with the 1996 exhibition on Rembrandt and Van Vliet in the Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam, where it was proved that Van Vliet and Rembrandt collaborated on several prints and that the watermarks appearing in the paper of certain examples also appear in impressions of Van Vliet's print after the present painting.<sup>44</sup> Rembrandt evidently returned regularly to Leiden to direct Van Vliet's work,<sup>45</sup> and it is therefore not possible that the etcher would have made a mistake about the authorship of the present painting.<sup>46</sup> Since the 1996 exhibition, scholars have generally voiced approval of the attribution to Rembrandt.<sup>47</sup>

An X-ray examination has revealed that this painting was executed on top of another one, only roughly laid down and located a little to the left on the panel.<sup>48</sup> The oak support has been dendrochronologically analyzed by Dr. Peter Klein of Hamburg University, and the suggested dates for the felling of the tree from which it came easily allow for the dating of the painting to around 1630.<sup>49</sup>

1. Orlers, p. 375.

2. See Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 51, no. 1620/1.

3. Orlers, p. 375.

4. See exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002, pp. 150-153, and further discussion in the present catalogue (cat. 111).

5. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 254.

6. Although this period of study is traditionally dated to 1624, Ben Broos posits that Rembrandt started his study with Lastman in 1625 and completed it the following year. Broos bases this view on the close dependence on compositions by his master of paintings that Rembrandt produced in 1625-1626; see Broos 2000.



7. This idea was advanced by Volker Manuth in a paper given at a symposium in connection with the exhibition Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002, held in Amsterdam on 26-27 May 2002. See also the entry for cat. 157.
8. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 87, no. 1632/2.
9. On the initiation of this commission, see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 284-286.
10. Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 110, no. 1634/5.
11. Rembrandt indicated his address in a letter of February 1636 to Constantijn Huygens; see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, pp. 128-129, no. 1636/1.
12. Ibid., p. 159, no. 1639/1. On the outstanding debt in 1653, see p. 299, no. 1653/6.
13. He had probably started this commission by 1640; see Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, p. 14, note 16 (with reference to documentary research by S.A.C. Dudok van Heel), and Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, p. 450.
14. See Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, pp. 225-227, no. 1642/3.
15. Ibid., pp. 230-231, no. 1642/8.
16. Ibid., pp. 269-276, nos. 1649/4, 1649/6, 1649/7, 1649/8, 1649/9.
17. Ibid., p. 269, no. 1649/4.
18. Ibid., p. 282, no. 1650/5; pp. 340-342, no. 1656/5.
19. Ibid., pp. 318-319, nos. 1654/11, 1654/12, 1654/14, 1654/15 and p. 321, no. 1654/18.
20. Ibid., pp. 344-347, no. 1656/10.
21. Ibid., p. 524, no. 1663/4.
22. Ibid., p. 579, no. 1688/8.
23. Ibid., p. 585, no. 1669/4.
24. Rembrandt's pupils include Gerrit Dou, who started his study in 1628, Jacques de Rousseaux (around 1628), Isaack de Jouderville (1629), Paulus Lesire (possibly, around 1629), Gerrit Willemsz. Horst (1631), Willem de Poorter (around 1631), Covert Flinck (1633), Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1635), Jan Victors (around 1635), Jacob van Dorsten (1636), Ferdinand Bol (around 1636), Jürgen Ovens (around 1639), Carel Fabritius (1640), Johannes Colaert (around 1640), Abraham Furnerius (around 1640), Lambert Doomer (around 1640-1644), Karel van der Pluym (early 1640s), Samuel van Hoogstraten (1641), Franz Wulffhagen (around 1641), Bernhard Keil (1642), Reynier van Cherwen (around 1642), Roelant Roghman (around 1642), Philips Koninck (informally, around 1642), Heinrich Jansen (1645), Jan Ruischer (1645), Barent Fabritius (around 1645), Johan Ulrich Mayr (around 1645), Christoph Paudiss (around 1645), Anthonie van Borssum (around 1645-1650), Constantijn Daniel van Renesse (1649), Abraham van Dijck (around 1650), Willem Drost (around 1650), Heymen Dullaert (around 1650), Jan van Glabbeek (around 1650), Jacobus Leveck (around 1650), Nicolaes Maes (around 1650), Karel van Savoy (around 1650), Aert de Gelder (1662) and Godfrey Kneller (around 1662).
25. Compare for example Jan Lievens, *The Feast of Esther*, oil on panel, 130.8 × 163.2 cm, around 1625, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, inv. 52.9.55; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 1776, no. 1182, p. 1820 (colour ill.).
26. This viewpoint was most famously expressed by Eugène Fromentin; see Fromentin 1948, pp. 193-208.
27. See Julius Held, "Rembrandt and the Book of Tobit," in Held 1991, p. 188.
28. See Benesch 1973, vol. 1, p. 16, no. 56 (fig. 64).
29. For an overview of the phenomenon of the *tronie*, see Lyckle de Vries, "Tronies and Other Single-figured Dutch Paintings," *Nederlandse Portretten. Bijdragen over de portretkunst in de Nederlanden uit de zestiende, zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 8 (1989), pp. 185-202. On the genesis of this type, see Franziska Gottwald, "Das Tronie-Versatzstück, Übungsfeld und Meisterwerk. Die Genese einer Gattung der Malerei vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu Rembrandt," dissertation, Berlin, Freie Universität, 2007.
30. See Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origins and Influence of Charles Le Brun's "Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 64.
31. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 276-284, no. A28 (ill.).
32. Jan Gillisz. van Vliet, after Rembrandt, *The Baptism of the Eunuch*, etching, 59.2 × 49.1 cm, single state, inscribed below: *RH.v. Rijn jvu. JG.v. Vliet fec 1631*; see Hollstein, vol. 41, pp. 154-155, no. 12 (ill.).
33. See Benesch 1973, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 38 (fig. 46, as 1630). This sheet is but one of a remarkable early group of studies of the same figure; see Benesch 1973, vol. 1, pp. 7-8, 12-13, nos. 19, 37, 39-42 (figs. 23, 45, 47-50). They likely drew initial inspiration from a drawing that can be attributed to Jan Lievens: *Study of the Head of an Old Man*, red chalk, 16.6 × 13.4 cm, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. AE 672; see Benesch 1973, vol. 1, p. 7, no. 16 (ill., as by Rembrandt), and Sumowski 1979ff., vol. 7, pp. 3664-3665, no. 1643 (ill., as by Lievens).
34. For the example illustrated here, see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 117, no. B260, and vol. 19, p. 200-201 (ills.). Other related head studies include: etching, 7.1 × 6.4 cm, single state (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 139, no. B291, and vol. 19, p. 248 [ill.]); etching, 9.8 × 8.1 cm, single state, monogrammed and dated 1631 (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 143, no. B309, and vol. 19, p. 251 [ill.]); etching, 8.8 × 7.5 cm, 2 states (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 145, no. B314, and vol. 19, p. 253 [ill.]); etching, 6.8 × 6.6 cm, 2 states, monogrammed and dated 1631 (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 146, no. B315, and vol. 19, p. 154 [ill.]); etching, 9.1 × 7.6 cm, single state, monogrammed and dated 1630 (see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 148, no. B325, and vol. 19, p. 256 [ill.]).
35. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Head of an Old Man*, oil on paper, mounted on panel, 10.6 × 7.2 cm, private collection; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 2, pp. 351-354, no. A74 (ill.).
36. For further discussion of the use of colour in the context of this religious conflict, see David A. de Witt, "... A Coarse Rugged Way of Painting ..." and Other Observations Relating to Rembrandt's 'Head of an Old Man in a Cap in Kingston,'" in Roscam Abbing 2006, pp. 82-85.
37. Jan Evertsz. Geesteranus, "Tegen 't geestig-dom der schilder-konst, straf-rymen ofte anders Idolelenchus," in Dirck Raphael Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke Rymen, om te lezen off te singen* (Amsterdam and Rotterdam: Nicolaes van Ravesteyn and Joannes Naeranus, 1639), pp. 480-514, and most subsequent editions. An earlier edition of Camphuysen (1632), including Geesteranus's poem, was cited in the 18th century, but there are no known surviving copies; see Friedrich Samuel Bock, *Frederici Samuelis Bock Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Gottfried Lebrecht Hartung, 1774), pp. 336-337. Camphuysen had also included the poem in a publication of the previous year: *Verscheyden theologische werken* (Amsterdam, 1638).
38. For further discussion of Rembrandt's contact with Brouwer, and Brouwer's paintings in Rembrandt's collection, see De Witt 2004, pp. 269-271.
39. On the attribution to Rembrandt, see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1996, p. 55, with no. 8 (ill.).
40. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 129-136, no. A9 (ill.).
41. Bauch 1960, p. 261, note 130; Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 576-580.
42. Schatborn 1986, p. 62.
43. See exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 58-59, no. 10a (ill.).
44. Evidence of their collaboration is Rembrandt and Jan Gillisz. van Vliet, *Christ before Pilate* (large plate), etching, burin and drypoint, 54.9 × 44.7 cm, in 5 states, inscribed: *Rembrandt 1636 cum privilegio* (see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 70-71, no. 16b [ill.]), and *Descent from the Cross* (second plate), etching and burin, 53 × 41 cm, inscribed: *Rembrandt fecit pryo. 1635* (see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 74-75, no. 18 [ill.]). On the attribution to both artists, see Martin Royalton-Kisch, "Van Vliet. Rembrandt's Printmaker," in exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 9-11. On the appearance of the "Monogram 4HP with countermark R" watermark in these prints and the print after the present painting, see Erik Hinterding, "Rembrandt and Van Vliet: The Watermarks," in exhib. cat. Amsterdam 1996, pp. 25-26, 33-34.
45. Rembrandt did not move to Amsterdam for good until 1634; see S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "Rembrandt as Burgher," in exhib. cat. Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991-1992, p. 54.
46. For an analysis of the evidence concerning Rembrandt's living situation around the time of his move to Amsterdam, see Broos 2000.
47. See under Literature and Exhibition Catalogues at the head of this entry. Van Straten fails to address the extensive evidence in favour of the attribution, as presented in the scholarly literature from 1996 onwards; see Van Straten 2005, p. 190.
48. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 577-580, no. C23 (ill.). In fact, Roelof van Straten based his opposition to the attribution on the notion that Rembrandt ceased to paint on top of existing paintings after 1628, but without clarifying why Rembrandt or any other artist would adopt such a policy or how we can be certain he made such a decision.
49. "Baltic, 204 rings, from 1617-1414; the latest heart wood ring dates to 1613. Earliest felling date is 1622, but more likely 1626-1628-1632. The earliest possible date for the painting is 1624, and a more likely date is 1630"; dendrochronological report by Peter Klein, Department of Wood Science, University of Hamburg, 28 March 1996. ◆





162.

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (Leiden 1606 – Amsterdam 1669)

*Study of the Head of an Old Man with Curly Hair*

1659

Oil on panel, 38.1 x 26.8 cm

Signed and dated middle right: *Rembrandt f. 1659*

Milwaukee, collection of Linda and Daniel Bader

Note: This work is not part of the Bader Bequest to the Agnes Etherington Art Centre.

#### PROVENANCE

Mavisbank, Midlothian, Scotland, collection of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd Baronet, by 1740 (listed in an inventory of that year, as "A head boldly painted by Rhyndbrandt"); by descent to Sir George Douglas Clerk of Penicuik, 8th Baronet; London, collection of R. Langton Douglas, 1909; Berlin, collection of Marcus Kappel; The Hague, with Bachstitz Gallery; New York, collection of A.W. Erickson; his sale, New York (Parke-Bernet), 15 November 1961, lot 12 (ill.); London, collection of Derek Cotton; thence by descent; sale, London (Christie's), 23 April 1993, lot 9 (colour ill., as by Circle of Rembrandt); purchased by Alfred Bader and given to his son Daniel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 206, no. 367; Bode 1910, pp. 8, 9 (ill.); Valentiner 1921, p. XXIII, no. 88, p. 88 (ill.); Bredius 1921, p. 151 (as by Rembrandt); Valentiner 1923, p. 87, no. 93 (ill.); *The Art News Annual* 28 (26 April 1930) (advertisement of past sale to Erikson, by Bachstitz Gallery, ill.); Valentiner 1931, unpaginated, no. 144 (ill.); Rosenberg 1948, vol. 1, p. 106, vol. 2 (fig. 100); Rosenberg 1964, pp. 106, 113 (fig. 100); Bauch 1966, p. 12, no. 225 (ill.; and see note 3 below); Gerson 1968, pp. 432-433, no. 379 (ill., as by Rembrandt); Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 226 (ill.), p. 572, no. 295a; Lecaldano 1973, p. 119, no. 375 (ill.); Julia Lloyd

Williams, *Dutch Art and Scotland: A Reflection of Taste*, exhib. cat. (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1992), p. 161; Bader 1995, pp. 240-241, no. 18 (pl. 33); Rønberg and Wadum 2006, p. 84 (fig. 12, as attributed to Rembrandt)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Berlin 1914, p. 36, no. 130; Detroit 1930, no. 64 (ill.); *Man and His Years* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1954), pp. 27-28, no. 40 (ill.); Amsterdam 2006, pp. 196-197 (ill.), p. 204; Berlin 2006, pp. 177 (colour ill. pl. 21, as by Rembrandt), 178, 382-383, no. 69 (colour ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Berlin 1914, no. 24 (ill.)

#### PRINTS

William Baillie, engraving, 1761, inscribed (as after Salvator Rosa); see *The Works of Captain William Baillie*, London, 1792

#### OTHER VERSIONS

Oil on panel, 26.2 x 20.8 cm, Miami Beach, collection of Natan Saban (formerly Montreal, collection of Sir William van Horne); see collection cat. Berlin 1914, p. 94

Oil on panel, 27 x 20.5 cm, The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland, inv. NK 1647; see collection cat. The Hague 1992, p. 250, no. 2173 (ill.)

AN OLD MAN with long, rather wildly curling white hair and a full, thick beard leans forward and peers out at the viewer. His hunched pose, wrinkled brow and empty gaze give him a melancholy air. This poignant image finds a place among the pensive and sombre visages of elderly men painted by Rembrandt around 1660. In his 1948 monograph on Rembrandt, Jakob Rosenberg singled out this painting as an example of the profoundly contemplative quality of the artist's late work.<sup>1</sup> But even though its sentiment is consistent with many Rembrandt works of this period, scholars have raised doubts about its authenticity. Abraham Bredius approved of it in 1921, but passed it over for his catalogue raisonné of 1936.<sup>2</sup> Much later, in 1966, Kurt Bauch praised it as the best of several versions of the same head, without addressing the question of authenticity.<sup>3</sup> Gerson reported Bauch's viewpoint and sustained the attribution to Rembrandt in his publications of 1968 and 1969.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, this panel was not taken up in the subsequent Rembrandt literature<sup>5</sup> until its rehabilitation in Ernst van de Wetering's recent investigation into the master's practice.<sup>6</sup> According to Van de Wetering, Rembrandt appears to have executed several similar studies featuring difficult lighting situations – in this case with the light entering sharply from the left, casting much of the far side of the head in shadow. The scenario is even more complex, however, for this area does catch some light from a weak reflected source on the right, leaving a dark zone concentrated on the left eye socket. Typically, Rembrandt sought to achieve the impact of a finished work and completed the piece with a signature and date. Van de Wetering has suggested that the artist applied the lessons learned here in the dramatic *Denial of St. Peter* of 1660, now in Amsterdam. The two works share an unusually broad manner for the artist. The pose and lighting seen here also compare closely to Rembrandt's 1661 painting of *St. Matthew and the Angel*, kept at the Louvre (fig. 162a).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the pensive expression relates more closely to St. Matthew's activity of inspired writing than St. Peter's panicked dissimulation. The broader features of the St. Matthew figure and the more frontal lighting of that painting represent adjustments from the striking



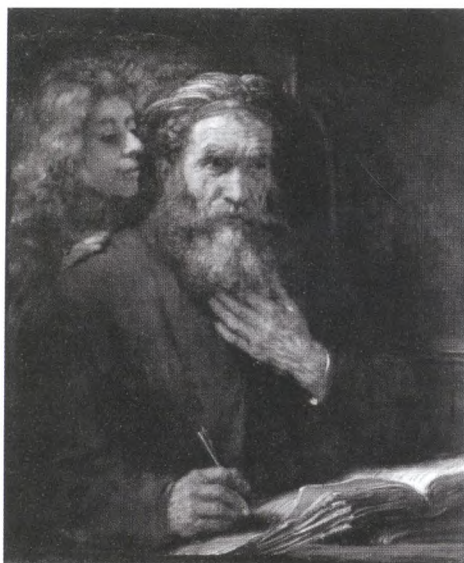


Fig. 162a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *St. Matthew and the Angel*, 1661, oil on canvas, 98 x 61 cm, Paris. Musée du Louvre, inv. 1738.

and experimental representation of the present panel. It appears Rembrandt here created an “open” study that he adapted for both the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Peter*.

The edgy tone struck here is characteristic of Rembrandt’s work from around 1659, the date accompanying the signature. The picture displays the same disparate combination of silky smooth greys, vigorous and freely applied strokes, and rough brown lines of underpainting seen in such works as the *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, in Berlin, from around 1659 (see fig. 17b).<sup>8</sup> Most notably, the Berlin picture shares with the present work an unstable composition, dominated by a figure that seems to be tilting toward the viewer. Rembrandt produced a number of paintings bearing this hallmark, at precisely this period, that include the *Moses Showing the Tablets of the Law*, also in Berlin,<sup>9</sup> and the *Polish Rider* in New York.<sup>10</sup> The sophisticated application here of these distinctive features of Rembrandt’s approach further reinforces the attribution of this compelling image to the master’s own hand.

1. Rosenberg 1948, p. 379.
2. Bredius 1921, p. 51 (as “very strange ... does not give rise to doubt”); Bredius 1936.
3. “The best example of a picture of a head of which several are known”; Bauch 1966, p. 12.
4. See Gerson 1968, pp. 432–433, no. 379 (as by Rembrandt); Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 572, no. 295a.
5. For example Schwartz 1985, Tümpel 1993, and exhib. cat. Washington and Los Angeles 2005.
6. Ernst van de Wetering, “Rembrandt’s Oil Studies: New Light on an Old Problem,” in exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2006, pp. 196–197.
7. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 613, no. 614 (ill.), collection cat. Paris 1982, pp. 83–87 (colour ill.), and exhib. cat. Washington and Los Angeles 2005, pp. 92–98, no. 7 (colour ill.).
8. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 439 (ill.), p. 602, no. 528, and Tümpel 1993, p. 292 (colour ill.), p. 392, no. 29.
9. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Moses Showing the Tablets of the Law*, 1659, oil on canvas, 168.5 x 136.5 cm, signed, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 811; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 438 (ill.), p. 602, no. 527.
10. Rembrandt van Rijn and Workshop, *The Polish Rider*, 1659, oil on canvas, 116.8 x 134.9 cm, signed, New York, Frick Collection. On the restitution of this painting to Rembrandt and his workshop, see Ernst van de Wetering, “Thirty Years of the Rembrandt Research Project: The Tension between Science and Connoisseurship in Authenticating Art,” *IEAR Journal* 2 (2001), pp. 22–24. ♦



### 163.

Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn (Leiden 1606 – Amsterdam 1669)

*Head of a Man in a Turban (Study for a Rabbi?)*

Around 1661

Oil on panel, 24.8 x 19.1 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Paris, collection of A. Villon; Paris, with F. Kleinberger Galleries; Berlin, collection of Marcus Kappel, by 1908; New York, collection of William Payne Whitney (1876–1927); his widow, Helen Hay Whitney; by descent to John Hay Whitney; sale, New York, Sotheby’s, 25 May 2000, lot 4 (ill., as by Circle of Rembrandt), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Bode 1908, p. 180 (ill.); Hofstede de Groot 1908–1927, vol. 6, p. 206, no. 366 (as around 1650–1655); Valentiner 1909, p. 504, no. 504, p. 579 (as around 1663); Hofstede de Groot 1909, p. 176; Valentiner 1931, unpaginated, no. 162 (pl. 162); Bredius 1936, p. 11, no. 261 (ill.); Lecaldano 1973, p. 120, no. 385 (ill.); Rønberg and Wadum 2006, p. 84 (colour pl. 13, as attributed to Rembrandt)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Rembrandt-Hulde te Leiden: Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van Schilderijen en Teekeningen van Rembrandt en van andere Leidsche Meesters der Zeventiende Eeuw* (Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 1906), p. 18, no. 53a; Berlin 1909, p. 18, no. 109 (ill.); *Masters of the Loaded Brush: Oil Sketches from Rubens to Tiepolo* (New York: M. Knoedler and Company and Department of Art History and Archeology, Columbia University), 1967, pp. 77–78, no. 55 (ill.); Amsterdam 2006, pp. 182–185 (colour pl. 208); Berlin 2006, pp. 168–171 (colour pl. 6), 402–403, no. 78 (colour ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Berlin 1914, no. 23 (ill.)





Fig. 163a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Circumcision*, 1661, oil on canvas, 56.5 × 75 cm. Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1942.9.60.



Fig. 163b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait as the Apostle Paul*, 1661, oil on canvas, 91 × 77 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4050.

AN OLD MAN with a full, grey beard is shown here in profile, gazing downward. He wears a white turban and shirt, a red robe and a shawl draped loosely around his neck. This fantasy oriental costume links him to the venerable male figures in biblical paintings by Rembrandt and his followers. The connection is particularly close to one of the figures in a depiction of *The Circumcision* in Washington (fig. 163a) – a painting recognized as being by Rembrandt's hand:<sup>1</sup> the costume, type and pose seen here are similar to those of the rabbi standing reading at the lectern to the left. Ernst van de Wetering has recently suggested that Rembrandt painted the present panel as a study for the Washington painting, experimenting with the effect of illumination coming from behind a figure and casting the face in shadow.<sup>2</sup> The artist developed the idea further in *The Circumcision* in the figure of the kneeling mohel, which he reworked at the request of the patron. As a study, the panel represents an exception in the oeuvre of this artist, who typically composed his figures directly on the canvas. Here, and in paintings such as the *Profile Study of an Old Servant Woman* that recently resurfaced on the art market, Rembrandt appears to have been exploring – or perhaps even seeking to demonstrate – the feasibility of incorporating unconventional and difficult lighting scenarios into complex compositions.<sup>3</sup> The master's pupils no doubt also benefited from such clear expositions of specific pictorial challenges.

The panel's role as a study explains the rough finish to the features of the face, but at the same time the powerful build-up of direct, heavily impastoed strokes gives it the impact of a finished work. The brilliant rendering of the turban and the fabric draped over the sloping shoulder (revealed by an X-ray to have been painted wet-into-wet) is strongly reminiscent of Rembrandt's 1661 *Self-portrait as the Apostle Paul*, in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 163b),<sup>4</sup> lending further support to the attribution to the master. The bold, direct construction of the curls of hair

billowing out from the side of the man's head creates a dramatically solid effect yet shows modulation and variation throughout, as is characteristic of Rembrandt. The rendering of the features, in choppy strokes, is less decisive, but the thick, directly applied impasto in this area nevertheless gives the face presence and liveliness. Using a narrow range of dark tones, the work is a virtuoso performance of description. Addressing the same artistic problem as the Washington painting, where two prominent figures have their faces cast in shadow, the picture combines the functions of study and finished work, and must thus be counted as a classic example of the *tronie*.

Houbraken claimed that Rembrandt could spend days completing a turban,<sup>5</sup> but the biographer's source was likely familiar with the early phase of Rembrandt's career. In this painting, the astonishing effect of a few direct strokes, which successfully convey form, light and a suggestion of substance, epitomizes the bravura of his later development. A dating of around 1661 also coincides with the earliest possible date indicated by the dendrochronological study conducted by Peter Klein.<sup>6</sup>

1. See collection cat. Washington 1995, pp. 271–276 (ill.).

2. Ernst van de Wetering, in exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2006, pp. 182–185.

3. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Profile Study of an Old Servant Woman*, around 1640, oil on canvas, 46.5 × 37.5 cm, private collection; see *ibid.*, pp. 186–196 (colour ill.).

4. See exhib. cat. Washington and Los Angeles 2005, pp. 108–109, no. 11 (colour ill.).

5. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 269.

6. Report by Peter Klein, Department of Wood Science, University of Hamburg, 28 November 2000; Bader Collection work files. ♦





164.

Attributed to Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn  
(Leiden 1606 – Amsterdam 1669)

*A Scholar by Candlelight*

Around 1628-1629

Oil on copper, 13.9 × 13.9 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Jan van Loon sale, Amsterdam, 18 July 1736 (Lugt 466), lot 26 (as "Een kaarsgezigte, door Rembrandt van Ryn [A candlelit scene by Rembrandt van Rijn]," 5.5 x 5 *duim* [14.1 x 12.8 cm]); possibly sale, Amsterdam, 15 April 1739 (Lugt 503), lot 88 (as by Rembrandt, "Een Schryvend Mannetje... [A Little Man Who Is Writing]");<sup>1</sup> Guerin sale, The Hague (Confrerie Pictura), 13 September 1740 (Lugt 525), lot 45 (as by Rembrandt, "Een schryvend Mannetje"); J. van der Marck sale, Amsterdam (De Winter and Yver), 25 August 1773 (Lugt 2189), lot 261 (as by Rembrandt, "Een zittend Mannetje. Hij is verbeeld zittende te Studeeren, by een Kaars-licht. Kragtig en fraay behandeld [A little man seated. He is depicted sitting at his studies, by candlelight. Powerfully and beautifully handled]," oil on copper, 5.5 x 5.25 *duim* [14.1 x 13.5 cm]);<sup>2</sup> Paris, with Jean-Baptist Pierre LeBrun (1748-1814); his sale, Paris, 11 April 1791 (Lugt 4705), lot 56 (for 610 francs, bought back); Rouen, collection of Robert de Saint-Victor; his sale, Paris, 26 November 1822 (Lugt 10344), lot 69; Paris, with Sedelmayer; Vienna, collection of Dubois (director of the Vienna Theatre); Vienna, collection of *Kaiserlicher Rat* Franz Xaver Mayer, by 1894; his widow, Leopoldine Mayer; their son *Kommerzialrat* Franz Xaver Mayer; his wife Caroline Mayer; their son Norbert Mayer; purchased from him by Alfred Bader in 1959

#### LITERATURE

Smith 1829-1842, vol. 7, pp. 76-77, no. 185; Blanc 1858, p. 130; Bredius 1898, p. 166; Theodore von Frimmel, "Ein Rembrandt aus der Galerie Le Brun," *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 1 (1905), p. 21 (ill.); Bode 1897-1906, vol. 1, pp. 42-44, no. 4 (as by Rembrandt, falsely signed Dou); Theodore von Frimmel, "Wiedergefundene Bilder aus berühmten alten Sammlungen," *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, no. 2 (1906), pp. 21-23 (ill.); Valentiner 1909, p. 14 (ill.), pp. 550, 567 (as around 1629-1630); Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 6, p. 153, no. 240 (as by Rembrandt); André Charles Coppier, "À propos des «Disciples d'Emmaüs»," *Les Arts* 13, no. 148 (April 1914), pp. 26-29 (ill., as not by Rembrandt); Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, "Rembrandt's Painter in His Studio," *Burlington Magazine* 47 (November 1925), p. 265 (as by Rembrandt); Bredius 1936, p. 17, no. 425 (ill., as a copy by Dou after a lost Rembrandt); Van Gelder 1953, p. 293; Jan Gerrit van Gelder, "Rembrandt and His Circle," *Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), p. 37, note 9 (as possibly by Dou); Bauch 1960, p. 258, note 98 (as a copy after Rembrandt, perhaps by Dou); Bauch 1966, p. 8, no. 118 (ill., as one of several versions); Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 541 (ill.),

p. 588, no. 425 (as not by Rembrandt); "Missing Rembrandts," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), p. 239; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 6, no. 3 (1973), inside cover (cover ill.); Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 482, 554-558, no. C18 (ill., as not by Rembrandt, possibly by Dou); Bader 1995, p. 216; De Witt 2004, *passim* (as possibly by Rembrandt); Roelof van Straten, "Rembrandt Reattributions: Between Fact and Wishful Thinking," in Roscam Abbing 2006, pp. 108-109 (fig. 8b, as not by Rembrandt)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*De Rembrandt Tentoonstelling te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1898), unpaginated, no. 1 (ill.); *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition* (Minneapolis: Institute of Arts, 1965-1966), unpaginated (ill.); Kalamazoo 1967, p. 14 (ill.); West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 1 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 14-16, no. 7 (ill.); Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987, p. 56 (colour ill.), p. 134, no. 3, p. 152; Milwaukee 1989, pp. 30-31, no. 12 (ill.); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 50-51, no. 14 (ill.); Athens 1999, unnumbered, unpaginated (colour ill., as by Rembrandt); Boston 2000, pp. 75, 76 (colour pl. 71), p. 133, no. 20 (as by Circle of Rembrandt); Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002, pp. 77-78 (fig. 29; essay by Ernst van de Wetering, as possibly by Rembrandt), pp. 298-301, no. 59 (colour ill.; entry by Bob van den Boogert, as not by Rembrandt, around 1629-1630)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 21 (ill.)

#### COPIES

Oil on panel, 15.4 x 13.7 cm; sale, London (Sotheby's), 27 May 1987, lot 75 (colour ill., as Manner of Rembrandt); see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 340 (ill.), p. 588, no. 426 (as by Rembrandt). When this painting appeared at a sale in 1927, it bore a false signature and a date of 1631, lower right, as well as many other modifications, including an added sheet of paper hanging on the wall and a still life on the table in the foreground, in front of the book. These were removed in a cleaning prior to sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 27 October 1927, lot XLVI-II (ill., as by Rembrandt).

Oil on panel (vertical format), 21.7 x 15.3 cm, Lucelle, Switzerland, collection of Rengglie Eurgén



# PRINTS

Jean-Baptist Pierre LeBrun, etching, 15.7 x 13.7 cm, inscribed: *Rembrandt pinxit / Gravé par J.B.P Le Brun Peintre et M<sup>d</sup> 1790 / Un Philosophe écrivant / Gravé d'après le Tableau de Rembrandt, Peint sur cuivre de meme grandeur que / l'Estampe. Tiré du Cabinet du Citoyen Le Brun, Peintre et M<sup>d</sup> de Tableaux. / A Paris chez l'Auteur, rue du Gros Chenet N<sup>o</sup> 47, et chez Poignant, rue Serpente N<sup>o</sup> 14; published in *Galerie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands*, 1792, vol. 2, pp. 2, 5 (as purchased by Robert de Saint-Victor)<sup>3</sup>*

AN OLD MAN sits writing at a desk in a dark room, a large volume propped open in front of him. The scene is lit by a candle concealed by the book, which casts it in silhouette while lighting the figure of the man and creating a shadow that rises high up the wall behind him. To the right of the book are other scholarly accoutrements, including a large globe, which might identify the man as a geographer or astronomer. He is dressed in fanciful, quasi-academic garb featuring a heavy mantle and a floppy, beret-like hat. Unkempt white hair emerges from under its brim, and the man's beard is patchy, giving him a somewhat neglected look. His puffy features and pained expression, with pinched brows and loose lower lip, suggest that the depiction is ironic. It certainly contrasts with the more heroic images of Apostles and prophets represented as scholars found in Dutch art of the 1620s, notably in the work of Rembrandt and Lievens. Although there is no decisive indication of the subject of the man's study – the writing on the broadsheet on the wall behind him is indecipherable – it appears to be cast here in a negative light, the focus of a moralizing warning against the futility and vanity of certain fields of investigation.

This tiny painting on copper once bore the initials G.D.F., for Gerrit Dou (1613–1675). These do not appear on a print made after the painting in Paris in 1790 by its owner at the time, the dealer J.-B.P. LeBrun (fig. 164a), and were evidently added sometime during the 19th century.<sup>4</sup> They were easily removed with light solvents in 1958.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, in dismissing the attribution to Rembrandt in 1983, the members of the Rembrandt Research Project suggested that Dou might still be the author.<sup>6</sup> In this opinion they followed the view of Abraham Bredius and of Jan Gerrit van Gelder, expressed in an article of 1953.<sup>7</sup> However, the painting bears no connection to the work of Rembrandt's early pupil; indeed, its passages of rough brushwork provide a stark contrast with Dou's meticulous handling, famously characterized as *fijnschilderij* (fine painting).

The *Scholar by Candlelight* relates much more closely to the work of Rembrandt himself, under whose name it has circulated for most of its history. It was enthusiastically embraced by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot and solicited by him for the 1898 Rembrandt exhibition in Amsterdam.<sup>8</sup> The attribution was also supported by Bredius in his review of the same exhibition.<sup>9</sup> By 1936, however, Bredius had changed his mind,<sup>10</sup> to be followed later by Kurt Bauch and Horst Gerson.<sup>11</sup> The Rembrandt Research Project also decided against it in 1983, but at the same time observed a close connection to two other paintings formerly attributed to the master: the *Flight into Egypt* in Tours (fig.

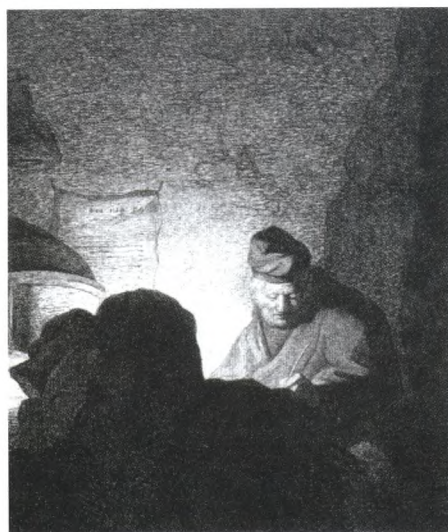


Fig. 164a. Jean-Baptist Pierre LeBrun, after Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Scholar by Candlelight*, 1790, etching, 15.7 x 13.7 cm.

164b)<sup>12</sup> and a nocturnal scene in Tokyo.<sup>13</sup> The three works share a loose, painterly style, with imprecise rendering of figures and proportions, and free, open touches of thick, wet colour. Other features of the *Flight into Egypt* that find an echo in this *Scholar by Candlelight* are the hunched pose and rather small head of the Virgin, the grasping hand of Joseph, the dense, monochromatic colour scheme, and the emphasis on long shadows cast by artificial light. More significantly, however, the same traits appear in a painting in Dublin entitled *Claphands, or La Main Chaude* (fig. 164c), which has recently been readmitted into the recognized Rembrandt oeuvre by Ernst van de Wetering, current director of the Rembrandt Research Project. As Van de Wetering observed in a 2001 essay on the early Rembrandt, this development forces a reconsideration of the possibility that the *Scholar by Candlelight* may also be by the master.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, such a reconsideration had already been ventured by Kurt Bauch, who in 1974 revised his earlier published opinion and accepted the picture as being by Rembrandt.<sup>15</sup>

A number of other works that are securely attributed to Rembrandt provide the immediate context for the *Scholar by Candlelight*. It has traditionally been compared to the *St. Paul at His Desk* of 1629 – a comparison that has generally led to the conclusion that it is a weak derivation of that picture's composition by a pupil or follower, as it does not demonstrate a similar subtlety in the handling of light.<sup>16</sup> But the soft effects in the *St. Paul* correspond to its meditative, even melancholy mood, whereas the *Scholar by Candlelight*, like *Claphands*, conjures a stark drama more akin to Rembrandt's *Supper at Emmaus*, in Paris (fig. 164d),<sup>17</sup> and his famous *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, also completed in 1629.<sup>18</sup> It is nonetheless clearly not as carefully painted as these works, even considering its tiny scale. Worth noting, though, is the fact that Rembrandt executed a number of other small works on copper in the years around 1629–1630, in a format nearly identical to that of the *Scholar by Candlelight* in its original state (before it was trimmed at the top), including the *Head of a Laughing Soldier* in The Hague (see fig. 14b), where he experi-





Fig. 164b. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Flight into Egypt*, around 1628-1629, oil on panel, 27.5 × 24.7 cm. Tours, Musée des beaux-arts, gift of Mme Benjamin Chaussemiche.



Fig. 164c. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Claphands, or La Main chaude*, around 1628, oil on panel, 20 × 26 cm. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. 439.



Fig. 164d. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Supper at Emmaus*, 1629, oil on paper laid down on panel, 37.4 × 42.3 cm. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, inv. 409.

mented with a similarly loose handling.<sup>19</sup> By the time of this slightly later work of around 1629-1630 Rembrandt had developed a virtuoso handling of flowing strokes, while the patchy application seen here generates a vibrating, rhythmic effect that is more closely linked with the *Supper at Emmaus* and the *St. Paul*.

At the same time, certain passages in the *Scholar by Candlelight* do demonstrate a more refined touch. As noted by the Rembrandt Research Project, the large book in the foreground is lavishly described, with detail in the shaded areas and an emphasis on the open pages that catch the light coming from behind. There is also a subtle differentiation of dark tones in the figure of the scholar and in the globe to the right. It appears, in fact, that before cleaning reduced the pictorial surface, especially in the shadow areas, it likely reflected the exhaustive attention typical of the early Rembrandt. LeBrun's print, which is an important record of the work's earlier appearance, indicates that even in the scholar's face there was doubtless originally more detail, notably in the hair and eyes. The careful, methodical approach employed in several areas of this work link it to the style that Rembrandt practised in the preceding years, learned from Pieter Lastman and exemplified in the 1627 painting *Money-changer, or The Parable of the Rich Man* now in Berlin, a comparable night scene featuring a figure and books in candlelight.<sup>20</sup> Whether or not it is an auto-graph work, the present painting's combination of smooth and loose handling appears to reflect an experimental, transitional phase of the Rembrandt style dating to around 1628-1629.

A number of aspects speak strongly in favour of the attribution to Rembrandt himself, however. The picture's compositional structure, with the dark form rising abruptly and powerfully at the right counterbalanced by a smaller, expressively lit form emerging from shadow on the left, is the same as that of the *Emmaus* painting in Paris. It reflects an interest in dynamic directional tensions already evident in Rembrandt's *Two Old Men Disputing*, now in Melbourne (see fig. 130a).<sup>21</sup> The winding upper edge of the book, with its tense sequence of arcs and curves, is highly characteristic of Rembrandt's treatment of contour and of

his exploitation of this element for pictorial impact. The confluence of forms and lines to the lower right appears to reflect Rembrandt's strategy in paintings of this period of placing a busy nexus within a context of unengaged, open areas – as seen with the bag on the wall in the *Emmaus* painting and the central figure in *Claphands*. Furthermore, the dense arrangement of bluish greys, ochre and umber reflects the sophisticated chromatic play of warm and cool tones (again, seen also in the *Emmaus* work) that developed as Rembrandt was adopting the monochromatic palette fashionable in Dutch art of the second half of the 1620s. A more minor touch is the old man's tensed hand, a psychological device that Van de Wetering has observed in other Rembrandt paintings of the period, including *Claphands* and the *Artist in His Studio* in Boston.<sup>22</sup> There is certainly sufficient evidence to keep open the possibility of Rembrandt's authorship.

For many observers, the most disturbing element is the crude and almost grotesque head of the old man. As already observed, it is incompatible with the more attractive, dignified types in Rembrandt's early representations of prophets, Evangelists and anonymous scholars. Yet in both his paintings and his prints the artist returned regularly to low and vulgar types, often represented in a rough style. This combination reflected an interest in the low-life genre mode being cultivated by some Haarlem artists, many connected to the studio of Frans Hals and influenced by Hals's pupil Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638). Although Bauch first suggested the Haarlem genre school as a possible influence on Rembrandt in 1960,<sup>23</sup> his point was not taken up in subsequent scholarship until 2004.<sup>24</sup> Rembrandt's own collection attests to an avid interest in Brouwer,<sup>25</sup> which likely began early in his career – perhaps as early as his period of study with Lastman around 1624-1626, when Brouwer was also in Amsterdam. Brouwer's model may well have motivated Rembrandt to experiment with similarly common and expressive types, and a comparably rough, agitated brushwork. Rembrandt's etching *The Pancake Maker*<sup>26</sup> derives directly from a Brouwer that he owned, painted in the 1620s.<sup>27</sup> Rembrandt seems to have been developing this approach



further in the grizzled, fleshy visage of the present picture, the various comic actors in *Claphands*, and the alarmed disciple in the *Emmaus* work in Paris, entrenching it in his working practice. The candid expression of emotion already being lauded by Constantijn Huygens in response to *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver* became a key feature of Rembrandt's achievement.<sup>28</sup> His early explorations in this area provide a logical context for the unattractive yet expressive quality given to the old scholar here, a probable borrowing of Brouwer's sardonic tone entirely appropriate to a genre scene of this kind.

In the arrangement of light and also in the secular subject matter of this portrayal of a scholar in a dark, intimate interior, the artist was modifying a pictorial type already refined in the mid-1620s by Jan Lievens, in Leiden, as witness his *Quill Cutter*,<sup>29</sup> last in Kreuzlingen, and his *Scholar in His Study*, last in Paris.<sup>30</sup> However, with its much smaller figure scale, the work is closer still to the peasants in Brouwer's interior scenes and to the small-scale figures that Rembrandt generally employed during this period. Rembrandt appears to have subsequently developed the present arrangement in his drawing and etching of the *Apostle Paul*, which adopt a similar general composition that isolates the head and torso of the saint and incorporates an internal light source hidden behind a large book.<sup>31</sup> It may be suggested, then, that these works – neither of which bears a date – draw on the Bader *Scholar by Candlelight* and lead to the Nuremberg *St. Paul*. This would place them around 1628–1629. Moving into the next decade, the same arrangement appears in two prints by Jan Gillisz. van Vliet (around 1610–1668) – his *Mathematician* of 1635<sup>32</sup> and the *Geographer (The Sense of Sight)* of 1634.<sup>33</sup> Although by this time their collaboration had ceased, Rembrandt nonetheless remained Van Vliet's primary influence.

This generic figure of a scholar, whose feverish efforts possess an almost comic quality, is accompanied by what appears to be a curious and hitherto unremarked scholarly attribute: hanging in the upper right-hand corner is a large, pear-shaped form with a flat bottom that is catching the light from the candle below. It does not correspond to any object commonly found in contemporary scholarly depictions. The closest link is to the gourd that hangs in the same corner of Albrecht Dürer's famous *Meisterstich* of *St. Jerome in His Study*, of 1514,<sup>34</sup> which Peter Parshall has elucidated as being a reference to Jerome's achievement as a philologist.<sup>35</sup> Although not rendered here with either accuracy or understanding, and certainly not with the same significance, this feature may signal the beginning of Rembrandt's interest in Dürer's work.

1. For the sales of 1736 and 1739, see Hoet 1752, vol. 2, p. 391, no. 26, and vol. 1, p. 580, no. 88, respectively.

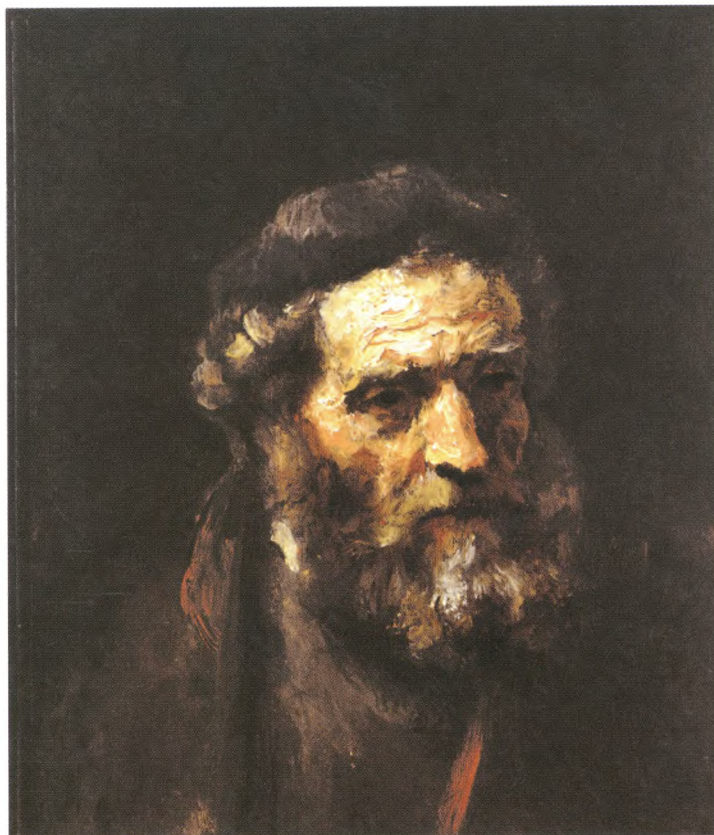
2. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 391.

3. The connection with the print was first published by K. Goldmann in *Hamburger Nachrichten* 23 (January 1896), back page, and then by Theodor von Frimmel in *Vienna Fremdenblatt*, 28 February 1898.

4. Theodor von Frimmel, "Ein Rembrandt aus der Galerie Le Brun," *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 21, citing Cornelius Hofstede de Groot.

5. "Umseitiges Ölbild ist auf Kupfer gemalt und hat eine Grösse von 13,9 × 13,9 cm. Es zeigt den Zustand, bevor ich das Bild reinigte. Bei Anwendung eines ganz leichten Putzmittels wurden die Initialen 'C.D.F.', die sich, wie das Foto zeigt, auf dem an die Wand gehefteten Brief befanden, leicht weggeputzt. Diese Initialen erwiesen sich also als eine spätere Zutat. (The oil painting on the reverse is painted on copper and measures 13,9 × 13,9 cm. It shows the state, before I cleaned the picture. With the application of a very light cleaner the initials 'C.D.F.' were easily removed. These initials are thus revealed to be a later addition)"; letter of 8 September 1958 from Josef Hasjinek, Chief Conservator of Paintings, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, on the back of a photograph of the present painting (Bader Collection work files).
6. Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, p. 558.
7. Bredius 1936, p. 17, no. 425, and Jan Gerrit van Gelder, "Rembrandt and His Circle," *Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), p. 37, note 9 (as possibly by Dou).
8. Hofstede de Groot's letter to the work's owner at the time, Franz Xaver Mayer, requesting the loan, dates to 8 June 1898; a copy is in the Bader Collection work files.
9. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 478–482, no. C5 (ill., as not by Rembrandt).
13. Anonymous follower of Rembrandt, *Unidentified Night Scene*, oil on copper, 21,5 × 16,5 cm, Tokyo, Bridgestone Museum of Art; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 508–511, no. C10 (ill., as not by Rembrandt).
14. See Ernst van de Wetering, "Delimiting Rembrandt's Autograph Oeuvre – An Insoluble Problem?," in exhib. cat. Kassel and Amsterdam 2001–2002, pp. 77–78.
15. In a letter of 16 July 1974 to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
16. Rembrandt, *St. Paul at His Desk*, 1629, oil on panel, 47,2 × 38,6 cm, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. Gm 392; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 266–271, no. A26 (ill., as around 1629–1630).
17. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 196–201, no. A 16 (ill., as 1629).
18. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, 1629, oil on panel, 79 × 102,3 cm, England, private collection; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 177–195, no. A15 (ill., as 1629).
19. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 427–431, no. B6 (ill., as Uncertain), and vol. 4, p. 627 (as by Rembrandt).
20. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Money-changer, or The Parable of the Rich Man*, 1627, oil on panel, 31,9 × 42,5 cm, signed, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 828 D; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 137–142, no. A10 (ill.).
21. See *ibid.*, pp. 159–168, no. A13 (ill.).
22. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Artist in His Studio*, 25,1 × 31,9 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 38.1838; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1, pp. 208–213, no. 18 (ill., as 1629).
23. Bauch 1960, pp. 30–37.
24. De Witt 2004, pp. 269–272.
25. For the works by Brouwer in Rembrandt's collection, see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, pp. 349 and 357 (paintings), p. 371 (drawings).
26. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Pancake Maker*, 1635, etching, 10,9 × 7,7 cm, 3 states, signed, see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 65, no. 124; vol. 19, p. 117 (ill.).
27. Adriaen Brouwer, *Old Woman Making Pancakes*, 1620s, oil on panel, 29,2 × 36,3 cm, monogrammed, Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. 909. This painting or another interpretation of the theme (e.g. Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Collection no. 680) appears in Rembrandt's inventory of 1656: "Een stuckie van Ad. Brouwer sijnde een koekebacker (A little piece by Ad. Brouwer, being a pancake maker)"; see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 349, no. 1. On the connection between the painting in Rembrandt's possession and his own print of the same subject, see Holm Bevers in exhib. cat. Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991–1992, vol. 2, p. 192, no. 10, p. 194, note 3.
28. For Huygens's praise of Rembrandt's expression in the *Judas*, see Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, p. 71, doc. no. 1630/5.
29. Jan Lievens, *Quill Cutter*, oil on canvas, 127 × 107,5 cm, Amsterdam, with Salomon Lilian, in 2006 (formerly Kreuzlingen, collection of Heinz Kisters); see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 3, p. 1794, no. 1235, p. 1874 (ill.).
30. Jan Lievens, *A Scholar in His Study*, oil on panel, 91 × 71 cm, formerly Paris, Charles Sedelmayer; see Valentiner 1921, pp. XXVI, 109 (ill., as by Rembrandt; given by Hofstede de Groot to Lievens). In his review of Valentiner's book, Abraham Bredius attributed the work instead to Lievens; see Bredius 1921, p. 6.
31. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Apostle Paul*, around 1628–1629, etching, 23,8 × 20 cm, single state; see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 75, no. B149, and vol. 19, p. 126 (ill.). For the drawing of around 1628–1629 (red chalk and wash heightened with white, 23,6 × 20,1 cm, Paris, Louvre, inv. 22.887), see Benesch 1973, vol. 1, p. 7, no. 15 (fig. 15).
32. Jan Gillisz. van Vliet, *The Mathematician*, etching, 17,7 × 13,0 cm, 5 states; see Hollstein, vol. 41, p. 183, no. 50 (ill.).
33. Jan Gillisz. van Vliet, *The Geographer (The Sense of Sight)*, etching, 24,1 × 19,8 cm, 2 states; see *ibid.*, pp. 172–173, no. 31 (ill.).
34. Albrecht Dürer, *St. Jerome in His Study*, 1514, engraving, 24,3 × 18,7 cm, inscribed; see German Hollstein, vol. 7, pp. 50–51, no. 59 (ill.).
35. Peter Parshall, "Albrecht Dürer's *St. Jerome in His Study*: A Philological Reference," *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971), pp. 303–305. ♦





165.

Attributed to Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn  
(Leiden 1606 – Amsterdam 1669)

*Head of a Bearded Man: Study for St. Matthew*  
Around 1657

Oil on panel, 24.5 × 19.7 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Paris, collection of Paul Mathey; Hamburg, collection of C. A. Mandl; his sale, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 10 July 1923 (Lugt 85627), lot 127, (ill.), sold for f36,000 to Cassirer; New York, collection of A.S. Drey, in 1930; Paris, collection of E. Nicholas, 1935-1948; England, private collection; sale, London (Christie's), 24 February 1995, lot 96 (colour ill., as by Circle of Rembrandt, not enlarged on all four sides, as claimed by Gerson 1968, p.503), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol.7, p. 123, no. 175 (as by Rembrandt); Valentiner 1921, p. XXIII, no. 92, p. 92 (ill.); Rosenberg 1948, vol. 1, p. 106, vol. 2 (fig. 99); Rosenberg 1964, pp. 106, 112 (fig. 99); Bauch 1966, p. 13, no. 233 (ill.); Iohan Quirijn van Regteren Altena, review of Bauch 1966, *Oud Holland* 82 (1967), pp. 70-71; Gerson 1968, pp. 436 (fig. 387), p. 503, no. 387 (as by Rembrandt, enlarged on all four sides); Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 573, no. 304 (ill., as by Rembrandt); Josua Bruyn et al., "Letters: Missing Rembrandts," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), p. 239; Lecaldano 1973, p. 121, no. 406 (ill.); exhib. cat. Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991-1992, p. 267, with no. 47; Seymour Slive, "The Dutch Pelican I and II," *Simiolus* 26 (1998), p. 182, note 182: "and the attribution of Bredius-Gerson nr. 304 to the artist is moot"; collection cat. Washington 1995, pp. 333, 334 note 6; exhib. cat. Washington and Los Angeles 2005, p. 95, 134, note 3

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Detroit 1930, no. 70 (ill.); Milwaukee 2005-2006, pp. 20-21, no. 5 (colour ill.)

THIS LITTLE PANEL displays the moving visage of a man in robust middle age, with a large, thick beard. He is shown turned slightly to the right and looking off to the side. The lowered eyelids, furrowed brow, pursed lips and empty gaze suggest that he is absorbed in thought. His expression connects him directly to Rembrandt's well-known depiction of *St. Matthew and the Angel* in the Louvre (see fig. 162a),<sup>1</sup> as do his features – notably the prominent brow and cheekbones, and the pronounced *levator labii* muscles flanking the nose. This painting does not seem to be derived from the *St. Matthew*, however. In the Paris work, the figure is seen more on a level and wears a turban-like headdress, and the left hand is drawn up to the chin. Here, the man wears a simple soft cap and what appears to be a heavy smock. The differences between the two images could reflect the transformation of a head study from a model into a finished history painting. The simple costume in the small panel is derived from contemporary dress and carries no historical allusions. Furthermore, the lack of any sign of Rembrandt's inventive elaboration of the *St. Matthew* figure is another indication that this is not a copy made after it. It is practically certain that the present work in fact reflects Rembrandt's study of a figure in preparation for the *St. Matthew*. The question remains whether it is an original sketch by Rembrandt, or a copy after one. Depictions by him of Jeremiah and Jesus seem to have been preceded by such painted studies.<sup>2</sup>

Bredius identifies the work as autograph but groups it with three other small panels showing the same model in slightly varying views.<sup>3</sup> However, none of these other works comes close to its decisive handling and structure. One of them, the panel in Washington, is an exercise in direct impastoed strokes but does not yield a strong impression. Here, by contrast, the thick brushstrokes combine throughout to evoke solid form – especially in the cap, the bridge of the nose and the extraordinary wrinkled forehead. In several remarkably deft passages in the beard and hair, heavy impasto highlights bring out both form and texture instead of merely creating a decorative surface pattern. Also significant is the solidity of the face's contour on the shaded side, an aspect critical to defining form that was almost always neglected by Rembrandt's followers. The panel's range of technique also encompasses some smooth, broad strokes laid down in thin sensuous layers – Rembrandt's trademark during this period – in the fabric of the smock below. Furthermore, this is the only panel of the four that leaves space around the head (misinterpreted by Hofstede de Groot and Gerson to be the result of additions),<sup>4</sup> thus simulating an eventual function as a finished composition.

In 1968 this panel was picked out by Horst Gerson from among the group of four study heads related to the *St. Matthew* as being the only one likely by Rembrandt.<sup>5</sup> Thirty years later, Seymour Slive undercut this positive assessment by stating that the attribution of this painting to the master is a "moot" point.<sup>6</sup> But in this case the question of authorship revolves around a significant lacuna in our knowledge of Rembrandt. Until recent publications by Ernst van de Wetering, it was not generally thought that, as well as his finished paintings, Rembrandt also



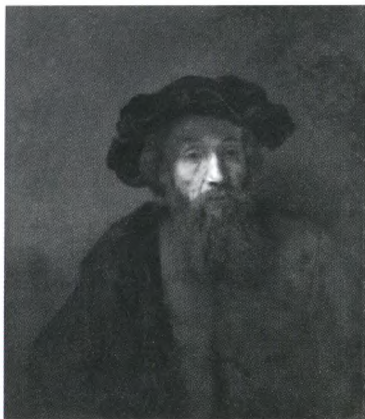
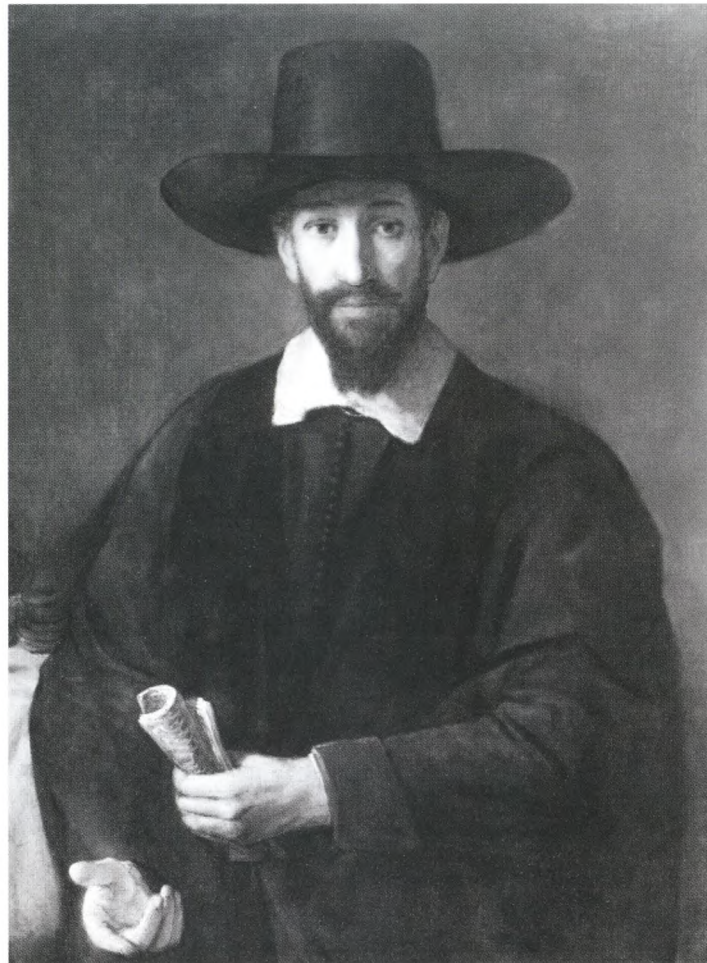


Fig. 165a. Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Bearded Man in a Cap*, around 1657, oil on canvas, 78 × 66.5 cm. London, National Gallery, inv. 190.

made preparatory painted sketches, perhaps in an even looser hand. It has been recognized that around 1658 he made painted sketches for prints, such as his etching of Lieven Willemsz. van Coppenol.<sup>7</sup> Van de Wetering now identifies a number of paintings, some of them previously rejected, as studies for finished paintings by Rembrandt.<sup>8</sup>

An important precedent for the present painting seems to have been a picture from around 1657 kept at the National Gallery, London (fig. 165a),<sup>9</sup> that has been connected by scholars to a finished *Man in Fantasy Costume* in the Hermitage.<sup>10</sup> Intriguingly, the London painting is similar to the present one in the type of figure and the pose, as well as the compositional placement in a larger, empty space. However, the subject's features are different, and the technique is smoother and more finished – closer to that of Rembrandt's finished paintings from the late 1650s. The handling in the present work is rougher than is typical even for the master's latest period and can only reasonably be explained by its function as a preparatory sketch.

1. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 613, no. 614 (ill.); collection cat. Paris 1982, pp. 83–87 (colour ill.); and exhib. cat. Washington and Los Angeles 2005, pp. 92–98, no. 7 (colour ill.).
2. With respect to Jeremiah, see cat. 161 in the present catalogue. Bredius lists several similar small related depictions of Jesus; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 614, nos. 620–627 (ills.). Of these, the only two possibly by Rembrandt are: oil on panel, 24.7 × 20 cm, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Johnson Collection, cat. 480 (see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 614, no. 624 [ill.], and collection cat. Philadelphia 1994, p. 89 [ill.]); and oil on panel, 15 × 20 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 811C (see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 614, no. 622 [ill.], and collection cat. Berlin 1996, p. 378, no. 1544 [ill.]). They appear to have served as studies for Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jesus*, oil on canvas, 108 × 89 cm, Glens Falls, New York, Hyde Collection; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 614, no. 628 (ill., as by Rembrandt).
3. Oil on panel, 25 × 22 cm, Bayonne, Musée Bonnat (see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 573, no. 303 [ill.]); oil on panel, 27 × 22 cm, Detroit, collection of William J. McAneeny (see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 573, no. 305 [ill.]); oil on panel, 25 × 19.5 cm, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, inv. 1942.9.58 (654) (see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 573, no. 302 [ill., as an imitation from a later period], and collection cat. Washington 1995, pp. 333–336 [colour ill., as by Follower of Rembrandt]).
4. Hofstede de Groot 1908–1927, vol. 7, p. 123, and Gerson 1968, p. 503.
5. See at 1968 under Literature at the head of this entry.
6. See at 1998 under Literature at the head of this entry.
7. Oil on panel, 36.6 × 28.9 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 572, no. 291 (ill.). On this aspect of Rembrandt's practice, see Ronni Baer, "Rembrandt's Oil Sketches," in exhib. cat. Boston and Chicago 2004, p. 38 (ill.).
8. These paintings include cat. 162 and cat. 163; see Van de Wetering 2006.
9. See Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 571, no. 283 (ill.), and collection cat. London 1991, p. 335. Another closely related painting is *The Apostle Paul*, oil on canvas, 131.5 × 104.4 cm, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection; see collection cat. Washington 1995, pp. 241–247 (colour ill., as around 1657).
10. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Man in Fantasy Costume*, oil on canvas, 71 × 61 cm, indistinctly signed *Rembrandt f1661*, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, inv. 751; see Bredius/Gerson 1969, p. 573, no. 309 (ill.). ♦



166.

Constantijn Daniël van Renesse (Maarssen 1626 – Eindhoven 1680)

*Portrait of a Man, Possibly the Artist's Father, Professor Lodewijk van Renesse (1599–1671)*

Around 1650–1652

Oil on canvas, 99 × 72.4 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of Tomas Harris; sale, London (Sotheby's), 23 February 1972, lot 6 (as by Rembrandt), purchased by Jüngeling; The Hague, with Han Jüngeling; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, pp. 2469, 2471, 2473 (ill., as *Portrait of a Jewish Doctor*), no. 1655, p. 2956, with no. 1956

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

West Lafayette 1980, unpaginated, no. 13 (ill., as *Portrait of a Spanish Jew*); Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 42–45, no. 8 (ill., as *Portrait of a Jewish Doctor*)

THIS DARK, SOBER portrait shows a bearded man in early middle age, wearing a black coat covered by a robe and set off by a white collar, with a tall, wide-brimmed hat on his head. In one hand he holds a slim rolled-up volume while the other shapes a gesture – curled palm facing upward, thumb extended and index finger pointing. Behind him to the left is a table covered with a white cloth on which rests an inkpot with a lid. The pot, which is





Fig. 166a. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *Portrait of the Artist's Family*, 1651, oil on canvas, 152.5 × 116.5 cm. Salzburg, Residenzgalerie, inv. 315.

indicated with only a few painted lines, was earlier misinterpreted as a mortar and pestle, and thought to be a reference to the sitter's profession as a doctor or apothecary. The subject was thus speculatively identified as a Sephardic doctor, with the beard and prominent nose cited as further evidence.<sup>1</sup> The hesitant technique and vague expression, together with the dark overall tonality, point to the authorship of Constantijn Daniël van Renesse. It seems, moreover, that Van Renesse may have been depicting his own father. Lodewijk van Renesse was a highly prominent *predikant* and theologian in the Dutch Reformed Church. A master of seven languages and a militant Calvinist, Lodewijk served as house preacher to the stadholder Frederik Hendrik in 1634 while he was on campaign in Breda, participated in the translation of the States Bible in 1635, and then returned to Breda to establish the Illustre School there in 1646 and serve as its professor and *rector magnificus*.<sup>2</sup> In Van Renesse's 1651 portrait of his family, Lodewijk appears with the same distinctive nose and eyes, protruding lower lip and prominent chin (fig. 166a).<sup>3</sup> The artist even seems to have depicted him here making the same oratorical gesture with his hand that Rembrandt had used earlier for the famous portrait of Cornelis Claesz. Anslo.<sup>4</sup> Lodewijk also sat for a subsequent inscribed portrait print by his son, where he is shown wearing a beard like the one in this painting and with the same large ears (fig. 166b).<sup>5</sup> This identification is consistent with the artist's career, as he produced primarily history paintings and a few portraits of himself and his family. He is not known to have attracted many commissions. There are only two other formal portraits by him, both prints, one of which may have been carried out at the behest of the artist's father, as it portrays a fellow theologian.<sup>6</sup>

Constantijn Daniël van Renesse was born in Maarssen, near Utrecht, in 1626, and followed in his father's scholarly footsteps,

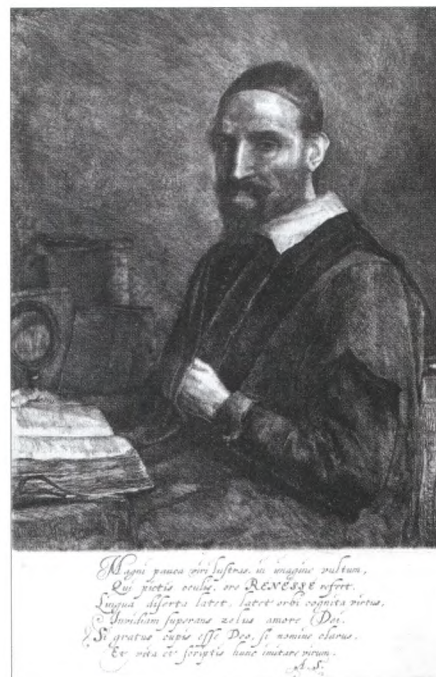


Fig. 166b. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *Portrait of the Artist's Father, Lodewijk van Renesse*, around 1652, etching, 20 × 20.5 cm, state I/II, inscribed. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

enrolling in Letters at the University of Leiden at the age of thirteen.<sup>7</sup> His earliest surviving drawing dates from the following year. In 1642 he transferred to the study of mathematics, continued to make finished drawn compositions and began producing etchings.<sup>8</sup> A critical turn came a few years later: according to the inscriptions on two of his drawings, Van Renesse twice received instruction in Amsterdam from Rembrandt – once in 1649 and a second time in 1652.<sup>9</sup> These two sheets offer remarkable evidence of Rembrandt's pedagogical method, which involved having his students draw finished compositions that he then corrected. During this period Van Renesse started to produce paintings, chiefly biblical histories in the Rembrandtesque style (cat. 167). His artistic career ended abruptly in 1653, however, when he was appointed to a municipal post as secretary of the city of Eindhoven.<sup>10</sup> His work is nevertheless a compelling testimony to the dedication and achievement of non-professional artists during the Dutch Golden Age.

1. See under Literature and Exhibition Catalogues at the head of this entry. This traditional identification is also supported by Alfred Bader.
2. See Vermeeren 1978, p. 3.
3. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2471, no. 1656, p. 2474 (colour ill.).
4. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of the Mennonite Preacher Cornelis Claesz. Anslo and His Wife Aeltje Gerritsdr. Schouten*, 1641, oil on canvas, 172 × 207 cm, signed, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 828L; see Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 403-415 (ill.).
5. See Hollstein, vol. 20, p. 20, no. 13 (ill.).
6. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *Portrait of Arnoldus Senguerdus, Professor in Utrecht and Amsterdam*, etching, 20.7 × 16.3 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 20, p. 21, no. 14 (ill.). The Latin inscription is accompanied by the monogram of the artist's father: *L.A.R.*, likely indicating a tie of friendship with the sitter. The sitter of the second portrait (etching, 27.3 × 16.8 cm, 3 states) has not been identified; see Hollstein, vol. 20, p. 22, no. 15 (ill.).
7. Willem Nicolaas Du Rieu, ed., *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), pp. 329.
8. Ibid., p. 329.
9. Vermeeren 1978, pp. 5-8.
10. Ibid., p. 13. ♦



167.

Constantijn Daniël van Renesse

(Maarssen 1626 – Eindhoven 1680)

*Gideon and the Angel*

Around 1651

Oil on canvas, 73.8 × 101.5 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1986, acc. no. 29-001

#### PROVENANCE

The Hague, with Sam Nystad; purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Haverkamp-Begemann 1969, p. 288 (as not by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout or by Barent Fabritius); Judson 1969, p. 704 (as not by Barent Fabritius); Benjamin Rifkin, "Rembrandt and His Circle III," *Art News* 68 (November 1969), pp. 32-33 (ill., as by "Pseudo-Bol"); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2469, 2470, 2472, no. 1658b, p. 2478 (colour ill., as by Constantijn Daniël van Renesse)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Leiden 1956, p. 29, no. 39 (pl. 21, as by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout); Montreal and Toronto 1969, p. 85, no. 52 (ill., as by Barent Fabritius); Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 98-101, no. 24 (ill., as attributed to Van Renesse); Tokyo 2003, pp. 184-185, no. 81 (colour ill.)



CHAPTER 6 of the Old Testament Book of Judges tells how the young Gideon comes to lead the Israelites to revolt against the Midianites, who had been raiding their supplies of food for seven years. He is approached for the task by an angel, but before undertaking it asks for a sign from God. After instructing Gideon to take the meat, broth and unleavened bread he has prepared as a gift and lay them on a rock, the angel touches the offering with his staff, whereupon fire comes out of the rock and it is consumed. Having thus revealed his divine nature, the angel disappears. Fearful, Gideon accepts the sign and proceeds to instigate the revolt that will liberate the Israelites from their oppressors.

Van Renesse has depicted the moment of the miracle, when the sacrifice bursts into flame. The winged angel stands to the right, dressed in a white gown with a sash around the waist, under a brown mantle. A little to the left of centre kneels Gideon, his hands raised in surprise and awe. Between them is the large rock that serves as the altar for the sacrifice – the meat and bread – from which flames emerge. The scene is set in a wild landscape that is cast in shadow against an illuminated sky. The vista is punctuated by a ruin on a hill in the right background, a waterfall behind the Gideon figure and a lone tree on the horizon to the left. A cabbage-like plant is featured in the left foreground, and the right edge of the composition is closed off by a tree that towers over the angel.

The muted colour scheme, marked use of directional light and cast shadow, and particular nature of the drama and action place this scene in the idiom of Rembrandt and his school. Previously attributed to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout and Barent Fabritius,<sup>1</sup> it was first recognized by Werner Sumowski as being by

the hand of Constantijn Daniël van Renesse.<sup>2</sup> Sumowski correctly pointed out the connection to a genre depiction of a *Peasant Kermis*,<sup>3</sup> which can be given to Van Renesse on the basis of a similar print that bears an inscription identifying him as the artist.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the head of the angel reflects that of the stricken patient in a genre print by Van Renesse that portrays *The Visit to the Doctor*,<sup>5</sup> and the head of Gideon, cast in shadow, that of the youngster in another etching featuring *A Boy Blowing Bubbles*.<sup>6</sup> Both prints date to 1651, likely the same period as the present painting. The sombre light seen here reflects the serious tone common to all of this artist's works and the quiet, introspective direction taken by Rembrandt's later development.

1. See under Exhibition Catalogues at the head of this entry.

2. Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2472, no. 1658b.

3. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *Peasant Kermis in Front of a Tavern*, oil on canvas, 101 × 104 cm, Washington, Corcoran Gallery of Art, inv. 21.60; see *ibid.*, pp. 2471, no. 1658, p. 2476 (colour ill.).

4. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *Peasant Kermis in Front of a Tavern*, etching, 11.9 × 19.2 cm, 2 states, inscribed: *CA Renesse fecit inventor, 1651*; see Hollstein, vol. 20, p. 12, no. 5 (ill.).

5. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *The Visit to the Doctor*, etching, 11.6 × 10.2 cm, 2 states, inscribed: *CAR f 1651*; see *ibid.*, p. 11, no. 4 (ill.).

6. Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, *A Boy Blowing Bubbles*, etching, 13.2 × 10.8 cm, inscribed: *CA Renesse 1651*; see Hollstein, vol. 20, p. 10, no. 3 (ill.). ◆





168.

David Rijckaert III (Antwerp 1612 – Antwerp 1661)

*An Alchemist Studying at Night*

1648

Oil on canvas, 51 × 74.5 cm

Signed and dated bottom centre: *D. Rijckaert / 1648*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 8 November 1990, no. 2005 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 84–85, no. 35 (ill.)

AN ELDERLY BALDING man with a long grey beard sits at a desk, holding a pince-nez in one hand and pondering the content of the large book on his lap. On the table in front of him are numerous objects related to scholarly pursuits, including more books, a globe and an écorché – a statue of a flayed man commonly employed in the study of human anatomy. On the wall hangs a print picturing a chameleon, an animal whose ability to change colour is evoked here as an allusion to the subject of the man's study, alchemy.<sup>1</sup> His profession is confirmed by the alembic and cucurbit shown at the right, on top of a glowing oven. Dispersed throughout the composition are diverse *vanitas* elements, among them the hourglass, skull and dice sitting on the small table in the left foreground. Most graphic, however, is the illustration in the open book, which shows a skeleton holding a flask: this represents a dead alchemist – a prefiguration of the man's own demise. These items situate the image within the moralizing tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, whose famous print on the same subject criticizes the pursuit of alchemy as a folly leading to the poorhouse (see fig. 145a).<sup>2</sup> Here, Rijckaert has chosen to ridicule the mystical element of this practice by showing it taking place at night, by the light of the moon and several lamps and candles, which conjure an eerie atmosphere suggestive of the occult. The man's eyes are unfocused and heavy-lidded, indicative of the



slightly crazed state of mind of someone obsessed and driven to working through the night. Bruegel's warning against poverty is also subtly present in the chaotic and rather rough surroundings, the simple clothes the man wears, and his dishevelled hair and untrimmed beard. The lively rhythm of the composition is in keeping with the scene's sardonic tone and derisively moralizing message.

The refined, virtuoso handling of a genre subject displayed here is characteristic of the work of David Rijckaert III. He was born in Antwerp in 1613, the son of David Rijckaert II (1586-1642),<sup>3</sup> a genre painter who portrayed interior scenes of peasants and low-life activity in the idiom of Adriaen Brouwer, which his son also adopted. The younger Rijckaert grew up surrounded by a large extended family of artists, of which there were several in Antwerp. The tradition started with the artist's like-named grandfather (1560-1603), a decorative painter, and continued with his father, a genre specialist, and his uncle Maerten Rijckaert (1587-1631), a landscapist.<sup>4</sup> David Rijckaert III embarked on his own career on becoming a member of the St. Luke's guild in 1636-1637.<sup>5</sup> During the 1640s he pioneered the recasting of the peasant genre idiom inherited from Brouwer into a more lavish and decorative manner, with a higher finish, richer variety and description, and a more colourful palette.<sup>6</sup> From the 1650s on he strayed little from his established formulas, achieving a certain affluence and eventually dying a modestly wealthy man.<sup>7</sup> His oeuvre also includes some history paintings, and four works by him were included in the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.<sup>8</sup> The latest of these, which depicts an *Alchemist at Night*, is still in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.<sup>9</sup> Six other depictions of alchemists by Rijckaert are known,<sup>10</sup> but the picture in Vienna most closely approximates the present composition, the major difference being that there the figure is gazing out at the viewer. The same objects appear on the table (although in a different arrangement), and the globe stands on the floor. The present painting, which appears more exuberant and finely executed, was likely the earlier of the two. Although unaware at the time of this work dated to 1648, Bernadette van Haute dated the painting in Vienna to around 1649.<sup>11</sup> The near repetition may reflect a commission made by the Archduke after seeing the original. Rijckaert clearly enjoyed a brief vogue for his representations of the theme, which appear to have all been produced in a span of two years (1648-1649). It evidently suited his fondness for detail presented in a complex and evocative setting.

1. A chameleon appears with the personification of Alchemy on the title page of Christopher Love Morley's *Collectanea chymica leydensia* (Leiden, 1693); see Volker Manuth, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, p. 84.
2. See Van Bastelaer 1992, pp. 263-265, no. 197 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 82-83, no. 34 (ill.).
3. Van Haute 1999, pp. 13-15.
4. Ibid., pp. 7-12. Van Haute disproves the longstanding assumption that David Rijckaert III's son David (born 1649) also became a painter.
5. Liggeren, pp. 80, 87.
6. Van Haute 1999, p. 31.
7. Ibid., pp. 43, 63.
8. Ibid., p. 44; see also Caras 1968, p. 236, no. 93, p. 238, nos. 148 and 149, p. 244, no. 253.
9. David Rijckaert III, *Alchemist at Night*, oil on panel, 46.7 × 79 cm, around 1649, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1694; see Van Haute 1999, p. 110, no. A84, p. 335 (pl. 84).
10. The six other depictions are: 1) oil on canvas, signed and dated 1648, Le Havre, Musée des beaux-arts André Malraux, inv. 77-19; 2) oil on canvas, 66 × 87.5 cm, signed and dated 1648, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 156; 3) oil on canvas, 42 × 62 cm, signed and dated 1648, Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. I.350; 4) oil on panel, 40.6 × 62.2 cm, signed and dated 1649, sale, London (Christie's), 5 April 1963, lot 37; 5) oil on panel, 58 × 86 cm, signed and dated 1649, Madrid, Prado, inv. 1730; 6) oil on canvas, 59.1 × 78.8 cm, around 1649, Mannheim, Reiss-Museum der Stadt Mannheim, inv. Staat 266; see Van Haute 1999, pp. 107-110, nos. A78-A83, pp. 332-334 (pl. 78-83).
11. Ibid., p. 110. ♦





169.

Attributed to Roelant Roghman  
(Amsterdam 1627 – Amsterdam 1692)

*Mountainous Landscape with Hunters*  
2nd half of the 17th century  
Oil on canvas, 49 × 64 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.09

#### PROVENANCE

Munich, with Xavier Scheidwimmer, in 1977 (as by Roghman); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 13-15 June 1986, lot 1144 (pl.68); purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2482, no. 1667a, p. 2493 (ill., as by Roghman); Wouter Th. Kloek, *De kasteeltekeningen van Roelant Roghman II* (Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1990), p. 46, no. "d" (as not by Roghman)

IN THIS RICHLY picturesque view a group of hunters led by a man with a small hound on a leash descends the flank of a mountain along a winding path. The peak emerges through the clouds, high above them on the right. A cluster of leafy trees rises to the left of centre, closing off this section of the picture. Opening up on the left is a tall, narrow space that offers a view over an extensive plain below, which is intersected by rivers and accented by houses and outcroppings. The painting closely follows the approach to landscape taken by Roelant Roghman, to whom it was attributed by Walther Bernt.<sup>1</sup>

Roghman was the son of an engraver, and a nephew on his mother's side of the prominent Flemish Mannerist artist Roelant Savery (1576-1639).<sup>2</sup> He followed the mode of fantasy mountainous landscape practised by his uncle and such artists as Paul Bril, Joos de Momper (1564-1635) and, from his own generation,

Hercules Seghers (1589/90-after 1633). He shared this enthusiasm with Rembrandt, whom – according to Houbraken – he counted as a friend.<sup>3</sup> Roghman produced only a small corpus of paintings, however, and is best known for his landscape drawings, among them a series of surviving and ruined castles in the northern Netherlands.

Roelant Roghman's paintings nearly all feature mountain landscapes with travellers. His few signed works consistently display the patchy effect created by wide brushstrokes applied in parallel, rectangular hatches in the various directions decreed by the forms of the landscape. This technique lends the pictorial surface a dynamic energy that echoes the bustling activity of his figures. These qualities, evident in Roghman's signed *Mountain Pass with Cattle and Herds*, last in Zurich (fig. 169a),<sup>4</sup> mark the present work, and the variety of trees and foliage pictured is also characteristic of the artist. The vista onto a panoramic, flat Netherlandish landscape, incorporated on the left, follows the style of Philips Koninck. The Zurich painting breaks the illusion of an exotic alpine setting with a similar passage – in the distance at the centre of the work – and this connection further supports the attribution of the present work to Roghman.



Fig. 169a. Roelant Roghman, *Mountain Pass with Cattle and Herds*, oil on canvas, 114 × 167 cm, signed. Location unknown.

1. An expertise by Walther Bernt dated February 1977 (Agnes Etherington Art Centre, curatorial files), locating the painting with Scheidwimmer (see under Provenance at the head of this entry), attributes it to Roelant Roghman.
2. For Roghman's biography, see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2479.
3. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 358.
4. Last reported in Zurich, with Bruno Meissner; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2483, no. 1672, p. 2498 (ill.). ♦





170.

Jacques Ignatius de Roore (Antwerp 1686 – The Hague 1747)

*Susanna and the Elders*

Around 1735

Oil on panel, 44.7 × 58.4 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1985, acc. no. 28-272

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly sale, Marius de Jeude, The Hague, 18 April 1735 (Lugt 447), lot 85 (as "Susanna met de twee Boeven, met een fraei landschap, uytvoerig geschildert door de Roore [Susanna and the two Rascals, with a beautiful landscape, finely painted by De Roore]");<sup>1</sup> Vienna, with Galerie Sanct Lucas in 1929 (as by De Roore);<sup>2</sup> sale, London (Sotheby's), 16 December 1981, lot 72 (ill., as by Arnold Houbraken); sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 8 November 1982, lot 2195 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### EXHIBITIONS

New York 1984, unpaginated, no. 12 (ill.); Kingston 1988, pp. 122-125, no. 30 (ill., as by Nicolaes Verkolje)

JACQUES IGNATIUS DE ROORE has here chosen the same theme as Pieter van Mol for another Bader Collection painting (cat. 132) – an episode recounted in an apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel. Two elders ambush the virtuous and beautiful Susanna while she bathes, threatening to accuse her of adultery if she does not accede to their sexual propositions. She resists, and suffers their accusations and the threat of execution. But the young prophet Daniel defends her, and she is subsequently exonerated, while the elders face death for their crime. The scene was popular among artists because it combined a moral message promoting chastity with the opportunity for a sensual display of the female nude.



Fig. 170a. Jacques Ignatius de Roore, *Flora with Putti in a Landscape*, 1743, oil on panel, 52.4 x 64.4 cm, signed. Location unknown.



When this painting first resurfaced in 1929, Cornelius Hofstede de Groot recognized in it the hand of the Antwerp painter Jacques Ignatius de Roore.<sup>3</sup> De Roore was born in Antwerp in 1686 and registered there as a pupil of Jan Sebastian van Loybos (active 1698–1703) in 1698,<sup>4</sup> becoming a master in 1707.<sup>5</sup> Around 1720 De Roore went to seek his fortune in the northern Netherlands, living first in Amsterdam and later moving to Rotterdam and finally The Hague, where he befriended the painter and dealer Gerard Hoet.<sup>6</sup> As the present painting subsequently passed through the art market, its attribution to De Roore was eclipsed, and it was given to Arnold Houbraken and later to Nicolaes Verkolje. However, the agitated forms and highly refined handling connect it closely to De Roore's work. It can be related most especially to a signed and dated painting of 1743 depicting the goddess Flora (fig. 170a).<sup>7</sup> In this late picture De Roore adopted a higher level of finish and a stronger compositional structure than in such earlier works as his 1714 *Judgement of Paris*, last in The Hague.<sup>8</sup> A pendant pair entitled collectively *Allegory of the Liberal Arts in War and Peace*, from 1724,<sup>9</sup> though compositionally more complex, still shows evidence of his earlier approach in its freer handling and turbulent formal style. Here, as in the *Flora*, De Roore has generated stability by integrating the figures into the various architectural elements that surround them: there is a clear spatial succession from the fountain in the left foreground, to the group with Susanna, to the plinth supporting a large pot, and on to the classical edifice further back. Both the balance between energy and repose and the exhaustive refinement of handling point to a date just before the work's earliest likely appearance on the market in 1735. De Roore was no doubt inspired to pursue his chosen style, which combines marked finesse with the clear depiction of emotions, by the work of Gérard de Lairese (1641–1711) and Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722), which continued to be much admired in the northern Netherlands until well into the 18th century. The artist's wit is evident in the fountain sculpture to the left, where a mermaid twists to escape a groping satyr, whose leering visage closely reflects that of the elder across from him to the right.

1. Hoet 1752, vol. 1, p. 436.
2. Expertise by Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, March 1929; Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files.
3. Ibid.
4. Liggeren, vol. 2, pp. 610.
5. Ibid., p. 656.
6. Thieme-Becker, vol. 28, p. 577.
7. Sale, New York (Christie's), 15 October 1992, lot 143 (colour ill.).
8. Jacques Ignatius de Roore, *The Judgement of Paris*, 1714, oil on canvas, 91 × 87 cm, signed, The Hague, with Hoogsteder Fine Arts, in 1989.
9. Jacques Ignatius de Roore, *Mars Destroying the Liberal Arts and Time Revealing Truth, Allowing the Liberal Arts to Prosper*, 1724, oil on panel, 46 × 63.5 cm and 46 × 64 cm respectively, signed (left panel, *Mars*, only), sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 4 November 1992, lots 147 and 148 (colour ill.). ♦



171.

Jan Albertsz. Rootius (Medemblik around 1615 – Hoorn 1674)

*Portrait of Five Sisters*

Around 1655

Oil on canvas, 133 × 168 cm

Inscribed (between the figures' heads), from left to right: *Fedes Charitas Spes*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, acquired with funds given by Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1995, acc. no. 38-007

#### PROVENANCE

Saarbrücken, with Galerie A.J. Ernst, in 1991; sale, London (Sotheby's), 6 July 1994, lot 227 (colour ill., as by J. Rootius); New York, with Otto Naumann Ltd.

JAN ALBERTSZ. ROOTIUS brought the portrait fashions that prevailed in the larger artistic centres of the northern Netherlands to the West Frisian coastal town of Hoorn, some forty kilometres north of Amsterdam. Houbraken made the very unlikely assertion that Rootius trained with Pieter Lastman in Amsterdam,<sup>1</sup> but in the mid-20th century, based on a stylistic consideration of the Rootius portraits of the 1640s, B.J.A. Renckens put forward the much more credible hypothesis that he studied portraiture under Albert Cuyp in Dordrecht.<sup>2</sup> He established himself independently in Hoorn around 1643, the year of his marriage. He likely travelled regularly to Amsterdam, as he is known to have completed a number of portrait commissions there. In the late 1650s he adopted the looser style of the Amsterdam-based portraitist Bartholomeus van der Helst, although his portraits always retained a stiff, careful aspect that reflected the convention-bound provincial centre in which he worked. Here, the restrained expressions and rigid bearing of the young sitters give them a marked air of seriousness.

The present work has until now been seen as a portrait of a mother and her children. However, only a few years separate the senior sitter, seated with a baby on her lap, from the next oldest – the girl standing on the extreme right. Judging by the succession of ages and the various facial likenesses, the subjects are most probably five sisters. Moreover, their thrust-forward heads and



slack cheeks suggest that they all suffer from the condition known as "mouth breathing," whose causes can be hereditary. This grouping of sisters is a variation on the well-established northern Netherlandish tradition of the family portrait, which flourished in provincial centres. Rootius painted a number of pictures of entire families, and also produced some examples of that other Dutch specialty of group portraiture, the militia portrait.

Rootius has enriched this scene with symbols of the Christian Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, accompanied by their inscription in Latin across the background. St. Paul recommended these three virtues in his first letter to the Corinthians, emphasizing Charity above the other two (I Corinthians 13). This priority is reflected here in the central position given to the oldest girl caring for her baby sister, which evokes the most typical representation of Charity – a mother with her children. The girl standing at the left clutches a crucifix and holds a book under her arm that is likely the Bible – two references to Faith. The child at the opposite edge of the composition holds an anchor in one hand, while a large falcon perches on the other. The anchor is well known as a symbol of Hope, but the falcon reference is less direct and has to be interpreted through the motto *Post tenebras spero lucem* (After darkness I hope for light), which was often paired with a hooded falcon as an emblem. In a 1559 print from his series of engravings of the Seven Virtues (the Theological Virtues plus the Cardinal Virtues) Pieter Bruegel the Elder also used a hooded falcon to represent Hope. And in 1605 the emblem had been famously included on the title page of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.<sup>3</sup> Although Rootius employed symbolism of various kinds in his other children's portraits,<sup>4</sup> he seems here to have misunderstood the falcon's emblematic significance, as he has depicted it unhooded.

The costumes of the older sitters compare closely with those worn by Grietje Jacobsdr. Veen and her sister Lysbeth, two daughters of a member of Hoorn's patriciate, in portraits by Rootius dating to 1655 and 1656, indicating that the present work was painted in Hoorn around the same time.<sup>5</sup>

1. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 11.

2. As evidence of the connection to Albert Cuyp, Renckens points to early portraits by Rootius, such as his *Portrait of Jacob Seymsz. Coninck*, oil on panel, 88 × 74 cm, Hoorn, Westfries Museum, inv. 01267/ MYL 356; see Renckens 1948, p. 176.

3. See J. Douglas Stewart, in *Art: The Critic's Choice*, Marina Vaizey, ed. (London: Watson-Guptill, 1999), pp. 138–139. My thanks to the author for pointing out these references.

4. Rootius's *Portrait of a Young Girl with a Carnation* (1663, oil on canvas, 118.1 × 96.5 cm, signed, Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, inv. 2804), for example, incorporates a floral reference to the transience of youth; see Jan Baptist Bedaux, "Beelden van 'leersucht' en tucht. Opvoedingsmetaforen in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw," *Nederland Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* 33 (1983), pp. 59–61.

5. Jan Albertsz. Rootius, *Portrait of Grietje Jacobsdr. Veen*, 1655, oil on panel, 96 × 72.5 cm, signed, Hoorn, Westfries Museum, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland, inv. C 931 (see collection cat. The Hague 1992, p. 256, no. 2236 [ill.]); Jan Albertsz. Rootius, *Portrait of Lysbeth Jacobsdr. Veen*, 1656, oil on panel, 70 × 55 cm, signed, Hoorn, Westfries Museum, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland, inv. C 914 (see Renckens 1948, pp. 183, 187 [ill.], and collection cat. The Hague 1992, p. 256, no. 2229). ♦

172.

Jacob van Ruisdael (Haarlem 1628/29 – Amsterdam 1682)

### *River Landscape with Beach*

Around 1660

Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 78.7 cm

Signed lower right: *JoRuisdael*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Probably sale, Paris (Paillet), 15 December 1777 (Lugt 2754), lot 27 (as "Un Paysage agréable & d'un bon effet: la droite présente une hauteur couronnée de touffes d'arbres, & sur laquelle on aperçoit une chaumière, le devant une rivière au bord de laquelle on voit une Blanchisseuse & un Villageois [A pleasant and striking Landscape: to the right a hill crowned by clusters of trees, and upon which one sees a thatched cottage, in the foreground a river on the shore of which one sees a Washerwoman and a Villager]," oil on canvas, 24 *pouces* × 30 *pouces* 6 *lignes* [64.8 × 82.4 cm]); collection of Lord Grey; Kilfauns Castle, Perthshire, collection of the Earl of Moray; Bryn-y-pys, collection of H.E.E. Peel; sale London (Sotheby's), 13 March 1929, lot 61 (purchased by Asscher & Welcker for £880); London, with Asscher & Welcker Gallery; Cold Harbour Park, Kent, collection of E.F. de Rougement; his sale, London (Christie's), 27 May 1938, lot 135 (ill.); collection of N. Argenti; his sale, London (Christie's), 23 November 1956, lot 64 (ill.), purchased by Davis for £787; Augsburg, collection of W. Groverman; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1962

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, *Aldrichimica Acta* 6, no. 2 (1973), inside cover (cover ill.); Bader 1995, p. 233, no. 7 (pl. 23); Slive 2001, p. 371, no. 506 (ill.)

#### EXHIBITIONS

Kalamazoo 1967, p. 14 (ill.); New Brunswick 1983, p. 120–121, no. 104 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 72–73, 84, no. 34 (ill.); Milwaukee 1989, p. 10, no. 2A (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 23 (ill.)

JACOB VAN RUISDAEL, the most celebrated Dutch landscapist of the 17th century, transformed the Haarlem tradition of landscape into a high Baroque equivalent of the history paintings of Rembrandt and his school.<sup>1</sup> Jacob was born into an artistic family based in Haarlem. His father Isaack was a painter, framer and art dealer;<sup>2</sup> his uncle and cousin were both landscape painters. Jacob van Ruisdael almost certainly received instruction from his uncle Salomon in Haarlem in the early 1640s, and he joined the guild there in 1648.<sup>3</sup> A keen interest in woods and forests already distinguishes his earliest works from those of his uncle and likely reflects an awareness of the Flemish tradition for forest scenes. In the 1650s Ruisdael travelled extensively in Holland and is known to have visited the German region of Westphalia with his friend and fellow landscape painter Nicolaes Berchem.<sup>4</sup> By 1657 he had moved to Amsterdam, likely in pursuit of a better market for his paintings, and he lived and worked there for the rest of his life.<sup>5</sup>

At the summit of the great tradition of 17th-century Dutch landscape painting, Ruisdael's works are full of a drama created by the wide range of strongly contrasting elements they encompass. They parallel the trend toward sumptuousness that shaped Dutch portraiture and still life during the same period. The present painting depicts both banks of a small river, under a lowering, cloud-filled sky. On the far bank, a woman kneels at the edge of the water, washing clothes. Just to the left of her, a man





stands leaning against the rocks and looking out over the water. Behind these figures, to the right, the bank slopes up, and at the top of the rise a house can be seen through the trees. On the other side, at the left, the bank is lower, and there are more houses at the river's edge. Reflections of the bleached rocky outcropping on the beach and the dark trees appear clearly on the still surface of the water.

Ruisdael has assembled many elements of pictorial interest: the graceful bend in the river, the dense, towering trees at the top of the rise, the chunks of pale rock on the right bank of the river. These accents are predominantly light in colour, counterbalancing the stark faces of the large rocks along the waterfront. Unifying touches of white pick out the birch driftwood and marsh grass in the foreground, the washerwoman's blouse and cap, the blossoms of a tree in the extreme right foreground, the solitary standing birch growing out of the hillside, and the branches of

some of the taller trees that are caught by a gleam of sun breaking through the dark clouds.

The mood of the present painting is intensely contemplative. The two figures, tiny and isolated on the blond beach, are made small both by the ordinariness of their actions and the scale of their natural surroundings. The meditative tone is effectively contrasted, however, with the vigorous atmosphere created by the turbulent sky and the wild foliage that surrounds them.

Jakob Rosenberg dated this painting to around 1660, and Seymour Slive concurred.<sup>6</sup> The pasty handling of the highlights and the work's compositional calm and clarity link it to Ruisdael's *High Wooded Hill with a Rushing Stream*, formerly in Basel,<sup>7</sup> and his *Wooded Hilly Landscape with a Road*, now in Dublin (fig. 172a),<sup>8</sup> both works that have been dated to the 1660s. Furthermore, a *terminus post quem* is provided by the half-timbered house seen through the woods, which reflects the artist's knowledge of German vernacular architecture acquired on his journey to the border region in the 1650s.

*David de Witt, with the assistance of Kristen Campbell*



Fig. 172a. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Wooded Hilly Landscape with a Road*, 1660s, oil on canvas, 61 × 76 cm. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. 37.

1. For a survey of interpretations of Van Ruisdael's achievement, see "Ruisdael's Critics," in Walford 1991, pp. 186–202.
2. On Isaack van Ruisdael's career, see Jeroen Giltaij, "The Problem of Isaack van Ruisdael, 1599–1677," *Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1068 (1992), pp. 180–182.
3. Miedema 1980, vol. 2, pp. 933, 1037.
4. See Büttner and Unverfehrt 1993.
5. See H. F. Wijnmann, "Het leven der Ruysdaels," *Oud Holland* 49 (1932), p. 179.
6. Letter of 1938 from Jakob Rosenberg to A. Scharf; a copy is in the Bader Collection work files. For Slive's agreement, see Slive 2001, p. 371.
7. Jacob van Ruisdael, *High Wooded Hill with a Rushing Stream*, 1660s, oil on canvas, 99 × 86.3 cm, signed, formerly Basel, Bachofen collection; see Slive 2001, p. 255, no. 314 (ill.).
8. See Slive 2001, pp. 342–343, no. 466 (colour ill.). ♦



173.

Jacob van Ruisdael

(Haarlem 1628/29 – Amsterdam 1682)

*Winter Landscape*

1660s

Oil on canvas, 35.5 × 31.1 (mounted on canvas measuring 38.6 × 33.3 cm)

Signed lower left: *J.V.Ruysdael*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Berlin, collection of Max Steinthal, around 1890-1906; acquired in 1907 by the father or grandfather of Major J.C.F. Gundry, The Hyde, Walditch, Bridport, Dorset; sale, London (Christie's), 11 December 1984, lot 21 (colour ill., as indistinctly signed), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Wilhelm von Bode, review of exhibition Berlin 1890, in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1890), pp. 237-238; Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927, vol. 4, p. 298, no. 988 (as "Beschneite Landschaft mit einigen Figuren von J.v. Ruisdael selber [Snowy Landscape with several figures by J.v. Ruisdael himself]," oil on canvas, 36 × 32 cm, signed lower left); Rosenberg 1928, p. 110, no. 606; Alfred Bader, *Aldrichimica Acta* 18, no. 4 (1985), p. 85 (cover ill.); Bader 1995, p. 233, no. 8 (pl. 24); Slive 2001, p. 479, no. 682 (colour ill.)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Berlin 1890, p. 55, no. 253 (as "Winterlandschaft. An einem gefrorenen Weiher, auf dem sich einige Personen befinden, liegt links ein Haus; düsterer Himmel. [Winter Landscape. On a frozen meadow, where there are several people, a house stands to the left (sic); dark sky.]," oil on canvas, 35 × 31 cm, signed: *J. V. Ruysdael* [the first three letters interlaced]); Berlin 1906, p. 34, no. 120; Milwaukee 2005-2006, pp. 40-41, no. 13 (colour ill.)



JACOB VAN RUISDAEL'S winter landscapes tend to emphasize the dark and threatening aspect of the season, forming – as Stechow eloquently noted<sup>1</sup> – a stark contrast to the levity that Bruegel and his followers evoked in practising the same specialty. In the present example, the large rural dwelling on the right side dominates the composition. A couple in the foreground walk toward the viewer, accompanied by their dog. Ruisdael balances these motifs with a bare tree that arches in from the left edge and, behind it, a thatched shed. The space between the two buildings opens onto a view of a distant field. The entire scene is dominated by the dark cast of a cloud-covered early evening sky. Accented with a scattering of snow, the house and the tree assume a monumental, isolated presence against the sombre background tone. The two rather bent figures, isolated and confined to the bottom of the composition, seem to express the oppression and desolation of their surroundings. The billowing and twisting forms of the grim clouds above promise only more of the same inhospitable weather.

Among the nearly seven hundred works he attributes to Ruisdael, Seymour Slive includes thirty-two winter landscapes, several of which have the same format as the present canvas. In its monumentality and painterly handling, this work can be

connected to the *Winter Landscape with a Broken Bridge* formerly in Holsteinborg, and the *Winter Landscape* in the Mauritshuis, works that Slive dates to the 1660s.<sup>2</sup> The same date can tentatively be assigned to the present work, although Slive places it in the late 1660s or early 1670s.

1. Stechow 1966, p. 97; also cited by Alfred Bader 1985 (see under Literature at the head of this entry).
2. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape with a Broken Bridge*, oil on canvas, 35 × 31 cm, monogrammed, art market, Amsterdam, in 1993 (see Slive 2001, p. 475, no. 675 [colour ill., as datable to the 1660s]); Jacob van Ruisdael, *Winter Landscape*, oil on canvas, 37.3 × 32.5 cm, signed, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 802 (see Slive 2001, p. 474, no. 673 [ill., as datable to the 1660s]). ♦





174.

Jacob van Ruisdael (Haarlem 1628/29 – Amsterdam 1682)

*Beachscape with a View of Dunes and a Tower*

1670s

Oil on canvas (formerly mounted on panel), 54.7 × 68.3 cm

Signed lower right: *JVRuisdael*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Sir John Molesworth, 4th Baronet or Sir John Molesworth, 2nd Baronet, second half of the 18th century, or St. Aubin, a member of the Clowance and St. Michael's Mount family; by descent to Lt. Col. Sir Arscott Molesworth St. Aubyn, Baronet; his sale, London (Sotheby's), 8 December 1993, lot 27 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Slive 2001, p. 666, no. dub 148 (ill., as likely not by Ruisdael)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Art Treasures from West Country Collections* (Plymouth, England: City Art Gallery, 1970), no. 20

A NUMBER OF 17th-century Dutch painters were attracted by the beaches along the North Sea coast, with their spectacular dunes and lively leisure and fishing activities. The tone of this painting is somewhat troubled, however, for it shows a dark, turbulent sky overhead, and the white-capped waves rolling in to shore have obviously been kicked up by a brisk wind. Curiously, the many visitors to the beach appear unperturbed and carry on with their strolling and wading. A disrobed pair to the left of centre even venture out into the water for a swim, while a man on the right carries a woman into the waves. Similar figures appear in other beach scenes by Jacob van Ruisdael – the swimmers in a painting in St. Petersburg (fig. 174a),<sup>1</sup> and the man and woman in a painting in the National Gallery in London (fig. 174b).<sup>2</sup> The tower at the right-hand edge of the present picture bears a faint resemblance to the one in the London canvas, which identifies the spot as the beach at Egmond aan Zee, north of Haarlem. But despite these common features, the imprecision of the rendering here has resulted in some doubt about the attribution to Ruisdael. Furthermore, some of the figures are oddly placed: the distance from shore of both the swimmers and the man carrying the woman dictates that they would be in much deeper water than they are. In his recent monograph on the artist, Seymour Slive also points to the handling of the waves and sky as problematic for the normally fastidious Ruisdael, and expresses uncertainty about his authorship. As Slive observes, however, there are strong passages that speak in Ruisdael's favour, in particular the sunlit dunes in the distance. The figures, too, are solidly drawn, and the boat on the left is a quite accurate rendering of a *pinke*, a fishing vessel designed to land on the beach. It is possible that overcleaning in the sea and sky areas has marred our present judgement of the painting. Most likely by Ruisdael, it should be dated to the same period as the St. Petersburg and London beachscapes to which it most closely relates – the 1670s.

1. See Slive 2001, pp. 444–445, no. 633 (colour ill.).

2. See *ibid.*, pp. 442–443, no. 631 (colour ill.). ♦



Fig. 174a. Jacob van Ruisdael, *Seascape*, 1670s, oil on canvas, 52 × 68 cm. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 5616.



Fig. 174b. Jacob van Ruisdael, *The Shore at Egmond aan Zee*, 1670s, oil on canvas, 53.7 × 66.2 cm. London, National Gallery, inv. 1390.





175.

Cornelis Saftleven (Gorinchem 1607 – Rotterdam 1681)

*The Annunciation to the Shepherds*

Around 1670

Oil on panel, 31.1 × 40.6 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1988, acc. no. 31-002

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Th. van Willigen sale, The Hague (Frans Johannes Bosboom), 9 October 1805 (Lugt 7068), lot 93 (as "De verkondiging aan de herders, ryk van ordonantie en fray door C. Sagsleven, op panel, hoog 29 breed 41 duim [The Annunciation to the Shepherds, richly composed and beautiful, by C. Saftleven, on panel, height 29 width 41 duim (29 x 41 cm)]," for f10.10, to Bademoine); The Hague, with J. Hoogsteder, in 1969; The Hague, with Saskia Jüngeling; purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp.82-85, no.20 (ill.)

CORNELIS SAFTLEVEN was born in the provincial town of Gorinchem, likely in 1607.<sup>1</sup> His art teacher was almost certainly his father, the painter Hermann Saftleven (around 1580-1627).<sup>2</sup> Cornelis grew up in Rotterdam, where his family moved shortly after his birth.<sup>3</sup> The portrait drawing of him by Anthony van Dyck,<sup>4</sup> of which there is an etching by Lucas Vorsterman,<sup>5</sup> is perhaps an indication that he travelled to Antwerp, but it may also have been executed during Van Dyck's journey to the northern Netherlands in 1632. Saftleven's output includes peasant genre scenes – often moralizing allegories – as well as still lifes, barn

interiors, portraits and biblical history paintings, but he appears to have been best known for the fantasy scenes, including images of hell, mentioned in the inscription on Van Dyck's portrait print and by various writers.<sup>6</sup> He was apparently living in Utrecht in 1634-1635, when he collaborated on a project with his younger brother Herman, also an artist.<sup>7</sup> By 1637 he was back in Rotterdam, and it was there that he married Catharina van der Heyden in 1648.<sup>8</sup> She died in 1654, and the following year Saftleven married Elisabeth van den Avondt, with whom he had one child who died in infancy.<sup>9</sup> The artist served as beadle for the Rotterdam chapter of the St. Luke's Guild in 1667-1668 and continued to work in the city until his death in 1681.<sup>10</sup>

Depicting the Annunciation to the Shepherds gave Saftleven the opportunity to apply his specialty of peasant genre painting to a biblical theme. According to the story recounted in the Gospel of Luke (2:8-14), shepherds watching over their flocks receive the news of Jesus' birth from an angel. Saftleven has shown the moment of the angel's apparition, and the divine messenger can be seen in the burst of light that breaks through the clouds at the upper left. Sheltered by a curious tent-like hut, one shepherd stands up to see what is happening while the other remains seated with his head in his hands, not yet fully awake. The various animals in the foreground and in the field that stretches into the distance on the left respond in different ways to the supernatural spectacle. A dog and a small donkey on the right stand gazing at the powerful light, while in the centre foreground two seated goats remain placid, highlighted by its gleam.



In the meadow behind them are more goats, some of them running in surprise. There are also several sheep, and a fearful cow lurches awkwardly to its feet. The scene is completed by the donkey cart on the right, which contains a furtive figure cast in shadow, who looks out at the viewer with a grimace. Displaying the painterly wit also evident in his occasionally ironic depictions of peasants, Saftleven creates suspense here by showing the moment just before the shepherds' inevitably shocked reaction, heightening the effect by leaving their figures in darkness and emphasizing their torpor.

This rustic biblical theme was a favourite of the artist's, although he typically opted for the more conventional scene of panic and commotion that occurs after the animals and their keepers have been galvanized by the divine apparition. He usually portrayed the figures bathed in light, and gave them greater clarity and emphasis – as in the 1642 canvas in Munich<sup>11</sup> and a panel last at a sale in Amsterdam.<sup>12</sup> Saftleven's approach in the present painting most closely approximates that of a small, late panel of 1669, seen last in Berlin.<sup>13</sup> There, too, the figures and animals are shown on a larger scale and only dimly lit, with the gleam from the sky grazing their contours, as with the foreground animals here. This marked similarity supports the attribution of the present painting to the artist and points to a similar date, of around 1670. The picture's rough handling follows a tradition in peasant genre painting, practised earlier by Adriaen Brouwer and most notably in nearby Dordrecht by the Rembrandt follower Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp. He also treated this theme several times, although with greater emphasis on the shepherds' awkward gestures of surprise.<sup>14</sup> Saftleven seems to have been aware of the elaborate 1639 depiction of the same theme by Covert Flinck, now in Paris<sup>15</sup> (adapted from Rembrandt's turbulent etching of 1634),<sup>16</sup> as his lurching cow is a direct quotation from Flinck's painting.

1. See Schulz 1978, p. 2.
2. See Marten Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997–1998, p. 388.
3. See Schulz 1978, p. 2.
4. Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Cornelis Saftleven*, pen and ink and wash, 22.4 × 17.6 cm, Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, inv. Fodor no. 50; see Vey 1962, vol. 1, pp. 341–342, no. 279 and vol. 2 (pl. 330).
5. Lucas Vorsterman, after Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Cornelis Saftleven*, 1645, etching, 5 states, 24 × 16 cm; see Mauquoy Hendrickx 1991, vol. 1, p. 158, no. 90, and vol. 2 (pl. 56).
6. Jan Sysmus, as cited in Bredius 1890, p. 4; see exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1994, p. 295.
7. See Schulz 1978, p. 3.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Abraham Bredius, cited in Thieme-Becker, vol. 29, p. 309.
11. Cornelis Saftleven, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1642, oil on canvas, 77 × 100 cm, signed, Munich, Schleissheim, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 1703.
12. Cornelis Saftleven, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, oil on panel, 74 × 103 cm, signed, sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's) 12 November 1991, lot 224 (ill.).
13. Cornelis Saftleven, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1669, oil on panel, 38 × 50.5 cm, signed, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 22 February 1917 (Lugt 76603), lot 72 (ill.).
14. Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, oil on panel, 69.8 × 90.4 cm, sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 3 May 1999, lot 19 (ill.).
15. Covert Flinck, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1639, oil on canvas, 155 × 196 cm, signed, Paris, Louvre, inv. 2372; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 1020, no. 615, p. 1047 (ill.).
16. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds*, 1634, etching, engraving and dry-point, 26.2 × 21.8 cm, 3 states; see Hollstein, vol. 18, p. 22, no. B44; vol. 19, p. 29 (ill.). ♦



176.

Frans Snyders (Antwerp 1579 – Antwerp 1657)

*Study of Two Dogs*

Around 1630

Oil on canvas, 45.5 × 60 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Collection of the Earl Brownlow, in 1893; Brousse sale, Brussels (Fievez), 25–26 June 1924 (Lugt 87148), lot 82 (pl. V, as by Frans Snyders); sale, Amsterdam (Mak), 29 June 1943, lot 66; Amsterdam, with Hoogendijk; The Hague, Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, inv. 1109; collection of L. Nardus; his sale, Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 9 February 1953, lot 68; sale, Paris (Drouot Rive Gauche, Ader Picard Tajan), 3 March 1980, lot 182 (ill.); sale, London (Christie's) 8 July 1994, lot 128 (colour ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

LITERATURE

Robels 1989, p. 404, no. SK 8, p. 526, no. V 169 (as by Snyders)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters and by Deceased Masters of the British School: Winter Exhibition* (London: Royal Academy of Art, 1893), p. 22, no. 92 (as *Study of the Heads and Necks of Two Boar-hounds*, canvas, 17.5 x 23 inches [44.5 x 58.5 cm])

FRANS SNYDERS was the 17th century's most prominent Flemish painter of animals. Born to the prosperous wine merchant and innkeeper Jan Snyders and his wife Maria Ghysbrechts,<sup>1</sup> he began his art education at the age of fourteen, when he entered the bustling studio of Pieter Brueghel the Younger.<sup>2</sup> He is also reported to have studied under Hendrick van Balen.<sup>3</sup> The decisive moment in his formation came in 1596, however, with the return of Jan Brueghel the Elder from Italy.<sup>4</sup> Besides history painting and flower pieces, Jan also specialized in the depiction of animals, which the young Frans Snyder quickly made the major focus of his work. Snyders also practised still-life painting but often incorporated the depiction of game into the genre. The other important encounter of his career had probably already occurred during his apprenticeship, when he came to know Peter Paul Rubens<sup>5</sup> and began to transform the delicate handling he had learned from the Breughels into a broader, bolder approach





Fig. 176a. Frans Snyders and Anthony van Dyck, *Boar Hunt*, around 1630, oil on canvas, 191.5 x 301 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 1196.



Fig. 176b. Frans Snyders, *Studies of Four Dogs' Heads*, around 1620, oil on panel, 52 x 70 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (war loss), inv. 774a.

that conformed to Rubens's Baroque sensibility. He collaborated regularly with Rubens, often painting the animals included in the master's history and hunt pieces. Snyders completed his education with a trip to Italy in 1608 under the protection of Jan Brueghel, returning home in 1609 and joining the painters' guild that year.<sup>6</sup> He quickly established his own busy studio, producing many of his compositions in multiples and employing family members as assistants rather than independent apprentices.<sup>7</sup> His works, frequently based on prototypes by Rubens and other artists, earned him a success that was crowned by the patronage of King Philip IV and Archduke Cardinal Infante Ferdinand.<sup>8</sup>

As Hella Robels has asserted in her monograph on the artist<sup>9</sup> – and despite the misgivings of Fred Meijer<sup>10</sup> – this oil sketch is likely by Snyders. It shows the heads of two dogs, identifiable by their long muzzles and slender paws as hunting hounds. Their intense, almost frenzied expressions relate to the action of the hunt. The dog on the left, seen in three-quarter profile with its head tilted down and its lower jaw obscured, is strongly reminiscent of a dog clamping down on the back of its prey in Snyders's *Boar Hunt*, in Dresden, of around 1630 (fig. 176a),<sup>11</sup> although there the head is turned in the opposite direction. The dog seen here on the right, lying on its back with its forepaws folded over, relates more loosely to the animal trapped underneath the boar in the same painting. Snyder appears to have made a number of studies of animal heads, usually portraying a range of expressions and actions (fig. 176b).<sup>12</sup> These may have served partly as studies in preparation for his own paintings but probably also as models to be used by assistants working on variants in his studio. In this function these works closely parallel the painted heads produced by Rubens and Van Dyck and kept in their studios for the same purpose. Likely taken from life, they played an important role in Snyders's efforts to convey the "raging passions" in animals that had been explicitly recommended for hunting scenes by the Italian theorist Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538–1600).<sup>13</sup>

1. See Koslow 1995, p. 13.
2. See Liggeren, vol. 1, p. 373.
3. Meyssens 1649, unpaginated (with portrait, pl. 31).
4. Koslow 1995, p. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 14.
6. On Snyder's Italian journey, see Robels 1989, p. 48; on his entry into the guild, see Liggeren, vol. 1, p. 418.
7. Koslow 1995, p. 16.
8. See *ibid.*, pp. 22–23.
9. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
10. Meijer suggested instead the name of Paul de Vos, whose facture is however generally much smoother than that seen here; letter of 5 March 1999 from Fred Meijer to Alfred Bader (Bader Collection work files).
11. See Koslow 1995, p. 289 (colour ill.), p. 221.
12. See Robels 1989, p. 404, no. SK 6.
13. See Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte delle pitture, scoltura et architettura* (Milan, 1584), book 2, chapter 20; reprinted in *Scritti sulle arte*, Roberto Paolo, ed. (Ciardi: Florence, 1973), vol. 2, p. 156. ♦





177.

Jacob van Spreeuwen

(Leiden 1611 – Leiden after 1650)

*Allegory of Vanitas*

Around 1645

Oil on canvas, 60.9 × 58.4 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre,  
gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991,  
acc. no. 34-020.08

PROVENANCE

Sale, New York (Sotheby's), 4 June 1980, lot  
162 (ill., as by Karel van der Pluym); collec-  
tion of Lawrence Zombek; purchased by  
Alfred Bader in 1983; Milwaukee, collection  
of Alfred and Isabel Bader

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2385-  
2386, 2415, no. 1650a, 2463 (colour ill., as  
by Willem de Poorter); vol. 6, pp. 3633,  
3743 (as by Jacob van Spreeuwen)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 76-77, no. 30 (ill.)

A SCHOLAR INTERRUPTS his study and rises from his chair. He gazes upward, toward heaven, and his open, upturned hand signals his contemplation of divine truths. His other hand still points toward the volume on the table that he has so recently been studying. The open pages, among whose text can be seen illustrations of a portrait and a map, do not reveal precisely what he was reading, nor what prompted his sudden retreat into reflection and prayer. However, it is evident from some of the objects in the room that this is a *vanitas* scene – a reminder of the transience of earthly life and the vanity of worldly pursuits in the face of the divine and the hereafter. The skull, snuffed candle, books and musical instruments, as well as the painting of a boy blowing a bubble – a *Homo Bulla* – all bring home to the viewer of the brevity and fragility of human life.

Except for a few tattered volumes, the objects that surround the scholar do not relate to his profession at all but function instead symbolically, underlining the painting's elevated moral message, of which the scholar is a part. The chest beside him filled with a treasure of precious metals, jewels and costly fabrics clearly indicates the pursuit of worldly wealth, which the man rejects. The

objects piled up on the floor to left and right present a more complex message. The two globes suggest study, while also alluding more literally to worldliness. The most incongruous objects in this scholarly context are the weapons, armour and saddle shown in the right foreground among the books and globe. As Christian Klemm has demonstrated, 17th-century still lifes featuring armour had developed from the classical depiction of battle trophies into a Christian reference to the *vita activa*, one of the two paths to virtue.<sup>1</sup> The distinction between the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa* has a long history in the Western tradition, going back at least as far as a treatise by the Jewish ascetic Philo of Alexandria (around 25 BCE-around 41 CE).<sup>2</sup> In general, the scholar is naturally aligned with the contemplative life. However, this particular one appears to turn his back on both options, following instead the rival message of *vanitas*, which questions the significance of all earthly things. The man's features, flowing beard and rather stooped posture betray his advanced years. The very embodiment of the *vanitas* theme,<sup>3</sup> he faces the end of his life<sup>4</sup> in the morally prescribed fashion, meditating upon the eternal bliss that will follow his impending demise.





Fig. 177a. Jacob van Spreeuwen, *A Scholar in His Study*, 1645, oil on panel, 35.5 x 32.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4910.

Previously attributed to the Rembrandt follower Willem de Poorter,<sup>5</sup> this painting in fact closely resembles another depiction of a meditative scholar, last in Vienna, that is signed by Jacob van Spreeuwen.<sup>6</sup> Little is known about this artist apart from his birth in 1611, in Leiden, and his marriage to the widow of the painter Pieter Quast in 1650.<sup>7</sup> He appears to have studied with Rembrandt in his hometown in the late 1620s<sup>8</sup> and subsequently to have focused on genre interior scenes, following the work of Gerrit Dou and later that of Quirijn van Brekelenkam. Largely dependent on his models, Van Spreeuwen achieved his highest level in his imitations of Dou, like the present work, with its wealth of precisely described detail. The picture can be dated to around the same period as a smaller, less complex scene of a scholar from 1645, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 177a).<sup>9</sup>

1. Christian Klemm, "Trophäen," in exhib. cat. Münster and Baden-Baden 1979-1980, pp. 244-251.
2. *De vita contemplativa*; see Philo of Alexandria, *About the Contemplative Life*, trans. Frederick Conybeare (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895). See also Ann Toms Engram, "Renaissance Humanism and the Decline of the Medieval Contemplative Ideal: An Intellectual History of the *vita contemplativa/vita activa* Debate," dissertation, Florida State University, 1984.
3. Wayne Franits, in exhib. cat. Braunschweig 1993-1994, p. 79.
4. Wayne Franits, *ibid.*, pp. 163-167.
5. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
6. Jacob van Spreeuwen, *A Scholar in his Study*, oil on panel, 71 x 60 cm, signed: *Iv. spreeuwen f.* Vienna, collection of Dr. Nemerl, in 1922; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6, p. 3743, no. 2445, p. 4064 (ill.).
7. See B. Rapp, "Iets over een onlangs ontdekt werk van Jacob van Spreeuwen," *Oud Holland* 62 (1947), pp. 72-76.
8. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2548.
9. See *ibid.*, p. 2563, no. 1710, p. 2578 (ill.). ♦



178.

Michiel Sweerts (Brussels 1618 - Goa 1664)

*Self-portrait with Skull*

Around 1661

Oil on canvas, 78.7 x 60.9 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 2004, acc. no. 47-001

#### PROVENANCE

Munich, with Dr. H. Fetscherin (as by Peeter Franchoy's); purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 2, no. 1 (1969), p. 2 (cover ill.); Alfred Bader, "An Unrecognized Self-portrait by Michiel Sweerts," *Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972), p. 475 (ill.); Malcolm Waddingham, "An Unrecognized Masterpiece by Michiel Sweerts in the Louvre," *Paragone* 23, no. 273 (1972), pp. 51-54, p. 54 note 12 (as early, during Sweerts's Roman Period, 1646-1654); exhib. cat. The Hague and San Francisco 1990-1991, pp. 102, 444; Bader 1995, pp. 229-231, no. 3 (pl. 19); Allesandro Rodolfo, "Michiel Sweerts 'laicum devotissimum, natione Germanum picturae peritissimum,'" in *Fiamenghi che vanno e vengono non li si vuol dar regola*, *Paesi Bassi e Italia fra Cinquecento e Seicento: pittura, storia e cultura degli emblemi*, Dansi Squarzina, ed. (Rome: Apeiron, 1995), pp. 108-109 (fig. 8); Peter Sutton, Marjorie Wieseman et al., *The Age of Rubens*, exhib. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts and Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art, 1993-1994), p. 390 (as around 1655); Kultzen 1996, no. 90; Jonathan Bikker "The Deutz Brothers, Italian Paintings and Michiel Sweerts: New Information from Elisabeth Coymans's Journal," *Simiolus* 26 (1998), p. 293, note 96; Jonathan Bikker "Een miraculeus leven," *Kunstschrift* 45 (2001), p. 24; Thomas Döring, review of exhibition Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, *Kunstchronik* 57, no. 5 (May 2004), p. 234 (as not convincing as by Sweerts, without further comment)



# EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Oshkosh 1968, unpaginated, no. 30 (ill.); South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 16 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 58-59, no. 26 (ill.); Milwaukee 1989, pp. 102-103, no. 46A (ill.); South Hadley, Williamstown and Washington 1994, pp. 48-51 (colour ill.); Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, pp. 161-163, no. 30 (colour ill., as possibly a self-portrait)

# COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 24 (ill.)

# COPIES

Oil on panel, 31.4 × 27.3 cm, sale, London (Christie's South Kensington), 27 February 2004, lot 58 (colour ill., as after Michael Sweerts)

Oil on canvas, 76.2 × 61 cm, Salt Lake City, collection of Lila Atwood, in 1971; see Alfred Bader, "An Unrecognized Self-portrait by Michiel Sweerts," *Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972), p. 475, note 2 (fig. 45)

THE AUTHOR OF this work is the enigmatic Flemish artist Michiel Sweerts.<sup>1</sup> Born in Brussels, he worked from the mid-1640s to the mid-1650s in Rome, where he came into contact with the Bamboccianti – a group of Northern artists resident in the city. He gradually turned to classicism and more religious themes, associating with the Accademia di San Luca. However, his purported link to the elite Virtuosi del Pantheon has been disproven.<sup>2</sup> After returning to Brussels around 1655, where he set up a short-lived art academy and remained for several years, Sweerts spent some time in Amsterdam.<sup>3</sup> In 1661 he set off for the Far East with French missionaries, eventually travelling as far as Goa, where he died.

In this picture, a man in a broad-brimmed hat turns and looks over his shoulder at the viewer, while holding a skull in his right hand and pointing at it with his left. He seems almost to be making the macabre gesture of poking his index finger into the nasal cavity of the skull, although this is not entirely clear from

way the finger is painted: it catches no shadow from the skull, for instance. The skull serves here as the traditional symbol of *vanitas*, a reminder of the futility of transient earthly existence in the face of the eternal life promised in the hereafter. The artist is clearly characterizing a severe and pious attitude: the expression on the man's face, which shows raised eyebrows and parted lips, is hard to read, but appears to reflect an emotional absorption in the disconcerting and humbling contemplation of humanity's insignificance. More broadly seen, the image is a secular adaptation of the tradition for portraying hermitic saints such as Jerome and the Penitent Mary Magdalene, who are often shown contemplating a skull and its sober message of impending death. A pictorial tradition for images of young men contemplating skulls goes back at least as far as a print by Lucas van Leyden of 1519.<sup>4</sup> Wendy Watson has pointed as a possible precedent for the present picture to Frans Hals's so-called *Hamlet*, an earlier work derived from Van Leyden's print. However, the Hals is further removed from the realm of religious devotion conjured by the Van Leyden engraving than Sweerts's sombre image.<sup>5</sup>

The man portrayed here has not been drawn from the catalogue of general types of saints or genre figures, but is evidently a specific individual. This raises the question of the sitter's identity. The pose, with head turned and gaze directed out over the shoulder, has been noted by Hans-Joachim Raupp as used typically in depictions of artists to suggest their spontaneity and genius.<sup>6</sup> In a 1972 article Alfred Bader posited the likelihood that the artist had depicted himself in the picture – a notion that has met with some skepticism.<sup>7</sup> But Raupp also traced a minor tradition of the artist's portrait as a particular form of memento mori alluding to the *vanitas* of material representation. The origin



Fig. 178a. Gerrit Dou, *Self-portrait with a Skull*, 1656, oil on panel, 45.2 × 33.9 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 20.54.

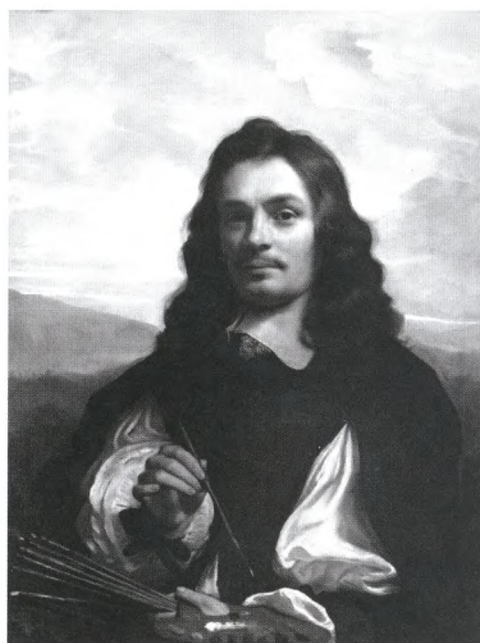


Fig. 178b. Michiel Sweerts, *Self-portrait*, around 1658, oil on canvas, 94.5 × 73.3 cm. Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, Allen Memorial Art Museum, R.T. Miller, Jr. Fund 1941, inv. 41.77.



Fig. 178c. Michiel Sweerts, *Self-portrait*, etching, 21 × 16.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



seems to have been the Lucas van Leyden print, which was interpreted as a self-portrait later in the 16th century by Lampsonius and Cock, in their series of artist's portraits.<sup>8</sup> This identification was taken up by Karel van Mander, who noted it in his biography of Van Leyden.<sup>9</sup> The motif was subsequently interpreted by such well-known figures as David Bailly (see fig. 25a),<sup>10</sup> Samuel van Hoogstraten,<sup>11</sup> Jan Miense Molenaer<sup>12</sup> and, most prominently, Gerrit Dou in a painting in the Uffizi executed only a few years before the present work (fig. 178a).<sup>13</sup>

In light of these examples, the identification of the sitter here with the artist himself is eminently plausible. If we compare the work to the known *Self-portrait* in Oberlin, where the subject is shown with palette and brush, the likeness is close but not exact (fig. 178b).<sup>14</sup> However, it has been overlooked until recently that the Oberlin picture actually differs from Sweerts's own print after it, in both expression and likeness (fig. 178c).<sup>15</sup> The painting shows the mouth drawn flat, with a slight smile that suggests a happy, confident emotional state. The print follows the painting in every respect except that it shows a fuller upper lip, more pursed and suggesting more tension. This was probably the original expression of the Oberlin painting, which indeed reveals traces of change (or at least reworking) in the area of the upper lip.<sup>16</sup> It also accords closely with the shape and expression of the upper lip in the present painting. So, there was likely less difference originally between the present painting and the one in Oberlin. A second, lesser-known *Self-portrait* in the Uffizi is also much closer to the Kingston painting in expression and pose, as well as likeness.<sup>17</sup>

The evident difference in tone between the Oberlin and Kingston paintings prompted David McTavish to revisit Malcolm Waddingham's notion of Sweerts as a personality divided between piety and aestheticism.<sup>18</sup> There is considerable evidence of Sweerts's religious devotion, which is suggested here by his use of the *vanitas* theme. It is known that he abandoned painting to enter the French Foreign Mission to the Far East but was forced to leave after his insistence on strenuous standards of conduct and habit of correcting even his superiors proved to be intolerable. He was subsequently permitted to join the Portuguese mission to Goa but met his early death there, likely from disease.<sup>19</sup> The expression in the Kingston painting does suggest a heightened emotional state consistent with religious ardour, which is reinforced by the devotional motif. This sentiment is combined with a sensual aesthetic, but this is not unusual in the Flemish Baroque context, in which these two qualities often support each other, as witness the work of Anthony van Dyck.

There is some scholarly disagreement about the dating of this picture. Malcolm Waddingham assigned it to the early 1650s on the basis of the artist's apparent youth in the image and the perception of a similarity with Sweerts's Roman pictures.<sup>20</sup> But the fluid handling of the brush, especially evident in the edge of the white sleeve to the lower left, relates directly to portrait fashion in Amsterdam during the 1660s, as also seen in the work of Bartholomeus van der Helst and Nicolaes Maes.<sup>21</sup> Kultzen there-

fore appropriately places this painting toward the end of the artist's career, and is followed in this by Peter Sutton.<sup>22</sup> The handling is close to that of the famous depictions of boys' heads in Hartford and San Francisco, which also belong to the artist's Dutch period.<sup>23</sup> It is not as smooth as is typical for Sweerts's portraits – even the *Self-portrait* in Oberlin – and this may shed light on the painting's significance. The pictorial category that Sweerts was exploring here was part everyday genre, part portraiture. He may have consciously conceived the work as a memento mori, featuring himself, for the art market. The genre mode allowed Sweerts an expressive freedom in handling and mood that heightened back to his earlier days in Rome as a follower of the controversial but influential Bamboccianti.

1. The eminent scholar of Dutch and Flemish art Wolfgang Stechow, who taught at Oberlin College, confirmed the present picture's attribution to Sweerts in a letter of 29 August 1969 to Alfred Bader; Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files. For further confirmation of Sweerts's authorship, see exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, pp. 161–163, no. 30.
2. On Sweerts's relationship to these groups in Rome, see Jonathan Bikker in exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, pp. 26–27.
3. Ibid. pp. 32–33.
4. Lucas van Leyden, *Portrait of a Young Man with a Skull*, 1519, engraving, 18.4 × 14.4 cm, inscribed, 2 states; see Hollstein, vol. 10, p. 195, no. 174 (ill.).
5. Frans Hals, *A Jester Holding a Skull (Hamlet?)*, around 1626–1628, oil on canvas, 92.2 × 80.8 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 6458; collection cat. London 1984, vol. 1, p. 160, and vol. 2 (pl. 142); see exhib. cat. South Hadley, Williamstown and Washington 1994, p. 48 (location given incorrectly as Birmingham, Barber Institute).
6. Raupp 1984, pp. 181–219.
7. See Bader 1972.
8. Raupp 1984, pp. 266–281.
9. Van Mander, fol. 212v. See also Miedema/Van Mander, vol. 1, pp. 108–109, and, vol. 2, p. 15.
10. See collection cat. Leiden 1983, pp. 51–52 (ill.).
11. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Self-portrait with Vanitas Still Life*, 1644, oil on panel, 58.4 × 73.9 cm, signed, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 1386; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 1296, no. 849, p. 1332 (colour ill.).
12. Jan Miense Molenaer, *Self-portrait with a Skull*, oil on canvas, 87 × 68 cm, Augsburg, Maximilianmuseum; see Raupp 1984, pp. 274, 466 (fig. 161).
13. See collection cat. Florence 1989, pp. 110–111 (colour ill.).
14. See exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, pp. 164–166, no. 31 (colour ill.). Kultzen likewise noted the difference to the Oberlin *Self-portrait*; see Kultzen 1996, p. 62.
15. See Hollstein, vol. 29, p. 134, no. 19 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, p. 170, no. P3 (ill.).
16. The likelihood that the Oberlin picture has been altered in the area of the upper lip was raised in a letter of 4 April 1998 from Lindsay Shaw Miller to Alfred Bader; Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files.
17. Michiel Sweerts, *Self-portrait in a Plumed Beret*, oil on canvas mounted onto panel, 45 × 35 cm, Florence, Uffizi, inv. A920; see Kultzen 1996, p. 114, no. 84 (pl. 84).
18. Malcolm Waddingham, review of exhibition Rotterdam 1958, in *Paragone* 107 (1958), p. 70. Waddingham's notion of "duality" has been discussed in relation to the present picture by David McTavish, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1984, p. 58, and by Wendy Watson, in exhib. cat. South Hadley, Williamstown and Washington 1994, p. 48.
19. The material on Sweerts's relation to the Missions Étrangères was first published by Wolfgang Stechow, "Some Portraits by Michael Sweerts," *Art Quarterly* 14 (1951), pp. 206–216, and then published in detail by Jean Guennou, "Sweerts et les Missions Étrangères," in Vitale Bloch, *Michael Sweerts* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1968), pp. 94–106.
20. See under Literature at the head of this entry.
21. Kultzen 1996, p. 63.
22. Sutton also agrees on a later date but emphasizes the influence of Flemish contemporaries such as Louis Cousin and Peeter and Lucas Franchois, rather than Van der Helst; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, p. 161.
23. For example Michiel Sweerts, *Head of a Boy*, oil on canvas, 38 × 33 cm, San Francisco, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, inv. 66.9 (see Kultzen 1996, p. 118, no. 96 [pl. 96]), and Michiel Sweerts, *Head of a Boy with a Hat*, oil on canvas, 36.9 × 29.2 cm, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, inv. 1940.198 (see Kultzen 1996, p. 119, no. 98 [colour pl. XXV]). ♦





179.

Attributed to Michiel Sweerts (Brussels 1618 – Goa 1664)

*A Peasant Holding a Wine Jug*

Around 1650

Oil on canvas, 47.8 × 38.2 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1983, acc. no. 26-002

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, New York (Christie's), 10 June 1983, lot 134 (colour ill., as Michiel Sweerts), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Kultzen 1996, p. 92 (as a copy after Michiel Sweerts); exhib. cat. Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002, p. 61 (fig. 57, as a version of the Rome picture; see note 1 below)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988-1991, pp. 114-117, no. 28 (ill., as by Michiel Sweerts)

AN OLD MAN SITS on an upside-down tub holding a wine jug against his chest, while a boy standing behind him reaches around and tugs at a cord attached to the jug's neck. The man reacts by clutching the vessel firmly in both hands, grinning at being teased about the vice he loves. The scene is set in a wine cellar – or so it appears judging by the large vat intruding from the right edge and the figures in the left background, who seem to be equipped with the rods commonly used for gauging liquid levels. The darkness of the image certainly suggests an interior space, and it contrasts with the lighting of the outdoor scenes

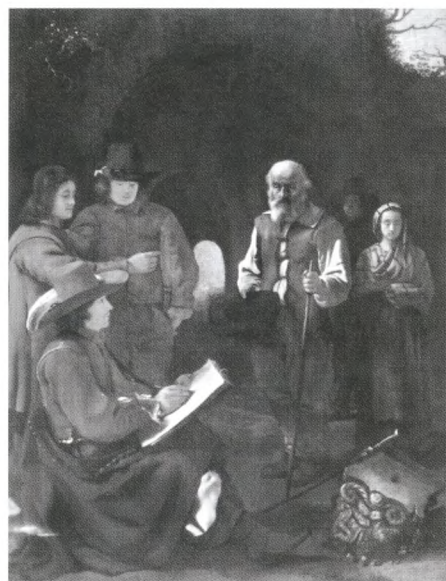


Fig. 179a. Michiel Sweerts, *Artists Drawing an Old Man*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 76 × 60 cm. Rome, Mameluzzi Collection (photo: RKD).

Sweerts was painting around the same time. A second version of this composition, in Rome, is generally accepted to be the original version.<sup>1</sup> The present picture is more methodical in execution but follows the artist's handling closely and, furthermore, includes the kind of background setting common in Sweerts's street pictures, suggesting that it is likely an autograph variant.

The subject matter of Sweerts's small canvas connects it to the work of the Bamboccianti. This group of artists working in Rome specialized in depicting common types in everyday settings. They were mainly foreigners who had come from the Netherlands or Germany to study the remains of classical antiquity and the celebrated Italian art of past and present. Lead by the Haarlem painter Pieter van Laer (whose nickname, *Bamboccio*, would later be applied to the whole group), they challenged the supremacy of the city's Accademia di San Luca and provoked severe criticism from artists like Salvator Rosa, who championed the academy's idealizing classicism.<sup>2</sup> By the time of Sweerts's arrival in Rome, sometime before 1646, the conflict was subsiding, and his own work shows him trying to apply academic techniques to the low subject matter that his fellow Netherlands had successfully promoted in the Roman art market.

In his early years in Rome, Sweerts painted a number of works like this one. They are generally set in the street and focus on one or several figures, typically poor or common men. One of these pictures shows a group of artists drawing a humble elderly man and his companions, thus setting up a curious contrast between the ordinary folk and the sketchers, whose fancy garments reflected the noble aspirations of artists working in the academic tradition (fig. 179a).<sup>3</sup>

1. Michiel Sweerts, *A Peasant Holding a Wine Jug*, oil on canvas, 48.5 × 37.5 cm, Rome, Galleria dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, inv. 172; see Kultzen 1996, p. 92, no. 17 (pl. 17).

2. See Briganti 1983, and exhib. cat. Cologne and Utrecht 1991-1992.

3. See Kultzen 1996, p. 87, no. 2 (pl. 2). ◆





180.

David Teniers the Elder (Antwerp 1582 – Antwerp 1649)

*Elijah Being Fed by the Ravens*

Around 1640

Oil on panel, 50.8 × 74.9 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.10

#### PROVENANCE

Vienna, with Kunstgalerie Tomas Metlewicz (as by Lodewijk Toeput, called Pozzoserrato); purchased by Alfred Bader in 1971; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Malcolm Waddingham, "David Teniers the Elder," *Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972), pp. 97, 99 (fig. 50); Hans Vlieghe, "Further Works by David Teniers the Elder," *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974), p. 265, note 3; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 5, no. 1 (1972), inside cover (cover ill.)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 108-109, no. 49 (ill.)

FOR MANY YEARS David Teniers the Elder was regarded as the lesser light when compared to his famous son, and many weak derivatives of his son's style were attributed to him. His distinct artistic identity was first addressed in 1938, when Kurt Zoege von Manteuffel characterized him as a pupil of Adam Elsheimer who specialized in small-figured historical scenes, typically set in lush landscapes and incorporating dramatic gestures and light effects.<sup>1</sup> But not until the late 1960s and early 1970s did scholars

seek to clarify the elder Teniers's oeuvre and give shape to his biography. Born in 1582 in Antwerp, to the embroiderer Juliaan Joachimsz. Teniers and his wife Johanna van Maelbeke,<sup>2</sup> he first trained in his brother Juliaan's workshop.<sup>3</sup> Cornelis de Bie's early claim that he proceeded afterwards to the workshop of Rubens appears unlikely.<sup>4</sup> More certain, though, is the same author's assertion that Teniers travelled to Rome and studied under Elsheimer, a sojourn that must have taken place in the years between 1600 and 1605. Upon his return home, he married a wealthy widow.<sup>5</sup> However, his financial affairs quickly became submerged in a quagmire of debt and conflict with creditors (some of whom took dishonest advantage of him) that led eventually to his imprisonment.<sup>6</sup> A declaration related to a trip to Paris in 1635,<sup>7</sup> subsequent toll statements and his guild membership in Ghent in 1639 all seem to indicate that during the 1630s Teniers began dealing in art. To judge from the absence of litigation records in the Antwerp archive of the period, his final decade appears to have brought him some respite and security.<sup>8</sup>

In this panel Teniers has depicted the Old Testament prophet Elijah during his time in the wilderness, as related in the First Book of Kings (17:1-6). After delivering his prophecy of a seven-year drought to the faithless King Ahab, Elijah is instructed by God to flee to the desert, where he will be able to drink from a stream and ravens will bring him food. In the lower right corner of Teniers's painting, Elijah kneels at the water's edge, turning and reaching out a hand to the two ravens flying down with





Fig. 180a. David Teniers the Elder, *Mercury and Argus*, 1638, oil on copper, 47 × 62 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. sGG 745.

round loaves of bread in their beaks. Behind, a rich forest landscape unfolds, with jagged mountains in the distance. A slender tree with a lush cap frames the composition on the left side. A narrow strip of riverbank runs across the bottom of the scene, and across the water wooded banks appear to left and right, carrying the eye through space to the distant point where a mountain peak is topped by a castle.

The small figure scale and vibrant palette connect this panel to the elder Teniers's work, revealing traces of his training with Elsheimer in Rome. However, the dense forest setting also reflects the native Flemish tradition of landscape, as seen in the work of such artists as Alexander Keirinx (1600-1652). Although Hans Vlieghe assigned an early date to this picture, on account of its link to Elsheimer,<sup>9</sup> it is actually more closely related to Teniers's work of the 1630s. Its clear articulation of space and monumental emphasis on the prophet's isolated figure distinguish this work from Teniers's earlier production and tie it to the paintings *Jacob Meeting Laban*<sup>10</sup> and *Hagar in the Desert*, both of 1636,<sup>11</sup> and to his 1638 *Mercury and Argus*, now in Vienna (fig. 180a).<sup>12</sup> In fact, the head of Elijah bears some resemblance to a head that appears in an even later work – an *Adoration of the Shepherds* dated to 1649, the last year of the artist's life.<sup>13</sup> These comparisons point to a likely date of around 1640, and a comparable depiction of *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* was most probably executed at about the same time.<sup>14</sup>

1. Thieme-Becker, vol. 32, p. 527.

2. Liggeren, vol. 1, p. 381.

3. Ibid., p. 387.

4. De Bie 1661, p. 141.

5. Duverger and Vlieghe 1971, p. 19.

6. Ibid., pp. 18-28. Teniers failed to retrieve four paintings worth f1,100, which he had given as a security for a debt of only f52 (p. 24); his imprisonment is discussed on p. 23.

7. Duverger and Vlieghe 1971, pp. 27-28.

8. Ibid., p. 28.

9. See under Literature at the head of this entry.

10. David Teniers the Elder, *Jacob Meeting Laban*, 1636, oil on panel, 131 × 231 cm, signed, sale, Brussels (Giroux), 12 March 1927, lot 29 (as by David Teniers the Younger).

11. David Teniers the Elder, *Hagar in the Desert*, 1636, oil on panel, 98 × 150 cm, signed, sale, Brussels (Giroux), 19 December 1927, lot 29.

12. See Duverger and Vlieghe 1971, p. 46 (figs. 36, 37 and 42).

13. David Teniers the Elder, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1649, oil on canvas, 67 × 88 cm, signed, New York, collection of Mary van Berg, in 1971; see *ibid.*, p. 47 (fig. 44).

14. David Teniers the Elder, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, around 1640, oil on copper, 35.9 × 43.8 cm, sale, New York (Sotheby's), 16 May 1996, lot 25 (colour ill.). ♦



## 181.

David Teniers the Younger (Antwerp 1610 – Brussels 1690)

### *Lot Fleeing Sodom*

Around 1650

Oil on canvas, 82.6 × 119.4 cm

Signed lower centre: *D. Teniers.*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.11

#### PROVENANCE

Vienna, collection of M. Eugène de Miller Aichholz; his sale, Paris (Galerie Georges Petit), 18 May 1900, lot 386, purchased by Settès; collection of Dr. Hans Wendland; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 16 June 1972, lot 573, purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 6, no. 1 (1973), inside cover (cover ill., as depicting the city of Antwerp); Davidson 1979, pp. 20-21

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 24-25, no. 7 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 25 (ill.)

#### COPIES

Oil on canvas, 69.3 x 50.8 cm, sale, London (Christie's) 17 April 1997, lot 165 (ill.)

AROUND 1662-1663 the Brussels court painter David Teniers the Younger purchased the country estate of Dry Toren (Three Towers), which had formerly belonged to Peter Paul Rubens, from the second husband of Rubens's widow Hélène Fourment.<sup>1</sup> This marked the last step in Teniers's meteoric rise among the ranks of Flemish painters. Unlike Rubens, however, Teniers did not specialize in the kind of portraits and history paintings commissioned by princes, kings and emperors, but restricted himself to the genre scenes, landscapes and smaller-scale portraits and history paintings generally purchased by the merchants of the bourgeoisie. Teniers was born in 1610 to the history painter of the same name,<sup>2</sup> whose persistent and pressing financial troubles must have marked the younger artist's childhood<sup>3</sup> and perhaps sharpened his focus on success. After an apprenticeship with his father, the young Teniers joined the painters' guild in 1632-1633.<sup>4</sup> The speed of his ascent is reflected in his 1637 marriage to Maria,





Fig. 181a. David Teniers the Younger, *Landscape with Peasants before an Inn*, 1650, oil on panel, 37 × 49 cm. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 345.

eldest daughter of the prominent and wealthy painter Jan Brueghel the Elder.<sup>5</sup> The couple came into the family inheritance the following year,<sup>6</sup> and this likely helped relieve Teniers's father of financial pressures during his final decade. David Teniers the Younger established himself as a genre painter, working in a style close to that of Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638) and, after this artist's death, taking over the market for loose and expressive peasant scenes in the tradition of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. His deft touch, solid facture and capacity for endless variation and rich detail propelled his work to popularity. He quickly diversified his repertoire, embracing a range of subjects that included scenes of alchemists, landscapes, portraits, cabinet pictures, history paintings and genre scenes in which the action is played out by monkeys. Teniers's next great step up was his appointment in 1651 as court painter to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm I, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, which also precipitated his move to Brussels.<sup>7</sup> There, he painted portraits and pictures of processions and ceremonies, and embarked on an illustrated catalogue of the archduke's imposing collection of paintings.<sup>8</sup> The artist published the catalogue himself after the archduke left Brussels in 1656 and took the collection with him to Vienna, where it eventually formed the basis of today's Kunsthistorisches Museum. Teniers stayed on as court painter to Leopold Wilhelm's successor, Don Juan José of Austria, son of King Philip IV.<sup>9</sup> In 1663 the king granted him letters patent for an Academy in Brussels.<sup>10</sup> Teniers continued to produce paintings, albeit to declining standards, and died in 1690 at the advanced age of eighty.

David Teniers the Younger only occasionally turned his hand to his father's specialty, history painting. In this example, he has portrayed one of the most dramatic scenes in the Bible – the escape of Lot and his daughters from the city of Sodom (Genesis 19). Abraham had been unable to persuade God to spare the five sinful cities of the Jordan valley, even though his virtuous kinsman Lot lived in the region, and at very short notice an angel orders Lot and his family to flee. As they are leaving, the cities are destroyed by fire and brimstone raining down from heaven. In the lower right corner of Teniers's painting, the angel leads Lot and his two daughters away from the cataclysm taking place behind them. Further back on the road is the dark and haunting figure of Lot's wife, who, having disobeyed the command not to turn around and look, has been turned into a pillar of salt.

The background is filled with the scene of destruction. On the right is a walled city with towers and a gate topped with a spire, from which flames already emerge. In the sky above, winged angels emerge from the dark clouds in a burst of light, sending out bolts of lightning. A winged demon flees off to the right – a didactic symbol of the purification of the doomed city below. To the left is a river spanned by a bridge leading to another city gate. Behind the bridge rise two more cities, each with its cathedral tower. Only the more distant of the two, in the centre, is in flames, while the nearer one on the left remains in darkness. The silhouette of its cathedral, with its stepped tower and distinctive onion spire over the transept, can be clearly identified with Antwerp's Cathedral of Our Lady. As Alfred Bader has pointed out, this turns Teniers's painting into a moral warning for – or even a judgement of – his own society.<sup>11</sup> The whole scene is thinly painted in brownish tones that underscore the sombre theme of divine punishment.

Wilhelm von Bode was the first to confirm the evidence of Teniers's authorship provided by the signature.<sup>12</sup> More recently, Margret Klinge has expressed doubt about the attribution, suggesting the hand of the elder Teniers. However, the styles of father and son have little in common. June Davidson supported Teniers the Younger's authorship of this work in her 1979 monograph on the oeuvre,<sup>13</sup> signalling at the same time the picture's debt to an earlier composition on the same theme by Frans Francken the Younger.<sup>14</sup> The figure group certainly borrows directly from the Francken, but the backgrounds share little more than a general sense of spectacle. Teniers the Younger in fact drew on his own practice in conjuring his setting. The handling of the architecture evokes that in several of his landscapes, including *Landscape with a Castle and Gentlefolk*, in Budapest,<sup>15</sup> and *Gentlefolk near a Moated Castle*, in Montpellier.<sup>16</sup> A similar crowding of the figures to one side also appears in some of his genre scenes with landscape settings, such as the *Landscape with Peasants before an Inn* in Antwerp (fig. 181a).<sup>17</sup> These works all date to around 1650, which is probably the approximate date of the present picture.

1. Margret Klinge, in exhib. cat. Antwerp 1991, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. See the biographical notes on David Teniers the Elder in the entry for cat. 180 in the present catalogue.

4. On his entry into the Guild, see Liggeren, vol. 2, p. 35.

5. Margret Klinge, in exhib. cat. Antwerp 1991, p. 13.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p. 14.

10. Ibid.

11. See 1973 under Literature at the head of this entry.

12. Undated expertise; Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files. This expertise is also cited in the 1972 sale catalogue; see under Provenance at the head of this entry.

13. Davidson 1979, pp. 20-21.

14. Frans Francken the Younger, *Lot Leaving Sodom*, oil on copper, 55.9 × 75.6 cm, signed, sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 17 September 1974, lot 57 (ill.); see Härtling 1989, p. 145 (fig. 119), p. 229, no. 5.

15. David Teniers the Younger, *Landscape with a Castle and Gentlefolk*, oil on canvas, 160 × 224.5 cm, signed, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 59.13; see collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 164 (ill.).

16. David Teniers the Younger, *Gentlefolk near a Moated Castle*, oil on canvas, 77 × 110 cm, signed, Montpellier, Musée Fabre, inv. 836-61; see exhib. cat. Antwerp 1991, pp. 178-179, no. 59 (ill.).

17. See collection cat. Antwerp 1988, p. 361. ♦





182.

Attributed to Pieter Thijs (Antwerp 1624 – Antwerp 1677)

*The Mocking of Jesus*

Around 1650

Oil on canvas, 102.8 × 80 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1987, acc. no. 30-080

#### PROVENANCE

Munich, collection of Walther and Ellen Bernt; purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Oliver Millar, review of exhib. cat. Genoa 1955, *Burlington Magazine* 97 (1955), p. 313 (as 17th-century Genovese?); Larsen 1980, pp. 96-97, no. 627 (ill., as by Van Dyck); Larsen 1988, vol. 2, p. 282, no. 700 (ill., as by Van Dyck)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Genoa 1955, no. 95 (ill., as attributed to Anthony van Dyck); Kingston 1988-1991, unbound insert (ill., as not by Van Dyck); Yokohama, Shizuoka and Osaka 1990, p. 145, no. 10 (colour ill., as by Van Dyck)

THIS PICTURE illustrates the moment after Pilate has handed Jesus over to his men to be crucified. According to the gospels of Matthew (27:28-30), Mark (15:15-19) and John (19:5), the soldiers ridiculed their prisoner, stripping him of his clothes and dressing him in a richly coloured robe, placing a crown of thorns on his head and a reed in his hand, hailing him mockingly as the “King of the Jews” and spitting on him. Jesus is shown here, with the robe, crown and reed, attended by two hostile soldiers. The scowling man on the left presses against his shoulder, reaching forward to grasp the rope that binds his wrists. The soldier on the right, who appears to be black, glares at Jesus, his lips parted as he taunts his charge with insults and derision. Jesus turns toward this figure without responding, his head held upright but his

slack features and downcast gaze betraying fatigue and resignation.

The painting was attributed to the Flemish painter Anthony van Dyck when it first resurfaced in Munich in the 1950s,<sup>1</sup> and this opinion was later supported by Walther Bernt, Erik Larsen and Christopher Brown.<sup>2</sup> However, toward the end of the 1980s David McTavish expressed doubt,<sup>3</sup> and the recent catalogue raisonné of Van Dyck’s paintings makes no mention of the work.<sup>4</sup> Its theme was much favoured by Van Dyck, who depicted it in a number of paintings and drawings, as well as a print, taking his inspiration from a painting by Titian, now in Sibiu.<sup>5</sup> His drawing after the Titian, which he likely saw in the collection of Bartolomeo della Nave in Venice, is preserved in his Italian Sketchbook, now in the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> Van Dyck appears to have used this drawing as a starting point for his painted interpretations of the theme. Having added a grinning tormentor to the right in the sketchbook drawing, he further developed this paired arrangement in a large oil study now in London<sup>7</sup> and a finished painting in Birmingham,<sup>8</sup> in which the head of Jesus is turned away to the left. Another depiction of the theme, now in Princeton,<sup>9</sup> is more complex, adding the figure of a helmeted soldier to the right and making Jesus face in that direction, although with eyes cast downward.

The present composition follows Van Dyck’s drawing in the London sketchbook much more closely than any of these paintings. The figure of Jesus is given an upright pose, in contrast to the languorous tilting heads and leaning torsos favoured by Van Dyck. Jesus’ heavy eyelids, drawn cheeks, sharply defined lips and straight nose have been taken directly from the drawing, as have the grotesque, exaggerated features of the soldier on the right. Rather than showing further evidence of Van Dyck’s creative process, with its thoughtful variations, the present painting reflects the devoted imitation of a pupil or follower. The lumpy features of the angry jailer on the left appear to be derived from the bearded figure on the right in the Princeton Van Dyck. This face has not been executed entirely competently, moreover, for the eyes look in different directions and the lower lip is thrust a little too far forward. Both the man’s Nordic colouring and the figure’s connection to Van Dyck’s work of around 1630 indicate that it was painted by a Flemish follower of the artist. This head can also be related to the head of Dedalus in a depiction of *Dedalus and Icarus* in Toronto (fig. 182a), formerly given to Van Dyck but more recently attributed convincingly by J. Douglas Stewart to his follower Pieter Thijs.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the placement of the Dedalus figure at Icarus’s shoulder echoes that of the soldier seen here to the left of Jesus. In another detail, a hand very like the one grasping the rope in this painting appears in Thijs’s *Martyrdom of Sts. Benedict and Felix of Cantalice* in Brussels, of around 1650 (fig. 182b).<sup>11</sup> As in these other pictures, the handling here is reticent, showing smooth surfaces and soft modulations, and lacking Van Dyck’s characteristic painterliness and dry impasto strokes. This modification is typical of the classicizing sensibility that marked the generation after Rubens and Van Dyck, to which Thijs belonged. Also typical of Thijs is another classicizing revision: the tendency to use rectilinear poses and





Fig. 182a. Pieter Thijs, *Dedalus and Icarus*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 115.3 × 86.4 cm. Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frank P. Wood, inv. 2556.

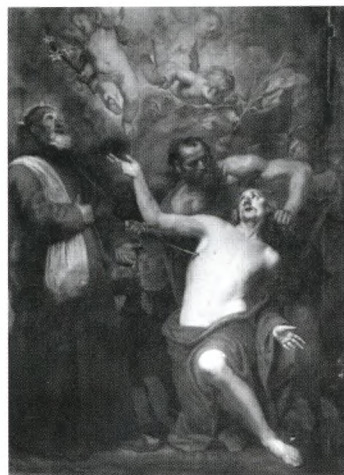


Fig. 182b. Pieter Thijs, *The Martyrdom of Sts. Benedict and Felix of Cantalice*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 257 × 190 cm. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. 194.

lines, as opposed to the sweeping curves and diagonals of Rubens, Van Dyck and Jordaens.

Born in Antwerp in 1624, Pieter Thijs came under the influence of Anthony van Dyck – probably around 1639–1640,<sup>12</sup> after initial training in 1635–1636 with the Antwerp painter Artus Deurwerders and before formally entering the guild in 1644–1645.<sup>13</sup> He enjoyed great success, attracting patronage from the courts in Brussels and The Hague,<sup>14</sup> and serving the Antwerp guild as beadle in 1661.<sup>15</sup> He died in his native city in 1677.<sup>16</sup> Long sidelined as an imitator of Van Dyck, Thijs has only recently become the object of serious study. In the absence of a stronger connection to a work securely given to him, the attribution of the present painting to this artist must remain tentative.

1. Expertises by Ludwig Burckhard, of 4 March 1952 and 6 February 1953; Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files.
2. Expertise by Walther Bernt of 29 October 1971 (Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files); Larsen 1980, pp. 96–97, no. 627; Larsen 1988, vol. 2, p. 282, no. 700; and Christopher Brown, in exhib. cat. Yokohama, Shizuoka and Osaka 1990, p. 145, no. 10.
3. David McTavish, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1988–1991, unbound insert (ill., as not by Van Dyck).
4. Poorter et al. 2004.
5. Titian, *Ecce Homo*, oil on canvas, 66.5 × 53 cm, Sibiu, Romania, Brukenthal-Museum; see Wethey 1969, vol. 1, p. 87, no. 33 (pl. 98).
6. Anthony van Dyck, after Titian, *Ecce Homo*, pen and ink, in Van Dyck's *Italian Sketchbook*, London, British Museum, fol. 21v; see Anthony van Dyck, *Italianisches Skizzenbuch*, facsimile edition, Cert Adriani, ed. (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1965), p. 16, fol. 21v (ill.), no. 31.
7. Anthony van Dyck, *The Mocking of Jesus*, 1622, oil on paper, 71 × 54 cm, London, The Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute Gallery; see Poorter et al. 2004, p. 156, no. II.9 (ill.).
8. Anthony van Dyck, *The Mocking of Jesus*, around 1622, oil on canvas, 101.5 × 78.5 cm, Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts; see Poorter et al. 2004, p. 156, no. II.10 (ill.).
9. Anthony van Dyck, *The Mocking of Jesus*, 1630–1632, oil on canvas, 112 × 93 cm, Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University, inv. 75–12; see Poorter et al. 2004, p. 259, no. III.19 (ill.).
10. See Stewart 2001, pp. 37–39 (colour pl. 2).
11. See collection cat. Brussels 1984, pp. 294–295 (ill.).
12. Kurt Zöge von Manteuffel, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 33, p. 125.
13. Liggen, vol. 2, pp. 75, 157.
14. Duverger 1984–2002, vol. 8, pp. 470–471, no. 2633, and Maufort 1994, pp. 103–111.
15. Liggen, vol. 2, p. 323.
16. Duverger 1972, p. 231, note 95. Thijs is known to have been alive earlier that year, for he received a group portrait commission; see Duverger 1984–2002, vol. 10, pp. 212–213, no. 3222. ◆

183.

Rombout van Troyen (? around 1605 – Amsterdam 1655)

*Fantasy Grotto with a Fountain, Sculptures and a Scene of Martyrdom*  
Around 1645–1650

Oil on panel, 20.5 × 27.2 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1977, acc. no. 20-091

#### PROVENANCE

Paris, with Vitale Bloch; Amsterdam, collection of Mrs. A. Schwarz; sale, London (Christie's), 19 May 1967, lot 30, purchased by Hailes; New Orleans, collection of Bert Pison; acquired in exchange by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988–1991, pp. 78–81, no. 19 (ill.)

ROMBOUT VAN TROYEN was evidently not born in Amsterdam, since he had to apply for citizenship of the city, which he did under the name of Rombout Jansz.<sup>1</sup> He studied with Jan Pynas for eight years, also residing with the master.<sup>2</sup> By the time of his marriage to Sybilla Valckenier in 1631, when he gave his age as twenty-six, he had taken on the last name of Van Troyen.<sup>3</sup> Houbraken reported that he habitually painted Italianate landscapes, architecture and grottoes, though he never visited Italy.<sup>4</sup> He is known primarily for his evocative depictions of underground caverns, often including figures indulging in occult practices or other mysterious activities. The year of his death given by Houbraken, 1650, was shown to be incorrect by Abraham Bredius. Still alive in 1654, Van Troyen was reported as deceased in the following year.<sup>5</sup>

This tiny panel is a manifestation of the artist's grotto scene formula, which generally incorporates dark cavernous spaces, classical architecture with fantastical embellishments, pagan shrines and small-scale figures. Light streams in from the left, casting in darkness a narrow, vertical strip of cave wall at the left edge, but illuminating a column and an ornately carved surface just to the right. The centre of the composition opens onto an empty, barrel-vaulted space that recedes into inky darkness. On the opposite side are a fountain spewing water out of a grotesque head and a shrine set with a rounded glass, or mirror, surmounted by an arched niche containing a statue. This setting is consistent with the dramatic scene taking place at the lower left. In the shadow of the wall an armoured soldier with a drawn sword stands over an old man in a hooded robe, who is lying on the ground. This figure, already struck and bleeding, appears to be pleading for his life. The cross and rosary nearby identify him as a Christian hermit or saint. Behind this pair, a young woman, who has evidently also been attacked, sits leaning against the column and gazing upward. A second woman crouches down and reaches out to assist her. These figures do not correspond to any recorded martyrdom but are probably intended to portray an anonymous scene of early Christians being persecuted in the catacombs beneath the city of Rome. That this is the setting seems to be underscored by the skull and bones lying at the feet of the statue in the niche, which suggest a place of burial.





Van Troyen occasionally employed his fantastic grotto setting as the backdrop for a historical scene, like his 1647 *Raising of Lazarus*, last at a sale in Amsterdam (fig. 183a).<sup>6</sup> That work and the present picture show a comparable facture, with some smooth surfaces and a thin, light application of paint in the figures. By contrast, the artist's earlier scene of a pagan sacrifice, a panel now in Stuttgart that dates to 1643, shows a thicker handling of opaque paint, resulting in a more dramatic effect.<sup>7</sup> Without a more direct comparison, this scene of a martyrdom by Van Troyen can only be dated generally to the second half of the 1640s. Though small in size – even for this artist – it displays exquisite painterly execution, and exploits a simple composition to generate a remarkable monumental effect.

1. See Van Regteren Altena 1974, p. 216, citing S.A.C. Dudok van Heel.

2. See Abraham Bredius, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 33, p. 443.

3. Ibid.

4. Houbraken, vol. 3, p. 53.

5. Notes by Abraham Bredius deposited at the RKD.

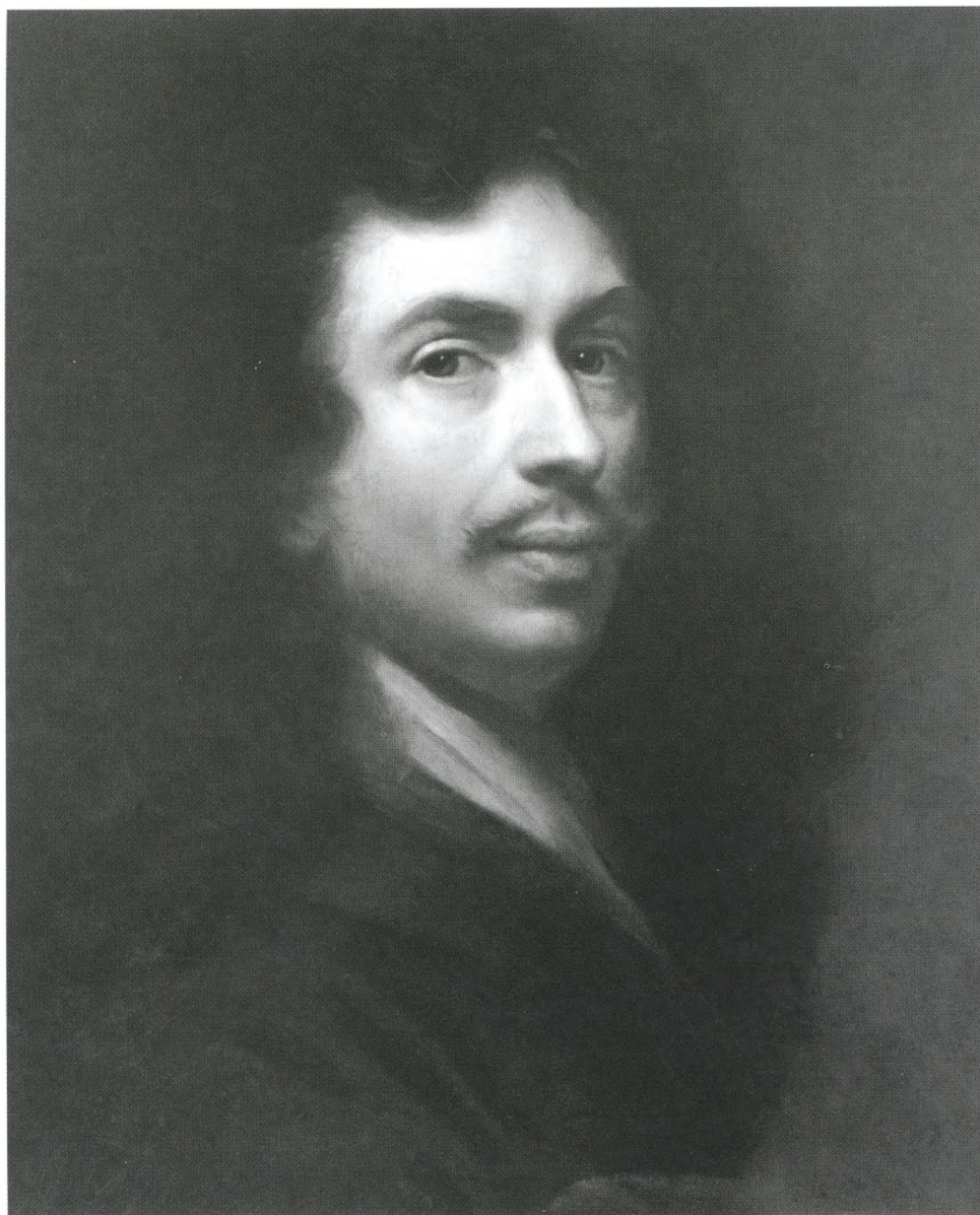
6. Sale, Amsterdam (Christie's), 14 May 2002, lot 115 (colour ill.).

7. Rombout van Troyen, *Grotto with Scenes of Pagan Sacrifice*, 1643, oil on panel, 19.4 × 29.9 cm, signed, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, inv. 3221; see Van Regteren Altena 1974, pp. 220–221 (fig. 4), and collection cat. Stuttgart 1992, pp. 448–450 (colour ill.). ♦



Fig. 183a. Rombout van Troyen, *The Raising of Lazarus*, 1647, oil on panel, 32 × 43 cm, signed. Location unknown (photo: RKD).





184.

Wallerant Vaillant

(Lille 1623 – Amsterdam 1677)

*Self-portrait*

Around 1658-1660

Oil on canvas, 48.3 × 39.4 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 October 1974, lot 25 (as by J. Sustermans, *Portrait of a Young Man, Wearing a Black Coat and a Lace Collar*, oil on canvas, 48 × 38 cm); Pittsburgh, collection of David Wilkins; purchased by Alfred Bader in 2001

FROM A DARK background emerges the sharply lit face of a man, whose smooth features reveal the lingering traces of youth. Only recently did Rüdiger Klessmann suggest an attribution to the Flemish-Dutch artist Wallerant Vaillant.<sup>1</sup> The prominent nose, distinctive thin moustache, fleshy lower lip and slightly receding chin connect the work to a number of self-portraits by Vaillant that are now in Hannover, Berlin, Paris, The Hague<sup>2</sup> and Frankfurt (fig. 184a).<sup>3</sup> These works were formerly attributed to various artists, including Hendrick Heerschop (1620-after 1674). In 1948 Sturla Gudlaugsson drew the connection between the painting in Frankfurt, at that time identified as a self-portrait by Johan Heinrich Roos (1631-1685), and two mezzotints by Vaillant, one a copy after the Frankfurt painting and the other a portrait of the same person, with an inscription identifying it as a self-portrait by Vaillant.<sup>4</sup> Both of the prints and the painting are evidently self-portraits. Vaillant created another three images of himself, at various stages in his life, using the mezzotint printing technique.<sup>5</sup>

The present painting is closest in date to the painting in Frankfurt, which, following Hans Werner Grohn's suggestion that the sitter is in his mid-thirties, can be dated to the late 1650s.<sup>6</sup> The artist is even dressed similarly in the two pictures – in a loose housecoat, with a white cravat at the neck. Vaillant evidently cultivated a strong penchant for self-portraiture, and his employment in the genre of a variety of costumes, including fantastical ones, reveals the role played by Rembrandt's work as an inspiration.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, Vaillant's Flemish origins and training are betrayed in his smooth facture and use of cool greyish tones.

Vaillant's familiarity with Rembrandt would have come during his many years of activity in Amsterdam. Born to a family of cloth manufacturers in the Flemish city of Lille, now in northern France, Vaillant had emigrated with his family to Amsterdam by 1643.<sup>8</sup> The record of his training in Flanders under Erasmus Quellinus, at the age of fourteen, is plausible, despite Vollmer's objection.<sup>9</sup> Vaillant registered in the St. Luke's Guild of Middelburg



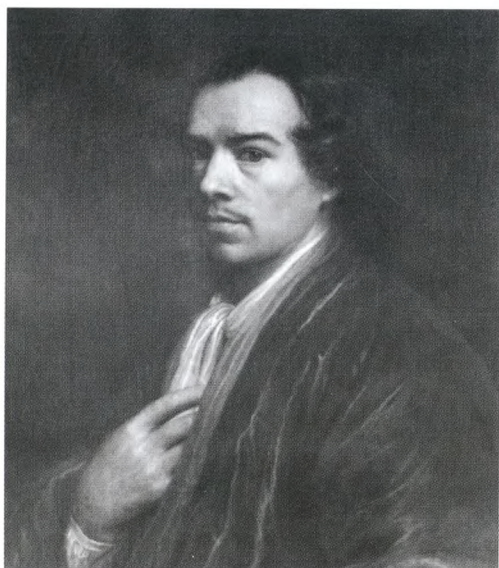


Fig. 184a. Wallerant Vaillant, *Self-portrait*, around 1658, oil on canvas, 60 × 50.2 cm. Frankfurt, Historisches Museum, inv. B 792.

in 1647 but returned to Amsterdam in 1651. In 1657-1659 he was in Frankfurt, in 1659-1663 in Paris, and he died in Amsterdam in 1677. His career was marked by great success as a portraitist, with commissions from noble and prominent bourgeois sitters, including King Louis XIV of France<sup>10</sup> and Rembrandt's patron and friend Jan Six.<sup>11</sup> Vaillant's fame as a pioneer of the mezzotint engraving has overshadowed his stellar achievements as a portrait painter. Moreover, his unusually high production of self-portraits may well reflect his contemporary fame among collectors, rather than a particular fascination with his own image.

1. Oral communication with Alfred Bader, July 2006.
2. Wallerant Vaillant, *Self-portrait*, around 1646, oil on canvas, 63 × 57 cm, Hannover, Landesgalerie Hannover, inv. PAM 967 (see Grohn 1980, *passim* [fig. 1]); Wallerant Vaillant, *Self-portrait*, around 1647, oil on canvas, 73.6 × 59 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 827 (see Grohn 1980, pp. 139-141 [fig. 3], pp. 143-144); Wallerant Vaillant, *Self-portrait*, around 1658, oil on canvas, 56 × 45 cm, Paris, Louvre, inv. MI 1364 (see Grohn 1980, pp. 146, 148 [fig. 13]); Wallerant Vaillant, *Self-portrait*, around 1675, oil on canvas, 58.5 × 48.2 cm, The Hague, collection of A.Th. van der Lecq (see Grohn 1980, p. 140 [fig. 4], pp. 142-143).
3. See Grohn 1980, pp. 142-143 (fig. 6).
4. Sturla Gudlaugsson, "Zelfportretten van Wallerant Vaillant ten Onrechte aan Hendrick Heerschop en Johan Heinrich Roos toegeschreven," *Kunsthistorische Mededelingen van het Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* 3, no. 7 (1948), pp. 38-39 (ill.). For the mezzotint that is a copy after the painting in Frankfurt (26 × 18.9 cm, signed), see Hollstein, vol. 31, p. 190, no. 200 (ill.); for the one inscribed as a self-portrait (27.3 × 20.5 cm), see Hollstein, vol. 31, p. 191, no. 201 (ill.).
5. These three mezzotints measure 19.7 × 17 cm, 22.5 × 17.5 cm and 22 × 18.2 cm; see Hollstein vol. 31, p. 189, no. 199 (ill.), and p. 192, nos. 202, 203 (ills.).
6. See Grohn 1980, p. 142.
7. Ibid., pp. 148-151.
8. For Vaillant's biography, see Maurice Vaudelle, "Les Frères Vaillant. Artistes lillois du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'art* 7 (October 1937), pp. 347-360, and Hans Vollmer, in Thieme-Becker, vol. 34, p. 41.
9. See Thieme-Becker, vol. 34, p. 41.
10. Vaillant's portrait of Louis XIV, now lost, is recorded in a print: P.-L. van Schuppen, after Wallerant Vaillant, *Portrait of Louis XIV*, engraving, 33 × 25 cm, state I/III, inscribed: *W. Vaillant ad vivum faciebat cum Privilegio Regis, P. Van-schuppen sculpebat 1660*; see Hollstein, vol. 26, p. 92, no. 89 (ill.).
11. Wallerant Vaillant, *Portrait of Jan Six*, oil on canvas, 64.5 × 52 cm, Amsterdam, Six Collection, inv. 11; see exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2002, p. 130, no. 29 (colour ill.). ♦



185.

Attributed to Wallerant Vaillant (Lille 1623 - Amsterdam 1677)

*A Man Rising from His Desk*

Around 1667

Oil on canvas, 96.5 × 78 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, with Trafalgar Galleries; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1979

#### LITERATURE

Collection cat. New York 1984, vol. 1, p. 59 (ill.); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 22, no. 3 (1989), p. 57 (colour ill. on cover)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Ronald Cohen, Alfred Cohen et al., *Trafalgar Galleries at the Royal Academy* (London: Royal Academy of Art, 1979), pp. 10-15, no. 5 (colour ill., as by Philippe de Champaigne); Kingston 1984, pp. 34-35, no. 28 (colour ill., as by Anonymous), p. 83; Milwaukee 1989, pp. 84-85, no. 37 (colour ill.); Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 36-37, no. 4 (ill.)

A YOUNG MAN gets up from his chair and turns his head sharply to look at the viewer. He has been sitting at a table laden with various objects related to the arts: a book of music, an album of prints and an antique bust known during the 17th century as a portrait of Seneca, the 1st-century CE Roman philosopher and statesman. The man wears a fine but simple black cloak and a plain white collar adorned with a single tassel. His study, which seems to be constructed on a monumental scale, includes a large square column. The section of red curtain traversing the upper left corner echoes the fine Turkish rug that covers the





Fig. 185a. Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of a Gentleman, Possibly Lucas van Uffelen*, around 1624, oil on canvas, 124.5 × 100.6 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 14.40.619.



Fig. 185b. Wallerant Vaillant, after Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of a Gentleman, Possibly Lucas van Uffelen*, mezzotint, state III/III, 37.3 × 29.2 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

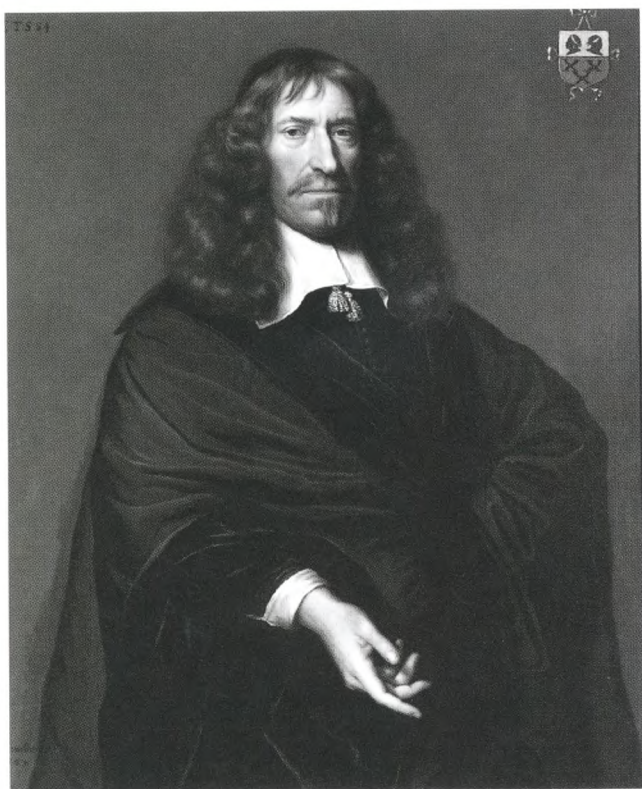


Fig. 185c. Wallerant Vaillant, *Portrait of Nicolaes van Loon*, 1667, oil on canvas, 103 × 85 cm. Amsterdam, Museum Van Loon.



Fig. 185d. Wallerant Vaillant, *Portrait of Andries Vaillant*, around 1670, oil on canvas, 70 × 60.5 cm. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv.53.465.



table at the lower right. The composition emphasizes the sitter's elegantly expressive hands, which grasp the table and the arm of the chair as he rises. In composing this portrait, the artist has clearly adhered quite faithfully to a famous prototype: the *Portrait of a Gentleman, Possibly Lucas van Uffelen* by Anthony van Dyck, now in New York's Metropolitan Museum (fig. 185a).<sup>1</sup> The attributes shown here on the table, although different from those in the Van Dyck, speak in a similar way of the sitter's cultural refinement as a gentleman amateur. Furthermore, the dynamic pose in both works alludes to the sitter's quickness of spirit, a quality emphasized in images of artists and art-lovers alike.<sup>2</sup>

This painting first resurfaced on the art market with an attribution to Philippe de Champaigne<sup>3</sup> that had little foundation: both the reduced palette and the methodical description speak against this artist's authorship. The fluid touches in the face, especially the eyes, hinted at the hand of Karel du Jardin, but the work as a whole does not accord with this artist's more flamboyant style.<sup>4</sup> Walter Liedtke's suggestion that the canvas is by Wallerant Vaillant seems most apposite.<sup>5</sup> Liedtke rightly drew attention to Vaillant's mezzotint after Van Dyck's painting (fig. 185b), which demonstrates the younger artist's interest in and thorough knowledge of this famous work.<sup>6</sup> Stylistic evidence also supports Liedtke's hypothesis. The present painting shows both Vaillant's characteristic steely colour range (likely a by-product of his practice of the grisaille portrait and mezzotint techniques), and his systematic and seamless facture. It compares closely in handling to Vaillant's portraits from the 1660s, including the one of Nicolaes van Loon, dated 1667 (fig. 185c). The sophisticated artistic still life seen here, which includes a printed portrait apparently executed in Vaillant's preferred technique of mezzotint, relates to similar assemblages alluding to art education that appear in several other paintings by the artist, among them his *Young Draughtsman* in Maastricht.<sup>7</sup>

The symbolic references in the still life seem to reflect the artist's professional preoccupations, and it is possible that he was expressing them in the form of a self-portrait. It has not hitherto been remarked that the sitter's features resemble those in the artist's known self-portraits, including the mezzotints that bear inscriptions securing the identification (see fig. 184a).<sup>8</sup> This man's face features the same fleshy lips (with the lower one protruding), prominent cheekbones, rounded chin, sharp eyebrows and powerful nose. If this were the case, the present portrait would fit into the oeuvre of one of the most prolific self-portraitists of the 17th century.<sup>9</sup> However, the resemblance is not perfect: the lips here are slightly rounder and the nose a little finer than Vaillant's. Intriguingly, they more closely echo the features seen in his portrait of his half-brother Andries (1655-1693) as a very young man (fig. 185d).<sup>10</sup> Andries, who was born to the artist's father Jean Vaillant and his second wife, Claire Bouchout, also pursued a career in art, primarily in printmaking. A number of mezzotints and engravings by him are known, mostly after portraits painted by another brother, Bernard.<sup>11</sup> Despite the apparent family likeness detectable here, however, it seems unlikely that

this is an image of Andries: as noted above, Wallerant Vaillant's stylistic evolution supports a date of around 1667 for the present work, at which time his half-brother would have been only about twelve. Nevertheless, although the question of the sitter's identity must remain open, the allusions in the picture to the world of art are unequivocal.

1. See collection cat. New York 1984, pp. 56-64 (colour pl. VI).
2. For a discussion of the "glance over the shoulder" pose used to convey a sense of the artist's genius in self-portraits, see Raupp 1984, pp. 181-219.
3. See 1979 under Exhibition Catalogues at the head of this entry.
4. The attribution to Karel du Jardin was first suggested in a letter of 18 July 1983 from George Keyes to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.
5. Walter Liedtke, in collection cat. New York 1984, vol. 1, p. 59 (ill.).
6. See Hollstein, vol. 31, p. 188, no. 197 (ill.).
7. Wallerant Vaillant, *The Young Draughtsman*, oil on canvas, 119 × 90 cm, Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum, inv. 673, on loan from the Stichting Limburger Kunstbezit.
8. See Grohn 1980, pp. 142, 143 (fig. 6).
9. One of these self-portraits is part of the Bader Collection; see cat. 184. For an overview of the self-portraits, see Grohn 1980.
10. See Agnes Czobor, "Ein Bildniss André Vaillants von Wallerant Vaillant," *Oud Holland* 73 (1958), pp. 242-246 (fig. 1), and collection cat. Budapest 2000, p. 168 (ill.). The sitter is identified in an old hand-written inscription on an impression of Wallerant Vaillant's mezzotint after the portrait (around 1670, 26 × 19.1 cm, inscribed, state II/III; see Hollstein, vol. 31, p. 132, no. 114/II). The inscribed impression is in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.
11. See Maurice Vandalle, "Les Frères Vaillant. Artistes lillois du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'art* 7 (October 1937), pp. 355-356. ◆





186.

Jan van de Venne

(Mechelen ? – Brussels before 1651)

*Tobias Healing His Father's Blindness*

Late 1620s?

Oil on panel, 92.7 × 122 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.12

PROVENANCE

Sale, Versailles (Mme Blache), 3 December 1972, lot 109 (as École de Rubens); Vienna, with Galerie T. Metlewicz; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1974; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

LITERATURE

Foucart 1978, p. 61, note 34 (as by Jan van de Venne); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 7, no. 2 (1974), p. 21 (cover ill.)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1976, pp. 148-149, no. 69 (ill.)

THE ARTIST OF this panel was for a long time known only as the Pseudo Van de Venne, on account of the similarities between his works and those of the Dutch painter Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne, which include muted colours, a thin, translucent application and a greyish tonal range. In 1978, with information from Hans Vlieghe, Jacques Foucart was able to connect a signed and dated altarpiece in Besançon to the name of an artist working in the court of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand and Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels.<sup>1</sup> This “Jan van der Vinnen,” a member of a family of artists, registered with the Brussels chapter of the St. Luke’s Guild in 1616.<sup>2</sup> He likely trained with the elder David Teniers and possibly also shared a studio with his younger brother Marten.<sup>3</sup> One of his court duties was the decorative painting of imitation marble, which may have led him to develop the stony quality and striated wrinkles that characterize the rendering of flesh in his paintings.<sup>4</sup> Vlieghe observed that there remained a kernel of truth to the old assumption that this artist was Dutch, as his sources for style and subject matter lay largely in genre painting from the northern Netherlands.<sup>5</sup>





Fig. 186a. Maerten van Heemskerck, *Tobias Healing His Father's Blindness*, around 1548, woodcut, 24.3 × 19.1 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Van de Venne has here depicted the climactic moment of the apocryphal Book of Tobit. The text tells how the young Tobias, returning home from a long journey, is greeted by his blind father Tobit, who stumbles on his way to the door. Tobias takes hold of his father and immediately applies fish gall to his eyes, causing the white film that obscures his vision to fall away and restoring his sight. Among Van de Venne's Roman Catholic patrons in Brussels and Antwerp, this scene would have been perceived as a direct parallel to Jesus' miraculous healing of the blind man (John 9:7). Together with other instances of healing by such prophets as Elijah and Elisha, the event pictured here represented both an Old Testament foreshadowing of the healing mission of Jesus and the Apostles, and a theological underpinning for the role played by Church institutions in providing care to those in need.

In Van de Venne's depiction the aged Tobit is seated to the left of centre. His son Tobias bends down and reaches out to his father's left eye with his right hand, while holding a pot containing the fish gall in the other. Tobias's mother Anna stands behind her husband to the left, a hand raised in tense anticipation, while the archangel Raphael leans over Tobias from the right and points toward Tobit's eyes, apparently giving the young man instructions. At the angel's heel stands Tobias's dog, their faithful companion throughout their journey. Van de Venne has created an unusually monumental composition, with large-scale figures arranged across the breadth of the panel. He may have known the much earlier print on the same theme by Maerten van Heemskerck, dated around 1548, and have borrowed its emphasis on the human

figure (fig. 186a).<sup>6</sup> Yet if he did, Van de Venne dispensed with the other Mannerist elements of the print, such as the classicizing architecture, perspectival definition of space, virtuoso complexity of pose and heroic idealization of figures. His expressive and free characterization seems rather to reflect the influence of Dutch genre painting.

Van de Venne often took his cue from Dutch artistic conventions, but this penchant is not otherwise evident here. The spontaneous action described in the text has been translated here into a formal scene, with the figures arranged somewhat artificially in a shallow plane – a formal device that removes the image from the everyday reality so often conjured by Dutch artists. The atmosphere here is ceremonial, and Tobit's pew-like chair seems to imbue the scene with an almost ecclesiastical flavour. In this respect the work may be connected to Van de Venne's single known commission, the signed and dated altarpiece mentioned above. Moreover, the other work in the Bader Collection by Jan van de Venne also likely served a devotional function (cat. 187).

With only one dated painting in Van de Venne's oeuvre, there is no strong basis for constructing a chronology of his works. The unidealized figures in this particular painting recall the approach of the Utrecht Caravaggist Hendrick ter Brugghen, suggesting that it might possibly date to the late 1620s.

The Tobit story was clearly popular with the artist, as several other interpretations of the theme by him are known. One, currently in a private collection in the Netherlands, employs the same composition as the present work but introduces greater smoothness and idealization, suggesting a later date.<sup>7</sup> A second work shows the figures in half-length but in a style similar to the present painting, and was likely made around the same time.<sup>8</sup> A third painting reverses the composition and gives the figures greater bulk and monumentality, no doubt reflecting the influence of Rubens or Jordaens.<sup>9</sup>

1. Foucart 1978, pp. 56–57. Foucart notes that this artist was documented as a court painter in connection with a payment to his widow in 1651.

2. Vlieghe 1983, p. 289.

3. Foucart 1978, p. 57.

4. Vlieghe 1983, p. 289.

5. Ibid., p. 290.

6. See Veldman 1993, vol. 1, p. 161, no. 187 (ill.).

7. Jan van de Venne, *Tobias Healing His Father*, oil on canvas, 108 × 149.5 cm, sale, London (Sotheby's), 26 October 1994, lot 81 (colour ill.), presently in a private collection in Merkssem, Netherlands.

8. Jan van de Venne, *Tobias Healing His Father*, oil on panel, 52 × 64 cm, sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 16 March 1976, lot 150 (pl. 9); see exhib. cat. Milwaukee 1976, p. 148 (ill.).

9. Jan van de Venne, *Tobias Healing His Father*, oil on canvas, 113 × 161.2 cm, sale, London (Christie's), 2 December 1983, lot 55 (ill., citing the Bader Collection painting as a comparison). ♦





187.

Jan van de Venne (Mechelin ? – Brussels before 1651)

*The Crucifixion of St. Philip the Apostle*

Probably 1630s

Oil on panel, 98.2 × 72.3 cm

Inscribed on the board at the top of the cross: *Phillipus / Discipulis / Jesu Nazareth*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1983, acc. no. 26-003

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 16-22 November 1982, lot 439 (colour pl. VII), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

WALTHER BERNT was the first scholar to connect this picture with an artist known only at the time as the Pseudo Van de Venne.<sup>1</sup> The handling of the image's two main figures – St. Philip and his executioner – corresponds closely to the work of Van de Venne, particularly in the pronounced wrinkles of the faces and the stony hardness of the edges and surfaces. As Hans Vlieghe has suggested, these effects may be the result of Van de Venne's sometime occupation as a painter of imitation marble.<sup>2</sup> The figures also show Van de Venne's characteristic earthy awkward-

ness and tendency to exaggerate facial features, both of which he seems to have developed based on the observation of northern Netherlandish genre painting.<sup>3</sup>

Van de Venne's choice of subject matter, however, speaks of his southern Netherlandish context and the patronage of the Roman Catholic Church that came in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Pictorial representations of the martyrdom of the Apostle Philip followed the Church's call to emphasize the great tradition of saints and martyrs, which challenged the Protestant Reformers' negation of their role.<sup>4</sup> According to the Gospel of John, Philip was the Apostle chosen by Jesus after Peter, and it was Philip who subsequently brought Nathaniel into the fold. *The Golden Legend* tells that when Philip, preaching in Scythia, was ordered by pagans to worship Mars, a vicious dragon issued from the idol.<sup>5</sup> He was later executed by crucifixion, and his body, buried first in Hierapolis, was subsequently translated to Constantinople and thence to Rome. Philip was not a prominent figure in the Christian tradition and was depicted only rarely, appearing most often as one in a series of saints. Two such engravings by Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)<sup>6</sup> were followed in the north by images of the saint by Marten de Vos (1532-1603)<sup>7</sup> and Jacques Callot (1592-1635).<sup>8</sup> These models were taken up by Simon de Vos (1603-1676) in a painting of 1648, also showing Philip on a cross.<sup>9</sup> Jan van de Venne has departed from that work and from the printed tradition, however, by showing Philip before he is attached to the already mounted cross, his hands clasped in prayer and his kneeling pose full of tension. This moving portrayal of the Apostle perhaps reflects the modesty traditionally associated with Philip's character but conveys none of the serenity typically attributed to saints facing their ultimate test of faith.

1. Expertise, Munich, 11 November 1974; Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files.

2. Vlieghe 1983, p. 289; see also the entry for cat. 186 in the present catalogue.

3. Vlieghe 1983, p. 290.

4. Council of Trent, Session 25, 3-4 December 1563; "On invocation, veneration and relics of the saints, and on sacred images"; see, for example, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Norman Tanner, ed. (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 774-776. For the most pertinent discussion of the Council's impact in the southern Netherlands, see David Freedberg, "The Representations of Martyrdoms during the Early Counter-Reformation in Antwerp," *Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976), pp. 128-138.

5. Voragine, vol. 1, pp. 267-268.

6. Antonio Tempesta, *St. Philip*, from the series "Christ and the Apostles," engraving, 19.3 × 13.8 cm (see Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 35, p. 116 [ill.]); *St. Philip*, from the series "Christ, the Virgin and the Apostles," engraving, 52 × 37.1 cm (see Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 35, p. 130 [ill.]).

7. Marten de Vos, *St. Philip*, engraving, 41.1 × 27.1 cm (see Hollstein, vol. 44, p. 177, no. 797, and vol. 46, p. 20 [pl. 797/1]); Hendrick Goltzius, after Marten de Vos, *The Martyrdom of St. Philip*, engraving, 19.2 × 28 cm (see Strauss 1977, p. 104, no. 44, p. 105 [ill.]).

8. Jacques Callot, *The Martyrdom of St. Philip*, etching, 6.9 × 4.4 cm, 1632; see Jacques Callot, exhib. cat. (Nancy: Musée historique Lorrain, 1992), p. 488, no. 646 (ill.).

9. Simon de Vos, *The Martyrdom of St. Philip*, 1648, oil on copper, 70 × 87.5 cm, signed, Lille, Musée des beaux-arts; see Alexis Donetzkoff, "Un Martyre de Saint Philippe par Simon de Vos (1603-1676)," *Revue du Louvre* 45, no. 5 (December 1998), pp. 32-39. ♦





188.

Simon Pietersz. Verelst (The Hague 1644 – London around 1710)

*Flowers on a Stone Table*

1672

Oil on canvas, 54.5 × 44 cm

Signed at bottom right: *S. Verelst Fecit*

*Fruit on a Stone Table*

1672

Oil on canvas, 54.5 × 44 cm

Signed and dated lower right: *Si. Verelst F a 1672*

Milwaukee, collection of Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

United States, private collection; New York, with Otto Naumann Fine Arts; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1995 (flower piece) and 2003 (fruit piece), for Isabel Bader

LITERATURE

Walter Liedtke, "Pepys and the Pictorial Arts," *Apollo* 138, no.350 (April 1991), pp. 230-231 (ill.); Meijer and Van der Willigen 2003, p.204 (fruit piece only)

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Osaka, Tokyo and Sydney 1990, pp. 106-107, 224-225, nos.56, 57 (ill.); Naumann 1995, pp. 122-126, no.27 (colour ills.; fruit piece reproduced in reverse)

COPIES

Fruit piece: oil on canvas, 52 x 41.5 cm, sale, London (Sotheby's), 26 October 1988, lot 116

Flower piece: oil on canvas, 54.5 x 43.2 cm, sale, London (Christie's), 29 June 1979, lot 33 (ill.); Amsterdam, with Waterman, in 1980



SIMON PIETERSZ. VERELST, one of two sons of the genre and portrait painter Pieter Hermansz. Verelst (around 1618-around 1678) to take up the brush – the other was Johannes Pietersz. Verelst (1648-1734) – likely trained initially under his father.<sup>1</sup> As an independent artist Simon adopted the specialty of flower painting and in 1663, while living nearby in Voorburg, joined *Pictura*, the painters' confraternity in The Hague.<sup>2</sup> He appears to have chosen the work of Willem van Aelst (1627-around 1683) as his model<sup>3</sup> – in particular that painter's diagonal organization of elements, which Verelst developed into a serpentine line. In 1668 or 1669 he left the Netherlands for London, where his recent arrival was recorded by Samuel Pepys in a diary entry for 11 April 1669.<sup>4</sup> George Vertue later reported that he had been in Paris in 1680.<sup>5</sup> Verelst was widely recognized for the remarkable refinement and verisimilitude of his paintings but also for his extraordinary vanity, which led him to crown himself "The King of Painters" and to seek an audience with Charles II in an unduly familiar manner.<sup>6</sup> He was immortalized by several poets, including Matthew Prior.<sup>7</sup> The writer and painter Jacob Campo Weyerman reported on his continued activity in 1710,<sup>8</sup> but by the time the engraver and art chronicler George Vertue commented on him in 1717, he had died.<sup>9</sup>

These two paintings, which show identical handling as well as sharing the same dimensions and provenance, form a pendant pair. Both can be dated to 1672, the year indicated on the still life with fruit, which was undoubtedly intended to hang on the right. The flower piece shows the familiar S-curve composition that



Verelst had developed before his arrival in England and maintained for the rest of his career.

Typical of the sophisticated genre of 17th-century Netherlandish flower painting, Verelst's picture meticulously renders the characteristics of a selection of known species of flowers, all have which have been identified by Sam Segal: African marigold (bottom centre), whitish pink rose (bottom left), peony (overhanging), snowball (centre), tulip (left), German flag (top left), opium poppy (top), pot marigold (top, behind), *Rosa mundi* (bottom right) and *Rosa gallica* (lying on the table).<sup>10</sup> Segal has also identified the two butterflies: blue (bottom left) and red admiral (bottom right). Although a strong light accentuates the snowball in the centre, the focus of the painting is the brilliant, effervescent poppy above, which is set off against the cool, sensual forms of the blue iris (German flag) to the left. The bulky shapes of the flowers composing the main diagonal axis have been skilfully contrasted with the isolated, illuminated rose on its delicate stem that lies on the stone tabletop at the lower right.

In the other canvas a selection of fruit is arranged on a similar stone table whose corner is cut off at the right. Just to the left of centre sits a red and yellow peach still attached to its stalk, with two desiccated leaves hanging over the edge of the table. Next to it is a cluster of three cherries, one of which is also suspended in space. Further to the right, two halves of a split-open peach rest on a plain round pewter plate. To the left of the whole peach, a bunch of white grapes cascades over the table's edge, with another of red grapes behind. The centre of the composition is occupied by a melon surmounted by brightly illuminated vine leaves. Toward the left edge are some red and white currants. Further back, to the upper right, a blue pot holding more white grapes and two ripe tomatoes emerges from the dark ground. Verelst has again included butterflies – three: a painted lady on the peach leaf at bottom, a white on the vine leaves in the centre and a blue flying off above.<sup>11</sup> Although the picture features the same S-curve as the flower piece, the artist has varied the composition by placing the tabletop higher and allowing some light to fall on the background.

The technique that Verelst had developed based on that of Willem van Aelst involved underpainting and built-up layers of pigment in varnish, rather than oil, and his use of this binder accounts for the poor condition of many of his works.<sup>12</sup> The two present canvases, however, are remarkably well preserved.

1. See Sam Segal, in exhib. cat. Naumann 1995, p. 122.
2. See Obreen Archief, vol. 5, p. 156.
3. See Sam Segal, in exhib. cat. Naumann 1995, p. 122.
4. See *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., vol. 9 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970–1983), pp. 514–515, entry for 11 April 1669.
5. Vertue II, p. 80.
6. On Verelst's vanity, see George Vertue, in Vertue I, pp. 32, 35.
7. For Matthew Prior's poem, see Frank Lewis, *Simon Pietersz. Verelst* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1979), p. 17.
8. Weyerman, vol. 3, p. 248.
9. Vertue I, p. 42 (1717).
10. Sam Segal, in exhib. cat. Naumann 1995, p. 124.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid. ♦



189.

Constantijn Verhout (active Gouda and Delft 1662–1667)

*Portrait of Cornelis Abrahamsz. Graswinckel*

1662

Oil on panel, 35 × 28 cm

Signed and dated lower left, on the table leg: *C. Verhout 1662*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Delft, collection of Engelbert Maertensz. Graswinckel (1653–1738); by bequest to his son Maarten Graswinckel, in 1738; by bequest to his brother Engelbert Graswinckel; London, Leger & Son, in 1932; London, with Rudolph Holzapfel Ward, in 1936; New York, with Schaeffer Galleries, before 1947; Montreal, with Max Stern, Dominion Galleries; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1960

#### LITERATURE

*Beeldende Kunst* 18 (1933), unpaginated (pl.88); Georges Isarlo, "Les Sombres et les Éclairs," *Connaissance des Arts* 43 (1955), p. 64 (fig. 29, as by "C. Voorhout"), p. 66 (as a genre depiction); Anthony Clark, "Dutch Art and the Aldrich Collection," in *Aldrichimica Acta* 1, no. 4 (1968) p. 17 (cover ill.); Bernt 1979–1980, vol. 3, no. 1358 (ill.); Bader 1995, p. 238, no. 15 (pl. 30)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

*Zeldzame meesters uit de 17de eeuw* (Amsterdam: Hoogendijk & Co., 1932), p. 29, no. 103 (as signed); Hempstead 1988, p. 26, no. 21 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 28 (ill.)

THE LITTLE-KNOWN Dutch genre painter Constantijn Verhout was active during the 1660s. Besides the present painting, only one other work by him is dated – a *Sleeping Student*, now in Stockholm, which is inscribed 1663.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about his birth or death, but Houbraken does report that the painter



Johannes Voorhout (1647-1723), possibly a relative, began his training with this artist in Couda before moving on to Amsterdam to complete his study as a history and portrait painter with Jan van Noordt.<sup>2</sup> Constantijn Verhout is documented as having been in Couda in 1666 and 1667,<sup>3</sup> but to judge from the evidence of the present painting he may have been active in Delft as well around 1662.

Here, Verhout shows an elderly man sitting at a table and looking down at the beer stein he clasps in both hands. He wears a plain black jacket, befitting his age, with the kind of medium-sized white collar fashionable during the 1650s, also appropriate for an older man. On his head is a fur-lined hat with a broad, turned-back border. Beside him on the table lies a so-called Delft pipe – a white clay tobacco pipe with a long stem of a type manufactured in that city – and the brazier and stick commonly used to light it.<sup>4</sup> On the wall behind the man hang several utensils, including a small frying pan and a brush, while on a shelf above sit a book, a small tin pail, some pieces of broken earthenware, and a three-footed ceramic vessel with handle and spout. Hanging on the wall above the man's head is a round reed object that is probably a sieve. These accessories apparently carry no traditional symbolic meaning but simply suggest that the man is in a workplace of some kind, rather than an ordinary kitchen.

Although formerly identified as a genre painting, consistent with Verhout's other known works, this picture is almost certainly a portrait. With his sharply trimmed beard, pronounced cheek fold and fleshy eyelids, the man displays highly individual features. Based on the resemblance to a known portrait (fig. 189a) kept in Delft's Hofje van Gratie (a home for old women that the sitter's family supported), the man in this painting can be identified as Cornelis Abrahamsz. Graswinckel (1582-1664), a brewer from

Delft.<sup>5</sup> Graswinckel, the son of Abraham Jansz. Graswinckel, was descended from a Protestant Flemish émigré family that fled Antwerp in the 1580s and established itself in Delft in the brewing trade.<sup>6</sup> Its members quickly became part of the city's regent class and assumed a role in its government, even acceding on occasion to the position of burgomaster, or mayor. The generation before Cornelis's produced the colourful Jan Jacobsz. Graswinckel (1536-1624), known both as the *Wonderdokter van Delft* (Wonder Doctor of Delft), for his activities as a healer, and as the *Delftse Israelyt* (Delft Israelite, or Jew), for his pious and ascetic lifestyle.<sup>7</sup> The most famous Graswinckel of the Dutch Golden Age was the fiscal jurist Dirck Jansz. Graswinckel (1600-1654), who became court clerk of the States General, counted Constantijn Huygens and King James of England among his correspondents, and was knighted by Queen Christina of Sweden.<sup>8</sup> Cornelis initially followed the family profession of brewing, establishing a brewery called De Drie Ackeren (The Three Fields) on the Voorstraat.<sup>9</sup> He married Maria van der Dussen in 1609 and recorded the births and early deaths of their children on a page (probably originally in the family Bible) now preserved in the archive in Haarlem.<sup>10</sup> Cornelis subsequently gave up brewing and turned to medicine.<sup>11</sup> One of his family's cultural interests is attested to by the musical scores and instruments cited in a codicil to his testament.<sup>12</sup> The date on this painting, 1662, indicates that it was executed two years before the sitter died, when he was around eighty years old. The extinguished pipe, lying with its bowl facing down, and the broken pottery on the shelf, could possibly be allusions to impending death. However, these references are far from clear, and the objects may merely be intended to set the scene of a well-used brewery or kitchen.

In fact, the light tone of the picture speaks against such sinister

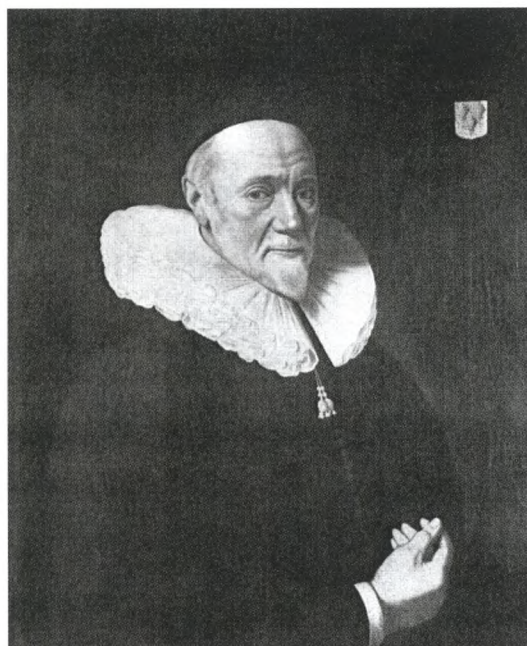


Fig. 189a. Anonymous, *Portrait of Cornelis Abrahamsz. Graswinckel*, around 1660, oil on canvas, 77 × 64 cm. Delft, Hofje van Gratie, on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland, inv. C 85.

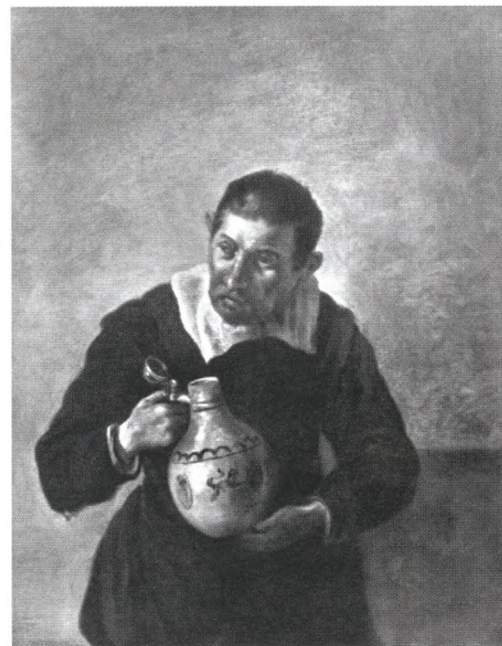


Fig. 189b. Attributed to Constantijn Verhout, *Old Man with a Beer Pitcher*, oil on panel, 37.5 × 29.5 cm. Collection of Baron Cutore di San Carlo (photo: RKD).



symbolism. Cornelis was not simply sitting for an ordinary portrait, which the members of his social class did regularly. Rather, he was striking a pose familiar from tavern scenes – that of the *kannekijker* (literally “tankard inspector”), who, looking hard into his stein to confirm that it is indeed empty, is evidently ready for another draught. Here, the unfocused eyes and parted lips give the figure an expression of slightly befuddled surprise and longing. The same comic mood marks the artist’s picture of a sleeping student mentioned above, and the genre-like quality of the present painting is echoed again in a work in a private collection that may possibly be by Verhout (fig. 189b). In this picture a bourgeois man in an informal pose holds a beer flask in both hands, recommending the beverage it contains even more obviously than here.<sup>13</sup> His costume is the same as Cornelis Graswinckel’s, minus the fur hat. The man also sports the same finely trimmed beard, but his features differ enough from the likeness of Cornelis to exclude the possibility that they are one and the same. He is perhaps another member of the prosperous Graswinckel brewing family, playing the pendant to Cornelis’s imitation of a thirsty drinker.

The brilliantly lit room that provides the backdrop for this painting reveals the influence of Carel Fabritius and Johannes Vermeer, both of whom were active in Delft. Marked by a series of halting rhythms, the composition nonetheless lends the figure a quiet monumentality. Both the sitter and the surrounding objects are described and modelled with great care, creating an impression of powerful clarity and presence. This directness inspired Anthony Clark to characterize the picture as “utterly clean and fresh, and as moving and great a piece of human creation, technique and insight” as it is possible to make.<sup>14</sup>

1. Constantijn Verhout, *The Sleeping Student*, 1663, oil on panel, 38 × 31 cm, signed, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM 677; see collection cat. Stockholm 1990, p. 370 (ill.).
2. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 223.
3. Abraham Bredius, “Letter: ‘Pictures by Constantyn Verhout,’” *Burlington Magazine* 41 (November 1922), p. 252.
4. For an image of a brazier and stick being used for this purpose, see Abraham van Dijck, *Old Woman Lighting a Pipe*, oil on panel, 75.5 × 62.3 cm; sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby’s), 13 May 2003, lot 70 (colour ill.).
5. See collection cat. The Hague 1992, p. 354, no. 3141; Graswinckel 1956 (pl. 46); and the letter of 24 November 1970 from D.P.M. Graswinckel to Alfred Bader (Bader Collection work files).
6. See Graswinckel 1956, pp. 63–73.
7. On Jan Jacobsz. Graswinckel, see *ibid.*, pp. 32–36, and Reinier Boitet, *Beschryving der Stad Delft*, 2nd ed. (Delft: Reinier Boitet, 1729), p. 714, with reference to a now-lost biography by Dionisius Sprankhuysen.
8. On Dirck Jansz. Graswinckel, see Graswinckel 1956, pp. 90–117. There is a portrait of him in Rotterdam: Govert Flinck, *Portrait of Dirck Jansz. Graswinckel and Geertruyt van Loon*, 1646, oil on canvas, 105.7 × 91 cm, signed, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 1207; see Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 2, p. 1040, no. 713, p. 1145 (colour ill.).
9. Graswinckel 1956, pp. 137–138.
10. M. C. Wildeman, “Genealogische en andere Mededelingen aangaande de Familien Graswinckel, Van Bleiswijk en Doublet,” *De Navorscher* 49 (1899), pp. 155–158.
11. Graswinckel 1956, p. 139.
12. See Willem de Ruiter, “Het codicil van Cornelis Graswinckel (1653),” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 31, no. 1 (1981), pp. 73–81; and Frits Noske, “Bibliografische en historische kanttekeningen bij het codicil van Cornelis Graswinckel,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 31, no. 2, 1981, pp. 178–185.
13. Here attributed to Constantijn Verhout; see Jean Decoen, “Carel Fabritius,” *Burlington Magazine* 69, no. 401 (August 1936), p. 52 (ill., as by Carel Fabritius), p. 59.
14. Anthony S. Clark, “Dutch Art and the Aldrich Collection,” in *Aldrichimica Acta* 1, no. 4 (1968), p. 18. ◆

190.

François Verwilt (Rotterdam 1623 – Rotterdam 1691)

### *The Education of Mary*

Around 1660

Oil on canvas, 86 × 101 cm

Signed middle right: *F.v: wilt*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, 1981, acc. no. 24-095

#### PROVENANCE

Saint John, New Brunswick, collection of Arthur D. Maher (as by Parmigianino); purchased by Alfred Bader in 1978; Milwaukee, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Briels 1997, p. 79 (colour pl. 101), p. 398 (fig. 101)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Kingston 1988–1991, pp. xi, 110–113, no. 27 (colour ill.)

FRANÇOIS VERWILT was born in 1623 in Rotterdam, to the Flemish émigré painter Adriaen Verwilt (1582–around 1640) and Lyntgen Viruly, who was the daughter of a painter, Willem Viruly the Elder.<sup>1</sup> Verwilt likely began training with his father<sup>2</sup> but completed his art studies in Utrecht, under Cornelis van Poelenburch.<sup>3</sup> He remained unmarried and continued to live with his family in Rotterdam,<sup>4</sup> although there are documents indicating that he also travelled to Middelburg and Vlissingen (Flushing), and he may possibly have lived in those cities as well.<sup>5</sup> Sandrart and, later, Houbraken related that he specialized in portraiture, history painting and Italianate genre scenes,<sup>6</sup> but a number of merry companies by him are also known. Verwilt appears to have dealt in art, for he left behind a large stock of paintings at his death, only around half of which were his own work.<sup>7</sup> A good number of his history paintings depict traditional themes for Roman Catholic altarpieces, suggesting that the artist was an adherent of this faith.

In its representation of a scene from the life of the Virgin, the present painting almost certainly reflects a Roman Catholic context, yet it does not take up an established pictorial theme.



Fig. 190a. François Verwilt, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1660, oil on panel, 33.5 × 39.2 cm. Rotterdam, Historisch Museum Rotterdam, inv. 10726.





The traditional image for the Education of the Virgin depicts her still at home<sup>8</sup> being taught by her parents Anne and Joachim, which is how she is portrayed by Peter Paul Rubens.<sup>9</sup> However, there is also a pictorial tradition for the Virgin in the Temple, which generally shows her sewing or doing needlepoint, accompanied by angels.<sup>10</sup> This latter theme, which appears to be limited to the Italian context, has been treated by artists such as Guido Reni.<sup>11</sup> Both scenes draw upon the legends surrounding the life of the Virgin and were included by Jacobus de Voragine in *The Golden Legend*.<sup>12</sup> By showing the Virgin studying, accompanied not by Anne but by the angels who were with her in the Temple, Verwilt seems to have amalgamated the two themes. In so doing, he has created a scholarly alternative to the tradition of virtuous domestic labour (which may still be discreetly present in the form of the colourful fabric spilling out of the basket at the left), perhaps at the behest of a female patron with intellectual aspirations.

Verwilt shows Mary as a young woman seated in a low chair, holding a thin volume on her knee but turning from it to look out at the viewer. She wears a simple blue dress *all'antica* over a blouse with billowing white sleeves. A section of bright red petticoat is visible at her ankle, and a length of golden-toned fabric spills out from the back of the chair, completing the high colour key. The mood of innocent charm is sustained by the two angels, who interact in playful intimacy. The younger of the two, on the left, showing one tiny wing, chuckles in response to the words of his older companion, who leans down toward him while reaching around Mary with his left arm to grasp the back of the chair. This

figure's spread wings, their feathers beautifully rendered in every detail and nuance, rise up dramatically, framing the head of the Virgin with a simulated halo. The combination of restrained but lively energy and smooth forms draws from the work of the generation of Flemish artists that followed Rubens, such as Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. The warm chromatic harmony in the fabrics in the basket no doubt harkens back to Verwilt's time of study in Utrecht, when he would have become familiar with such fabric patterns in the work of the Caravaggisti.<sup>13</sup> Within the artist's oeuvre, this picture compares closely to the *Adoration of the Shepherds* of 1660, in Rotterdam (fig. 190a),<sup>14</sup> and can be dated to around the same period.

1. The year of François Verwilt's birth was recorded by Dr. Jan Sysmus; see Abraham Bredius, in *Oud Holland* 12 (1894), pp. 161-163. On the parents, see Haverkorn van Rijsewijk 1897, pp. 51-56, and exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1994, p. 305.
2. Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 193, no. CCXXIV; Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 129.
3. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk 1897, p. 56.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
5. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk 1897, p. 57, and Briels 1997, p. 398. His registration in the St. Luke's Guild of Middelburg was recorded in 1662; see Obreen Archief, vol. 6, p. 196.
6. Sandrart/Peltzer 1925, p. 193, no. CCXXIV; Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 129.
7. See Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 5, pp. 1618-1623.
8. See Réau 1955-1959, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 168-169.
9. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Education of the Virgin*, around 1630-1635, oil on canvas, 193 × 139 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 2642 C; see collection cat. Antwerp 1988, p. 321, no. 306 (ill.).
10. See Émile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trent* (Paris: A. Colin, 1932), pp. 354-355, and Pigler 1956, vol. 1, p. 471.
11. Guido Reni, *The Virgin in the Temple*, fresco, Rome, Palazzo Quirinale, Cappella dell'Annunziata; see Pepper 1984, pp. 224-225, no. 33 (pl. 41).
12. See Voragine, vol. 2, pp. 152-153.
13. David McTavish, in exhib. cat. Kingston 1988-1991, p. 122.
14. See exhib. cat. Rotterdam 1994, p. 238, no. 62 (ill.), p. 327 (colour ill.).





191.

Jacob de Villeers (Leiden 1616 – Rotterdam 1667)

*Mountain Landscape with Travellers*

Around 1650-1660

Oil on panel, 70 × 104.2 cm

Signed lower right: *J. Vileer...*

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.14

#### PROVENANCE

Art market, New York State; purchased by Alfred Bader, around 1975; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 14, no. 3 (1981), p. 41 (cover ill., as by Anonymous); Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2879, 2887 note 73, p. 2923 (colour ill., as 27.5 x 40 cm)

FOR A LONG TIME the name of the Leiden-born painter Jacob de Villeers was connected with only a single signed painting – a landscape in the museum in Rotterdam<sup>1</sup> – and several drawings.<sup>2</sup> Although his training and practice are undocumented, he was linked to Rembrandt's circle by way of the pupil Abraham Furnerius, whose sister Elizabeth, widowed mother of the painter Gerrit Battem, he married in 1641.<sup>3</sup> His landscape drawings are closely comparable to those of Furnerius.<sup>4</sup> In 1982 Ellen Bernt identified De Villeers as the author of the present work, confirming

the evidence of the only partially legible signature.<sup>5</sup> In its transformation with dramatic light and accents of the Flemish tradition of fantasy mountain landscapes peopled by lonely travellers (epitomized in the idiom of Paul Bril), the picture shows De Villeer's characteristic emulation of the work of the enigmatic Haarlem landscape artist Hercules Seghers (see cat. 18). De Villeers likely came to Seghers by way of Furnerius and Rembrandt, who both admired the innovative landscapist. In the present composition, the curious feature of the half-hidden house in the centre is derived directly from Seghers's work, where it appears, for example, in the *Landscape with Houses* in Rotterdam (see fig. 18b).<sup>6</sup> Here, the looming monumental forms of the hills, caught in a raking light and rendered in chiaroscuro, are also reminiscent of the landscapes of Rembrandt himself, as is the monochromatic palette.

1. Jacob de Villeers, *Rocky Landscape*, oil on panel, 20 × 36 cm, signed, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 1916 70; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2887 note 71, p. 2922 (ill.).

2. For a review of the drawings attributed to Villeers, see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2879, 2887 note 70.

3. Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2, p. 790, s.v. Jacob de Villers; Thieme-Becker, vol. 34, 1940, p. 33.

4. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2879.

5. Letter of 29 November 1982 from Ellen Bernt to Alfred Bader; Agnes Etherington Art Centre curatorial files.

6. See collection cat. Rotterdam 2000, p. 189 (ill.). ♦





192.

Jacob de Villeers (Leiden 1616 – Rotterdam 1667)

*Mountain Landscape with Waterfalls*

Around 1650–1660

Oil on panel, 36.8 × 48.9 cm

Signed lower right: *J. De Villeers*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

Zurich, with Brian Koetser; London, with Neville Orgel; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1980

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983–1994, vol. 4, pp. 2879, 2887 note 69, p. 2929 (ill., as by Villeers)

IN THIS SMALL signed panel the pictorial surface is punctuated throughout by the rounded forms of hills, and the space is accented with figures and houses, making it a typical example of De Villeers's approach to mountain landscapes. The sense of depth is emphasized by the highlighted foreground outcropping to the right and the billowing clouds high in the distance, while the mountains on either side enhance the monumentality of the whole composition. De Villeers seems to have borrowed this latter device from the painting of a *Mountain Landscape* by Hercules Seghers (see fig. 18a), which was once part of Rembrandt's collection.<sup>1</sup> Rembrandt's own modification of Seghers's painting – the addition of a group of travellers at the lower left – seems to be reflected here in the group in the corresponding corner. De Villeers's detailed handling of the buildings and the sluices of the mill in the foreground further reflect Seghers's dramatization of quotidian details.

1. See collection cat. Florence 1989, pp. 524–525 (colour ill.). ♦





193.

Jacobus Vrel (active in the northern Netherlands 1654-1662)

*A Woman Darning a Stocking*

Around 1654

Oil on panel, 28.6 × 24.1 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, London (Christie's), 29 May 1931, lot 119 (as by Jan Vrel, *A Woman, Seated in an Apartment, Darning a Sock*, on panel, 11 1/2 × 9 1/2 in. [28.2 × 24.1 cm]), purchased by Collins; Bournemouth, collection of Rudolph Holzapfel-Ward, in 1932; sale, London (Christie's), 24 July 1936, lot 65 (as by Jan Vrel, *A Peasant Woman, Darning a Sock*, on panel, 11 × 9 1/2 in. [27.9 × 24.1 cm]); New York, collection of J. Schoeneman, in 1937; purchased by August Bontoux (as possibly by Vermeer, with conditions for possible proceeds from its sale); Chicago, collection of August Bontoux; his sale, Chicago (Hanzel Galleries), 7 April 1953, lot 74 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Berlin 1932, p. 16, no. 120; Kalamazoo 1967, p. 17 (ill.); South Hadley 1979, unpaginated, no. 24 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 68-69, no. 32 (ill.); Hempstead 1988, p. 27, no. 22 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 30 (ill.)

A YOUNG BUT matronly woman sits in a plain, upright chair to the right of centre, bending over her work. She is clearly darning a stocking, holding it in her left hand and working her needle at a flat angle with the fingers of her right. On the seat of an armchair placed opposite her lie another garment of some sort and a pair of scissors. The rest of the room is starkly empty, and the figure and objects are lit by a diffuse light falling from above. The sober atmosphere, underscored by the muted colour scheme of browns, dull greens and black, is punctuated by the bright red accent of the stocking. Focusing the painting entirely on the woman's activity, the artist has captured her absorption in her downcast eyes and pursed lips. The severity of the scene evidently proved too much for a previous owner, who sought to enliven it by adding a tile pattern on the floor and changing the line of the woman's mouth to suggest a restrained smile. These additions were removed in a recent cleaning.

This small panel can be placed among the interior scenes produced by Jacobus Vrel, an enigmatic artist who left behind virtually no documentary trace of his life or activity as a painter. However, a number of domestic interiors and street scenes survive

that bear his signature, and several other works – including the present painting – can be attributed to him. Remarkably, the only contemporary reference to Vrel appears in the 1659 inventory of the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels, which lists a work of 1654 that is still part of the same collection, now in Vienna (fig. 193a).<sup>1</sup> For many years scholars associated Jacobus Vrel with the Delft masters of the interior scene Pieter de Hooch (1629-1683/84) and Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675).<sup>2</sup> However, Vrel's interiors reveal none of these artist's interest in perspective. Also, nothing in his street scenes can be related to the city of Delft. Some are peopled with monks wearing pointed hoods that identify them as Carthusians from monasteries located in towns near the German border.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the archival researcher H. F. Wijnman has speculated about the artist's connection to one Jacob Veerle, who lived in Amsterdam next door to the poet Joost van den Vondel and may have known Rembrandt as well.<sup>4</sup>

Vrel may also have been linked to the Rembrandt pupil Nicolaes Maes, of Dordrecht. Maes produced a number of images of women at their domestic labours whose moralizing tone can be detected in Vrel's work.<sup>5</sup> Vrel appears, as well, to have shared



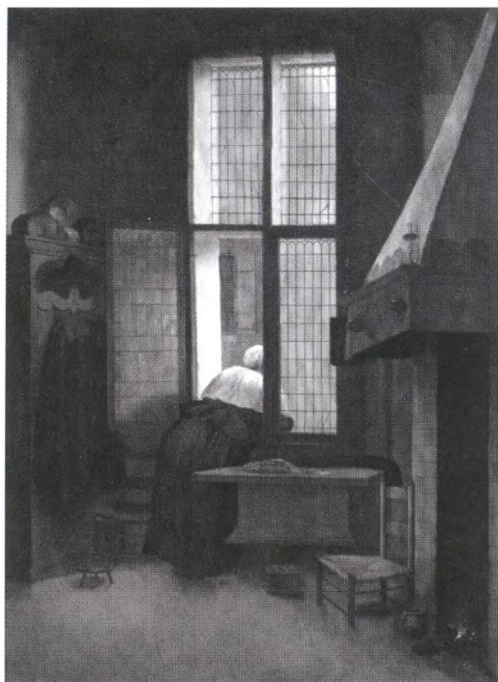


Fig. 193a. Jacobus Vrel, *Old Woman Leaning Out of a Window*, oil on panel, 66 × 47.5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 6081-1654.

the sensitivity to contemplative moods and warm human interaction shown by Rembrandt and his followers in the 1650s, as witness his well-known painting in Rotterdam entitled *A Woman Waving to a Girl at the Window*.<sup>6</sup> From a technical viewpoint, Vrel has here adopted Maes's colour strategy of the 1650s, with its muted range of greys and warm tones accented by patches of pure red. The use of light to generate strong concentration further links this artist – and the present work – to the Rembrandt idiom. The vivid highlights in the woman's cap and large, cape-like partlet relate it stylistically to the Vienna painting mentioned above, pointing to a date of around 1654.

1. See collection cat. Vienna 1991, p. 134 (pl. 542); for the citation in the 1659 catalogue, see Garas 1968, p. 269, no. 739.
2. Vrel was included in a 1996 exhibition on Delft artists (see exhib. cat. Delft 1996) but left out of a similar exhibition in 2001 (see exhib. cat. London and New York 2001).
3. See Cynthia von Bogendorff-Rupprath, in exhib. cat. Philadelphia, Berlin and London 1983-1984, p. 352.
4. H. F. Wijnman, "De Woonhuizen van Vondel te Amsterdam," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 61 (1974), p. 108. On Vondel's address, see Isabella Henrietta van Eeghen, "Vondel's Huis op de Prinsengracht bij de Berenstraat," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 54 (1967), p. 160 (referring to correspondence from H. F. Wijnman).
5. For example Nicolaes Maes, *The Lacemaker*, oil on canvas, 55 × 43.7 cm, signed and dated 9 March 1656, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, inv. 6189; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3, p. 2014, no. 1342, p. 2068 (colour ill.).
6. Jacobus Vrel, *A Woman Waving to a Girl at the Window*, oil on panel, 45.7 × 39.2 cm, signed, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. 174, on loan from the Fondation Custodia, Paris; see exhib. cat. The Hague 2002, pp. 182-185, no. 35 (colour ill.). ♦



194.

Jan Baptist Weenix

(Amsterdam 1621 – De Haar 1659/61)

*Portrait of a Man with a Letter*

Around 1648

Oil on copper, 33.5 × 24 cm

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, collection of Ralph Bernal; his sale, London (Christie's), 5-27 March 1855 (Lugt 22290), lot 832 (as by "S.J.," *A Dutch naval officer, in a lilac dress, holding a baton – half-length*, 12 × 11" [30.5 × 26.8 cm]); Bulstrode, Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire, collection of Sir John Ramsden; his sale, London, Christie's, 11 July 1930, lot 36 (with a second portrait on copper, of similar size, as by Frans Hals, according to Frits Lugt); Rotterdam, private collection; sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 5 November 2002, lot 231 (colour ill., as by Amsterdam School, *Portrait of a Jewish Gentleman*)

#### LITERATURE

Von Moltke 1938-1939, p. 491, no. F16 (ill., as not by Jan de Bray)

JAN BAPTIST WEENIX was the son of the painter Jan Weines from Enkhuizen, whom Houbraken also described as an architect.<sup>1</sup> After initial training with the minor painter Jan Micker, in his native city of Amsterdam, Weenix proceeded to the studio of Abraham Bloemaert in Utrecht, before returning to Amsterdam to study under Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert. He emerged as a



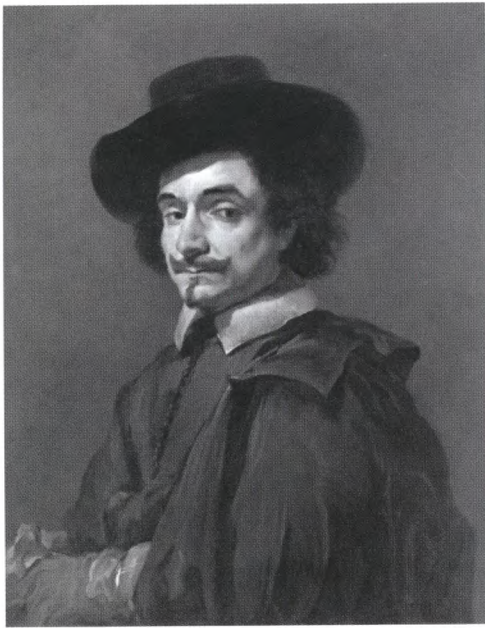


Fig. 194a. Jan Baptist Weenix, *Portrait of a Man*, around 1650, oil on copper, 36.5 x 30.2 cm. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, Sophia P. Morton Purchase Fund, inv. 1969.111 (Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago).

prominent artist during the course of his subsequent journey through Italy. In the 1643-1647 period he was in Rome. There he enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphili, who in 1644 ascended to the papacy as Innocent X. It was in his honour that Weenix adopted the name "Giovanni Battista." Upon his return to the Netherlands, Weenix established himself in Utrecht as a painter of Italianate landscapes and harbour scenes. Later, he also pioneered the game still life, which became the mainstay of the careers of his son Jan Weenix and nephew Melchior d'Hondecoeter. Scattered throughout his oeuvre are a few portraits.

Weenix's distinctive rendering of figures is evident even in the staffage that animates his Italian harbour scenes. Casting the figures in a hard light, Weenix accentuates the rounded forms of their flesh and features, generating a dramatic play of contrasts. This brilliant effect appears in a number of his portraits as well, most notably the signed *Portrait of René Descartes*, presently in Utrecht, which dates to 1648, just before the philosopher's departure for Sweden (see fig. 138b).<sup>2</sup> This work's vibrant energy is further played up in the costume, whose undulating lines and edges are frequently emphasized by contrasting tones. The present portrait, which incorporates some free and visible brushstrokes, shows a closely comparable handling, confirming Weenix's authorship and a date of around the same period.

When this oil on copper was sold from the collection of Sir John Ramsden in 1930, it was accompanied by a pendant portrait, slightly larger but on the same support, featuring a man in a black hat (fig. 194a).<sup>3</sup> The subject of this second portrait, which is now in Chicago, is clearly younger than the man shown here, yet shares certain of his features, including the sharply chiselled brow and nose, and finely etched lips. Typically, pendant portraits unite



Fig. 194b. Jacobus Houbraken, *Portrait of Jan Baptist Weenix*, etching, from *De Groote Schouburg der Nederlantsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen* (Amsterdam, 1718-1721).

couples, friends or members of the same family, and it is very likely that this pair represents a father and son. While there is a certain similarity between the present portrait and the one of Weenix etched by Houbraken (fig. 194b), the possibility of a self-portrait is excluded by the dating of the painting to the late 1640s, when the artist was in his late twenties. The sitter here is clearly in his forties. A possible clue – as intriguing as it is baffling – to the man's profession and perhaps his identity is supplied by the letter he holds, which bears on its outer surface the coloured outline drawings of a fish and what appears to be an alembic.

1. For Weenix's biography, see Houbraken, vol. 2, pp. 77-83; Rebecca Jean Ginnings, "The Art of Jan Baptist Weenix and Jan Weenix," dissertation, University of Delaware, 1970; and, most recently, Martin Jan Bok, in exhib. cat. San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998, pp. 390-391.
2. See collection cat. Utrecht 1999, vol. B, pp. 1505-1506, no. 687 (colour ill.). See also Wolfgang Stechow, "Jan Baptist Weenix," *Art Quarterly* 11 (1948), pp. 194-195 (fig. 13).
3. See Von Moltke 1938-1939, p. 492, no. F17 (as not by Jan de Bray). ♦





195.

Jan Jansz. Westerbaen I (The Hague around 1600 – The Hague 1686)

*Portrait of a Woman*

1645

Oil on panel, 69.3 × 57.3 cm

Traces of a signature, and a date of 1645, middle right

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

PROVENANCE

New York, with Central Picture Galleries; Kenilworth, Illinois, with Harry Judson Moore; purchased by Alfred Bader around 1972 (as by Jacob Adriaensz. Backer)

LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol.3, p. 1716, no. 1159, p. 1740 (ill., as by Paulus de Lesire)

JAN JANSZ. WESTERBAEN I was likely born in The Hague around 1600, the son of the rope manufacturer Jan Jacobsz. Westerbaen. He embarked on his artistic training in 1619, entering the studio of Evert Quirijnsz. van der Maes (around 1577-1646/47) in his native city, and in 1624 he registered in the Guild of St. Luke there.<sup>1</sup> When the confraternity of painters known as *Pictura* was established in The Hague in 1656, he was one of its founding members.<sup>2</sup> His brother was the famous poet Jacob Westerbaen, and his sister Anna married the Haarlem painter Salomon de Bray. In their strong light effects Westerbaen's earliest signed and dated works, executed during the 1640s, betray the influence of Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), principal portraitist at the court of The Hague. However, they also echo the monochromatic palette of Anthonie Palamedesz. (1601-1673), who was active in nearby Delft.

The stiff, three-quarter pose seen here follows a formula applied by Westerbaen in several portraits of women, including one dated 1649, last in Mainz,<sup>3</sup> and the *Portrait of Anna van Steenborch* of 1653 now in Zwolle.<sup>4</sup> The costume – which combines a deep collar, or *labaar*, a white shift underneath a black dress with a stiff front, or *vlieger*, and a hairpiece worn with a loose coiffure – also accords with these other portraits, pointing to a local fashion. The thin necklace in this work reflects a greater sense of modesty than the rows of pearls worn by the other sitters. Westerbaen has described with some intensity such details as the patterns in the lace, using fine strokes together with scratches that reveal the dark underlayers. He has also distinguished sensitively between the textures of transparent lace, soft flesh and thin, wavy locks of hair. The strong fall of light on the background, dividing it into light and dark areas, is characteristic of the artist's work from before 1650. Although the thin layers of colour applied in the areas of flesh reflect an established Dutch tradition, the freedom of description and brushstroke also reveals knowledge of the contemporary Haarlem school. There have been former attributions to Jacob Adriaensz. Backer and Paulus Lesire,<sup>5</sup> but Westerbaen's authorship is confirmed by the remains of a signature (accompanied by a date of 1645) discovered during a 1980s cleaning.<sup>6</sup>

1. See exhib. cat. The Hague 1998, p. 265.

2. Ibid.

3. Jan Jansz. Westerbaen I, *Portrait of a Woman*, oil on panel, 71.5 × 60 cm, signed and dated 1649, Mainz, private collection; see *Werke alter Meister aus Privatbesitz* (Mainz: Johan Gutenberg-Universität, Kunstgeschichtliches Institut, 1968), pp. 198-199, no. 95 (ill.).

4. Jan Jansz. Westerbaen I, *Portrait of Anna van Steenborch (1631-1668)*, 1653, oil on panel, 80 × 63.5 cm. Zwolle, Museum de Fundatie.

5. The attribution to Paulus Lesire was first proposed in a letter of 8 January 1983 from Werner Sumowski to Alfred Bader; Bader Collection work files.

6. This discovery was first reported in a letter of 28 April 1986 from Alfred Bader to Werner Sumowski; Bader Collection work files. The letter also mentions that the attribution to Westerbaen had already been proposed verbally by Rudi Ekkart to Alfred Bader. ♦





196.

Jacob de Wet the Younger (Haarlem around 1641/42 – Haarlem 1697)

*The Angel Leaving Tobias and His Family*

Around 1672

Oil on panel, 47 × 66.7 cm

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, gift of Alfred and Isabel Bader, 1991, acc. no. 34-020.15

#### PROVENANCE

Possibly Amsterdam, inventory of Hendrick de Meyeringh, 25 July 1687 (as "De Engels opvoering van Tobias door Jacobus de Wet de Jongere [The Ascension of the Angel away from Tobias by Jacobus de Wet the Younger]");<sup>1</sup> sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 10 November 1983, lot 2221 (pl. 58, as by Jacob de Wet the Elder, "Scene from the story of Tobias"), purchased by Alfred Bader; Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### LITERATURE

Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2727, 2731 note 49, p. 2755 (colour ill.)

IN THIS PAINTING, Jacob de Wet the Younger has depicted a moment that occurs near the end of the apocryphal Book of Tobit (12:20-21), when the angel Raphael takes his leave of Tobias and his family. Raphael had accompanied the young Tobias on a long journey, offering him constant divine assistance along the way and seeing him safely back home. He had played his role of companion in disguise, however, masquerading as the friendly young kinsman Azarius. His task complete, he reveals himself to Tobias and his family as an angel and ascends into heaven, leaving them with a parting admonition: "Now therefore give God thanks: for I go up to him that sent me; but write all things which are done in a book."

De Wet has set the scene just outside the family's house, which can be seen in the background to the right. Tobias's father Tobit is seated on the front step, while his son stands behind him. Tobit's wife Anna appears in the right foreground with her daughter-in-law Sarah at her side, although the latter's presence is not mentioned in the text. The two clutch each other and look up in awe at Raphael in flight. The dog that had accompanied Tobias and the angel on their entire journey is just discernible in the lower right corner of the composition.

With this picture the artist was selecting a theme that was firmly established in 17th-century Dutch history painting. With its motif of the angel rising to heaven, the scene adapted the even older traditions focusing on the ascensions of Jesus and Mary. Most Dutch portrayals of Raphael's departure were nonetheless independent of these strongly Catholic altarpiece themes, and the subject was also favoured by Protestant artists, including Rembrandt. De Wet inherited a strong loyalty to Rembrandt from his better-known father (also called Jacob), a prolific painter who was profoundly influenced by the master and may have studied with him.<sup>2</sup> This possible apprenticeship would have taken place while Rembrandt was still in Leiden, since the senior De Wet's small scenes are based on Rembrandt's work from the 1629-1631 period. He emulated Rembrandt's example in compositions characterized by motion, gesture, emotion and compelling effects of light and dark, as well as – most importantly – a small figure scale. His son took up this style and, as is evident here, modernized it with the addition of a smooth finish and sinuous reflective highlights in the drapery. The composition and figures of this work link it closely to the younger De Wet's depiction of *Moses Striking the Water from the Rock*, which is signed and dated 1672, confirming the attribution and indicating a similar date.<sup>3</sup>

Aside from the angel, all the figures pictured convey a vivid sense of astonishment. Tobias, arms outstretched, gazes up in wonder at Raphael, while Tobit clasps his hands together in reverence. Although the old man is turning his head away, he cannot resist casting his eyes upon the ascending angel. The dramatic hand and arm gestures follow the Rembrandt model. For the angel's dynamic forward flight De Wet likely looked either to Rembrandt's 1637 painting of the same subject, now in the Louvre (see fig. 76b),<sup>4</sup> or the etching,<sup>5</sup> although he has turned the complex foreshortened view into a simple profile. Like Rembrandt, De Wet has depicted clouds opening up for the angel's passage to heaven. The sharply lit group of figures set against a dark background also shows the master's influence, and the kneeling boy in the foreground serves as a repoussoir – a device employed by Rembrandt and his circle that came to them from Caravaggio by way of the Italian's Dutch followers in Utrecht. Jacob de Wet's work is a reminder that even in the face of changing fashions a number of artists continued Rembrandt's legacy in the decades following his death.

1. Bredius 1915-1922, vol. 1, p. 335, no. 6.

2. See Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, p. 2723, and Guido Janssen, in exhib. cat. Amsterdam and Groningen 1983, p. 81.

3. Jacob de Wet the Younger, *Moses Striking the Water from the Rock*, 1672, oil on panel, 73 × 103 cm, signed, Germany, private collection; see Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 4, pp. 2728, 2731 note 50, p. 2754 (colour ill.). On the connection with the present picture, see pp. 2727-2728.

4. See Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 3, pp. 232-241, no. A121 (ill.).

5. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Angel Leaving Tobias and His Family*, 1641, etching and drypoint on laid paper, 4 states, 10.3 × 14.1 cm; see Hollstein, vol. 18, pp. 21-22, no. B43, and vol. 19 (figs. B43/I-B43/IV). ♦





197.

Thomas Wijck

(Beverwijck, near Haarlem 1616 – Haarlem 1677)

*The Alchemist and Death*

1660s or 1670s

Oil on panel, 55 × 49 cm

Signed lower right: *TWijck*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE<sup>1</sup>

Exeter, collection of L.L.D. Phillips; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 28 November 1967, lot 137, purchased by Alfred Bader

#### LITERATURE

Alfred Bader, "Chemistry and Art," *Aldrichimica Acta* 1, no. 1 (1968), p. 6 (cover ill.); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 20, no. 1 (1987), p. 1 (fig. 1); Russell Corbett 2004, *passim*.

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

West Lafayette 1992, pp. 18–19 (ill., and colour ill. on cover); Kingston 1996–1997, pp. 88–89, no. 37 (ill.)

WHEN THOMAS WIJCK registered in the St. Luke's Guild of Haarlem in 1642 and when he married in that city in 1644, he described himself as coming from the nearby village of Beverwijck.<sup>2</sup> His year of birth was given as 1616 by Houbraken, who also reported that Wijck travelled to Italy, where he observed the scenes of streets, city squares and harbours that appear in his paintings.<sup>3</sup> Wijck's training is not documented, but appears to have taken place in Haarlem under Adriaen van Ostade. His Italian journey has generally been dated to the late 1630s. However, because his early Italianate drawings regularly borrow from the work of other artists who travelled to Italy, it has been suggested that he never visited Rome himself and that he was not, as has been maintained, the artist recorded there in 1640 as "Tomaso Fiammingo, pittore" (Thomas the Fleming, painter).<sup>4</sup> As both Albert Blankert and Bernhard Schnackenburg have observed, Wijck's early paintings consistently emulate those of Van Ostade and show little evidence of a transformative journey.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Peter Schatborn points out that some of the artist's Italianate drawings show different views of the same site, offering strong evidence of his presence in the country, possibly

during the 1650s.<sup>6</sup> Wijck subsequently established himself in Haarlem, serving repeatedly as commissioner and deacon of its St. Luke's Guild between 1658 and 1663, and again from 1668 to 1676.<sup>7</sup> During the interim he spent several years in England.

In recounting Wijck's activity in England, George Vertue singled out his depictions of alchemists, connecting these works to the interest in this practice that flourished at the court of Charles II.<sup>8</sup> Vertue may have been partly influenced by Houbraken, who praised Wijck for his "Laboratories, or Goldmaker's shops, with their furnaces, crucibles, pans, flasks and an unthinkable variety of apparatus having to do with distillation, and similar objects, all this is so cleverly conceived, so artfully arranged, so surely drawn and fluidly painted with lively touches and glowing light that his art deserves to fetch a higher price than it currently does."<sup>9</sup> Wijck seems to have turned to this specialty later in his career, and it may possibly have dominated his output at the time of his English sojourn. No survey of his paintings on the theme of alchemy exists, but those in the world's major public collections alone number in the dozens.

The present painting is one such depiction. However, as Jane



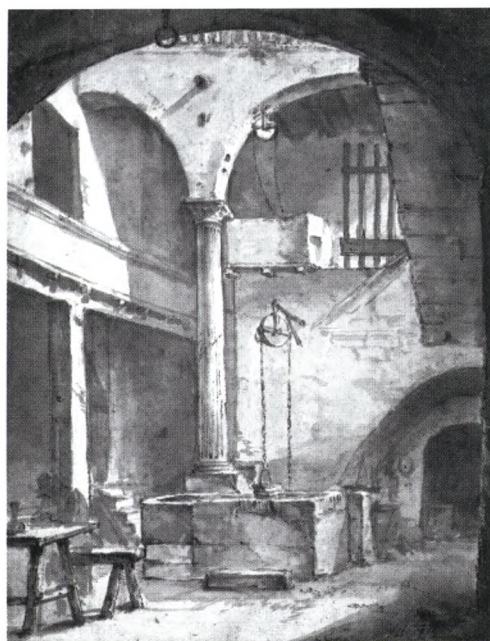


Fig. 197a. Thomas Wijck, *An Italian Courtyard with a Well*, pen and brown ink and brown and grey wash, 37.9 × 27.6 cm, signed. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-T-1898-A-3606.

Russell Corbett has observed in her monographic article on the picture, it diverges markedly from Wijck's usual treatment of the theme.<sup>10</sup> Typically, Wijck created cluttered compositions showing alchemists surrounded by books and other scholarly attributes, with the tools of the profession present but not emphasized. These scenes, which are a development of the Dutch tradition of interior genre scenes, carry only a touch of the negatively moralizing overtone originating with the famous print after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, which warned against the folly of alchemy and the impoverishment seen as its inevitable result (see fig. 145a).<sup>11</sup> Here, many of Wijck's usual elements are in place, including a still near the open door in the background. But the artist has added a curious scene of divination or necromancy at the lower right and, high above, a fantastic vision of dark clouds with shafts of light pouring in from the right. Apparently suspended in mid-air are an hourglass and a leather folio adorned with several seals at either end. In the centre, complementing this apparition, is a skeleton brandishing a trumpet. To the left, a figure seated at a desk reacts with an expression of shock that is mirrored in the face of the boy to the right, performing the ritual. Eighteenth-century sale records refer to another Wijck painting featuring an alchemist and death, but the scene of ritual pictured here is without precedent and without clear explanation.<sup>12</sup>

Several attempts have been made to decode this image. For instance, it has been identified as a scene from the life of the English alchemist, mathematician and mystic John Dee.<sup>13</sup> However, there is no precise parallel, and in the context of Wijck's relatively conventional practice a more straightforward interpretation is more likely. The scene to the lower right clearly depicts an occult practice, perhaps necromancy. A skull and crossed bones lie on the floor, a lit candle accompanies the ritual and a book with

symbolic figures is propped up to the right. As Russell Corbett explains, the fact that the celebrant is a boy reflects the belief that the young and pure are more sensitive to spiritual revelations.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps also significant is the fact that the members of the Schildersbent – the group of Northern artists working in Rome to which Wijck probably belonged – amused themselves with quasi-occult ceremonies, some of which were depicted by the artist-initiate Dominicus van Wijnen.<sup>15</sup>

The dramatic apparition near the ceiling seems to be a Christian response to the immoral ritual taking place below. The hourglass and the figure of death with a trumpet both accord with the *vanitas* tradition, with its warning against the futility of the here and now in the face of the divine, and its concomitant recommendation of a virtuous and modest life. A second and much larger hourglass to the upper left seems to be part of the vision, for it too appears to be floating in mid-air. The most likely explanation for the folio with the seals is as an allusion to the Apocalypse described in the Book of Revelation, which speaks of a scroll sealed with seven seals (Revelation 5:1-2).<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately the number of seals is not clear in Wijck's picture, although there are at least five. The skeleton with its trumpet could be a reference to the proclaiming angel mentioned in the same biblical passage.

The apocalyptic revelation appears to be directed primarily at the figure on the left. Russell Corbett has suggested that this figure is also a boy of about twelve, whose youth qualifies him to see the vision.<sup>17</sup> However, his fleshy, rather rumpled features and stocky physique suggest adulthood. He is also clearly distinguished from the boy to the right by his costume – a robe and turban-like hat that give him a scholarly look. Most importantly, however, he remains seated at the desk, while the boy carries out the work. In multi-figured scenes of alchemy, including the print by Bruegel, this seated position is typically reserved for the master of the workshop. In fact, there appears to be no real departure here from the conventional representation of an alchemist in his workshop: the man has simply been rendered in a livelier, less detailed way in an effort to express the drama in which he is involved. Although the alchemist is often portrayed as an innocuous character, this one has evidently gone too far and is paying the price. Wijck's innovation lies in his allusion to spiritual alchemy and his incorporation of an orthodox spiritual response: Christian truth defeats occult superstition.

The interior of the workshop is grander than in Wijck's other treatments of the theme, befitting the magnitude of the events taking place. The arched openings, the well with its bucket and the column all appear to be derived from a drawing of a courtyard, now in Amsterdam, that Wijck likely made while in Rome (fig. 197a).<sup>18</sup> The details to the left are mostly drawn from Adriaen van Ostade's interior scenes, while the skeleton trumpeter recalls the figures of Death from Hans Holbein the Younger's *Dance of Death* series, published in Lyons in 1538.<sup>19</sup> Lastly, the surprised alchemist derives from another print by Holbein from the same series – *The Rich Man*<sup>20</sup> – a connection that further underscores the moralizing intention behind this painting.



1. This painting closely approximates the descriptions of a work that appeared in three Dutch sales during the 18th century. However, the decisive difference in dimensions makes it clear that they are two separate works: J. A. Sichterman sale, Groningen, 20 August 1764 (Lugt 1401), lot 37; P. Lyonet sale, Amsterdam (Bunel, Van der Schley, Ploos van Amstel and Yver), 11 April 1791 (Lugt 4706), lot 299 (as by T. Wyk, "In een gemeubileerd Studeervertrek, ziet men een Filosooph zittende voor zyn Lessenaar omringt met Papieren en Boeken; hy schynt met verschrikking op te zien, naar de Doot die hem een bynaar afgeloopen uurglas aanwyst: op de grond staan Koffers, eenige Boeken en Papieren en verder bywerk; alles is kragtig en meesterlyk gepenceeld op panel [In a furnished study, one sees a Philosopher sitting in front of his lectern surrounded by papers and books; he appears to look fearfully up to Death, who shows him an Hourglass nearly run out; on the floor are chests, some books, papers and further accessories; everything is powerfully and masterfully brushed on panel]," 16 × 14 *duim* [41.1 × 36 cm]); sale, Leiden (A. Delfos), 19-20 October 1792 (Lugt 4953), lot 15 (as by T. Wych, "Een Geleerde in zyn Boekvertrek, die van de dood verrast word [A Scholar in his library, who is being surprised by Death]," panel, 16 × 14 *duim* [41.1 × 36 cm]).
2. See Van der Willigen 1870, p. 342.
3. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 16.
4. A. Busiri-Vici, "Porti, piazzette, casolari di Roma e dintorni di Tomaso Fiammingo," *L'Urbe* 41, no. 4 (1978), pp. 9-14.
5. Blankert 1978, p. 144; Bernhard Schnackenburg, "Die Anfänge von Thomas Adriaensz. Wijck (um 1620-1677) als Zeichner und Maler," *Oud Holland* 106 (1992), pp. 143-156.
6. See exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2001, p. 120.
7. See Miedema 1980, vol. 2, pp. 543, 655, 659, 673-675.
8. See Vertue V, p. 43. His comment was reiterated by Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. 4, reprint edition (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 234.
9. Houbraken, vol. 2, p. 17: "...ook Laboratorien, of Coudmakeryen, met hun fornuizen, kroezen, pannen, glazen, en eene onbedenkelyke menigte van gereedschappen tot de stokery behoorende, en dergelyke voorwerpen: die alle zoo geestig van hem bedagt, konstig geschikt, vast geteekend, vet, toetsende, en gloeiende geschildert zyn, dat dezelve Konst een hooger prys verdient, dan zy thans gelden mag."
10. See Russell Corbett 2004, p. 165.
11. See Van Bastelaer 1992, pp. 263-265, no. 197 (ill.), and exhib. cat. Kingston 1996-1997, pp. 82-83, no. 34 (ill.). On the satirical tradition for depicting alchemists, see Russell Corbett 2004, pp. 164-165.
12. See the descriptions in note 1.
13. John Dee published a number of treatises, in which he generally expanded upon the Christian tradition with numerous quasi-biblical revelations and explanations, all of which attempted on the surface to adhere to the Christian tradition and its doctrines, while adding elements of mysticism and alchemy. In one such treatise he published an exchange with Edward Kelley, which included many revelations and lengthy explanations: *A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits*, Meric Casaubon, ed. (London: T. Garthwait, 1659).
14. Russell Corbett 2004, p. 171.
15. For example Matthijs Pool, after Dominicus van Wijnen, *Initiation of a New Member of the Schildersbent*, etching; see exhib. cat. Cologne and Utrecht 1991-1992, p. 16 (ill.).
16. Russell Corbett 2004, p. 167.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
18. See exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2001, pp. 117-118 (colour ill., fig. B).
19. Hans Lützeburger, after Hans Holbein the Younger, *A Cemetery (Dance of Death, No. 5)*, around 1525-1526, woodcut, 6.5 × 5 cm; see German Hollstein, vol. 14a, pp. 202-203 (ill.). The series was published in Lyons in 1538 by J. & F. Frellon.
20. Hans Lützeburger, after Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Rich Man (Dance of Death, No. 28)*, around 1525-1526, woodcut, 6.5 × 5 cm; see German Hollstein, vol. 14a, p. 202. ♦



198.

Johannes van Wijckersloot

(Utrecht around 1625/30 – Amsterdam 1687)

*Two Boys with a Skull: Allegory of Vanitas*

Around 1665

Oil on canvas

102 × 81.6 cm

Remains of an inscription, and possibly a signature, on the piece of paper lower left

Milwaukee, collection of Isabel and Alfred Bader

#### PROVENANCE

London, with Thomas Agnew & Son; London, with Malcolm Waddingham; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1970

#### LITERATURE

Supplement "The Art Market," *Burlington Magazine*, December 1969 (pl. 34, as by Circle of Salomon de Bray); Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 3, no. 4 (1971), p. 2 (cover ill.)

THIS ASTONISHING IMAGE is dominated by a young man in profile, his expression and pose both extremely sober. His mind is clearly focused on the skull before him, where it sits on the balustrade over which he drapes a limp hand. To the left, peering past him and out at the viewer, is a young boy whose brooding face betrays a similar mood of melancholy. Just in front of the skull, a striped tulip completes the *vanitas* reminder of the brevity and insignificance of earthly life. To the left, a piece of paper hangs over the edge of the balustrade, bearing the remains of an inscription that almost certainly underscored this moralizing





Fig. 198a. Johannes van Wijckersloot, *Portrait of Wernard van Velthuysen*, 1665, oil on canvas, 113 x 90 cm, signed. Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 2261.



Fig. 198b. Johannes van Wijckersloot, *Allegorical Self-portrait*, 1669, oil on canvas, 114 x 91 cm. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. 1565.



Fig. 198c. Johannes van Wijckersloot, *Allegory on the French Invasion of 1672*, 1672, oil on canvas, 43 x 37.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-4910.

message. It is a message rendered even more poignant by the two figures' flamboyant and fanciful garb, which signals their youth. The carefree, confident attitude of the young was often the target of such edifying reminders of mortality in literature and art.

When this painting first resurfaced in the late 1960s, it was tentatively associated with such artists as Salomon de Bray and Leendert van der Cooghen.<sup>1</sup> B. J. Renckens was the first to propose the name of the little-known Utrecht painter Johannes van Wijckersloot.<sup>2</sup> Both the smooth facture and the distinctive stylization of the hand link the work closely to a signed portrait by the artist from 1665, now in Utrecht (fig. 198a).<sup>3</sup> Van Wijckersloot was born into a family of artists, although his father had given up the profession in favour of the grain trade practised by his in-laws. Johannes registered with the sculptor's guild in 1640, but eventually exchanged the chisel for the brush.<sup>4</sup> His teacher is not known, but his monumental and smoothly finished handling of the figure points to the studio of the De Bray family in Haarlem. The Italianized form of his signature on a depiction of *Jesus before Pilate*<sup>5</sup> suggests that he also benefited from a journey to Italy, and the sensual handling and strong chiaroscuro in the present painting are reminiscent of the manner of Michiel Sweerts, whose work Van Wijckersloot may have encountered there.<sup>6</sup> Upon his return he established himself in his native city, serving several times between 1658 and 1670 as head and dean of the painters' guild and likely hosting their meetings in the years following the French invasion of 1672. Financial upheaval in Utrecht around this time necessitated the sale of various properties belonging to the artist, and around 1686 he moved to Amsterdam, where he died the following year.

Johannes van Wijckersloot's reputation rests on a small number of allegorical paintings that stand out from contemporary works for their complexity and originality. Best known is his *Allegorical*

*Self-portrait*, in Leipzig (fig. 198b), in which references to folly and *vanitas* are contrasted with models of beauty represented by two antique sculptures.<sup>7</sup> In his characteristically elegant right hand, the artist holds a complex arrangement that includes a spiral of paper bearing an eye and a pair of spectacles, both challenging the viewer to "see" the scene's meaning. The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns two other genre depictions by the artist that incorporate similarly complex allusions, one of which has been demonstrated to symbolize the need to appoint William III as stadholder in the face of the attack by the Triple Alliance in the summer of 1672 (fig. 198c).<sup>8</sup> Van Wijckersloot developed an iconographic approach that remains unique among his contemporaries and that is recognizable in the present painting, lending additional support to its attribution to this artist.

1. See 1969 under Literature at the head of this entry. That article also cites an attribution to Leendert van der Cooghen suggested by Seymour Slive.
2. Note by B. J. Renckens from the 1970s, with the photograph at the RKD.
3. See exhib. cat. Leipzig and Munich 1998-2000, p. 174 (ill.).
4. Information on the artist's life has been taken from Bok and Jansen 1995, pp. 338-343, which includes a full biography.
5. Johannes van Wijckersloot, *Jesus before Pilate*, oil on canvas, 162 x 138 cm, signed, sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 22 May 1990, lot 53 (colour ill.).
6. Bok and Jansen 1995, p. 341.
7. See exhib. cat. Leipzig and Munich 1998-2000, pp. 172-174, no. 1/121 (colour ill.). Regarding its iconography, see Bok and Jansen 1995, pp. 343-345.
8. See Bok and Jansen 1995, pp. 337-338. ◆





199.

Emanuel de Witte (Alkmaar 1617 – Amsterdam 1692)

*Interior of the Old Church in Amsterdam with the Memorial for Captain Cornelis Jansz. de Haan*

1655

Oil on canvas, 59.5 × 48.5 cm

Signed and dated lower left: *E. de Witte A° 1655*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Sale, collection of Jan Palthe, Leiden, 20 March 1770 (Lugt 1811), lot 62 (as "Een Kerk van binnen te zien, met veel Stoffage, alles schoon en konstig geschilderd door E. De Wit [A Church Interior, with much Staffage, everything beautifully and artistically painted by E. de Wit], hoog 23, breed 19 duim [59.6 x 49.2 cm]"); sale, Amsterdam (Jan de Bosch et al.), 13 July 1785 (Lugt 3919), lot 6 (as "Een gedeelte der Oude Kerk van binnen te zien, met eenige beelden gestoffeerd, dit stuk is van eene goede uitwerking van licht en donker, en door Emanuel de Wit [A part of the Old Church seen from inside, enriched with several figures; this piece shows a good articulation of light and shadow and is by Emanuel de Wit], hoog 23, breed 19 duym. [59.6 x 49.2 cm]"); collection of Francis Gibson, by around 1830; Clifton, Bristol collection of the Hon. Lewis Fry; sale, London (Christie's), 15 April 1983, lot 76 (ill.), purchased by Alfred Bader

EMANUEL DE WITTE ranks as one of the 17th century's most prominent specialists of the church interior. He may have acquired the technical foundation for his favoured genre from his father Peter de Wit, a schoolteacher, whom Houbraken described as being accomplished in geometry and rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> The artist trained initially in his native city of Alkmaar and joined the St. Luke's Guild there, but must have developed his interest in architectural interiors during his years in Delft, possibly inspired by the work of Pieter Saenredam and Carel Fabritius.<sup>2</sup> He first arrived in Delft in 1637, studying there for two years under Evert van Aelst<sup>3</sup> before leaving for Rotterdam in 1639.<sup>4</sup> The following year he returned to Delft, where his marriage and the birth of two children are recorded.<sup>5</sup> Around 1651 De Witte moved to Amsterdam, where he spent the rest of his life.<sup>6</sup> Besides church interiors, De Witte also painted genre and market scenes, and a number of portraits. Although he was respected as an artist, receiving high prices for his work and winning several major commissions, he adopted a standard of living that was evidently beyond his means and soon slid into financial troubles from which he never recovered. In 1658 his daughter and his second wife were found guilty of systematic theft from a neighbour, although De Witte himself was not implicated.<sup>7</sup> He nonetheless

declared bankruptcy shortly thereafter and appears to have entered into a short-lived arrangement to produce paintings for a dealer. In 1683 he received a commission from Engel de Ruyter for a depiction of the grave of his famous father, Admiral Michiel de Ruyter.<sup>8</sup> However, De Witte's problems proved insurmountable: according to Houbraken, he ended his own life in a fit of pique after being evicted by his landlord for unpaid rent.<sup>9</sup>

More than his oeuvre, it was De Witte's stormy and recalcitrant character that drew the particular attention of Arnold Houbraken in his early 18th-century publication combining biographies of Dutch artists and art theory. Houbraken called the artist a latter-day Diogenes, characterizing him as arrogant and extremely abusive of his fellow man. The biographer relates a particularly low attack on Gérard de Lairesse (Houbraken's hero) that targeted his facial disfigurement.<sup>10</sup> It seems likely that Houbraken was also interested in the artist's apparently independent religious stance. De Witte is known to have been a Catholic, but Houbraken reports that during religious discussions he would claim that by the age of fifteen "the scales had fallen from his eyes"<sup>11</sup> – almost certainly (given the tenor of Houbraken's book) an allusion to the adoption of a rationalist viewpoint. Houbraken himself was a freethinking deist but



strove to propagate his radical views prudently and via the most elevated forms of discussion and explanation.<sup>12</sup> He no doubt scorned De Witte for bringing this ideological position into discredit by his extremely bad behaviour.

Upon his arrival in Amsterdam in the early 1650s, De Witte began to paint a series of views of the interior of its Oude Kerk, or Old Church. Situated at the focal point of the city's Oude Zijde (Old Side), to the east of the Damrak, this wooden-roofed Gothic *Hallenkirche* (hall church) originated in the 14th century but incorporated numerous later additions. A short while before De Witte's arrival, the city had commissioned a memorial (likely from architect Pieter de Keyser) to the pirate-hero Cornelis Jansz., alias *De Haan* or *'t Haentje*, to adorn the southeast column of the church's transept. De Haan had perished in September 1633 at the Battle of Dunkirk, but not before capturing seven Spanish ships for the Dutch flag.<sup>13</sup> De Witte included this monument in at least six of his paintings.<sup>14</sup> Of all these, the present composition displays it with the greatest prominence and detail, including its painted scene of De Haan's final triumph.<sup>15</sup>

De Witte's accurate view to the northwest also includes the pulpit, where a minister can be seen preaching during a service. Below him is seated a large congregation, the tops of their heads just visible above the screen. To the far left prominent citizens enjoy a better view from a box, for which they would have paid an extra fee. The artist has enlivened the foreground with figure groups and several elegant hounds darting among them. This scene is one of the artist's most animated, displaying many elements of his other specialty, genre painting. The image's perspective also contributes to its dynamic quality, with receding diagonal lines articulating the view down the nave and carrying the eye into the picture – a contrast with the more static, head-on view offered by most of De Witte's interiors.

The complex compositional arrangement of this work creates the kind of abstract surface pattern that is typical of De Witte, exemplifying this artist's singular contribution to the art of his age. Heightening the effect here is the pale background, featuring an aisle bathed in the light that streams in through high windows. The way elements in the fore- and mid-ground are cast in dimmer light and set off against this luminous backdrop may well have been adapted from the work of Carel Fabritius, which De Witte could have seen in Delft.

1. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 282.
2. Wheelock dismisses Manke's hypothesis of the influence of Carel Fabritius, based on the supposition that Fabritius did not arrive in Delft until De Witte had already left for Amsterdam. Instead, he posits Saenredam as a model; see Wheelock 1975, pp. 170–185. However, it seems likely that Fabritius and De Witte overlapped in Delft for around a year (1650–1651), allowing for the former's influence; see Manke 1963, p. 1.
3. On De Witte as a pupil of Evert van Aelst in Delft in 1637–1639, see Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 283, and Wheelock 1975, p. 170.
4. Manke 1963, p. 1.
5. Ibid.
6. On De Witte's Amsterdam period, see Manke 1963, pp. 1–6, and Isabella Henrietta van Eeghen, "De Familiestukken van Metsu van 1657 en van De Witte van 1678 met vier levensgeschiedenissen (Gillis Valckenier, Nicolaes Listingh, Jan Zeeuw en Catherine van de Perre)," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 68 (1976), pp. 87–91.
7. Manke 1963, pp. 2–3.
8. Ibid., pp. 5–6.
9. Houbraken, vol. 1, pp. 286–287.
10. Ibid., pp. 284–285.
11. Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 282; see also Horn 2000, p. 400.
12. On the development of Houbraken's rationalist viewpoint, see Horn 2000, pp. 28–65.
13. The little that is known of Cornelis Jansz.'s life and exploits is recorded on this monument (the Latin is by Caspar Barlaeus):  
VIRTUTI AC FAMAE  
Fortissimi Ducis  
CORNELII IOHANNIS,  
cognomento CALLI,  
Monumentum hoc posuerunt Directores  
& vindices Oceani Septentrionalis.

Adspice spectator nostrae miracula gentis,  
Gestaque victrici bella stupenda manu.  
Hic jacet, Eoum qui duxit vela per orbem,  
Atque Arabum Hesperio sanguine tinxit aquas.  
Quem modo praedatrix potuit Dyuinkerka timere.

*HIER RUST DE HELDT DIE VAN ZIJN VLIANDTS SCHEPEN IN ZEVEN MAEL  
QUAM ZEVEN VLAGEN SLEPEN, EN GAF VOOR 'T LAEST OP TWEE ZOO DAP-  
PER VONK, DAT D'EENE VLOOD EN D'ANDER BY HEM ZONK.*

[The Governors and Defenders of the North Sea have established this monument to the Courage and Fame of the most fearless commander Cornelius Johannes, nicknamed The Little Rooster.

Behold, viewer, the marvels of our nation and the wars waged with a victorious, amazing hand. Here he lies, he who led his sails through the Eastern part of the world and who stained the waters of the Arabs with Spanish blood. Whom at one time the plunderer Dunkirk could fear.

Here rests the hero who in seven encounters with enemy ships took seven flags and shone so valiantly with the last two that one fled and he sank the other.]

My thanks to Franziska Cottwald and Bernard Kavanagh for kindly providing a translation of the Latin.

14. The five other known views are: 1661, oil on canvas, 102 × 120 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Oude Kerk (see Manke 1963, p. 89, no. 50 [fig. 50]); around 1657, oil on canvas, 64.5 × 72.5 cm, signed, Scheveningen, collection of P. M. Kerdel (see Manke 1963, p. 92, no. 62 [fig. 31]); 1659, oil on canvas, 60.5 × 75.5 cm, signed, Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. 202 (see Manke 1963, p. 94, no. 70 [fig. 38]); similar version to the preceding, London, collection of Mrs. Emrys-Evans (see Manke 1963, p. 94, no. 71); and around 1654, oil on panel, 43 × 33 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Wetzlar collection (see Manke 1963, p. 106, no. 118 [fig. 27]).
15. Although Ilse Manke did not include the present painting in her monograph (Manke 1963), she confirmed its attribution in a certificate dated 2 January 1976, at Ludwigsburg; Bader Collection work files. ♦





200.

Moyses van Wtenbrouck

(The Hague around 1600 – The Hague 1646/47)

*Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*

1623

Oil on panel, 51.4 × 88.9 cm

Monogrammed and dated lower left: *M. V. WBR 1623*

Milwaukee, collection of Alfred and Isabel Bader

#### PROVENANCE

Amsterdam, with P. de Boer; Zurich, with Kurt Meissner; Switzerland, private collection; The Hague, Galerie Hoogsteder; purchased by Alfred Bader in 1971

#### LITERATURE

Weisner 1964, p. 214 (fig. 19), p. 224, no. 52; Alfred Bader, in *Aldrichimica Acta* 4, no. 3 (1971), inside cover (cover ill., as *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*)

#### EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Sacramento 1974, p. 116–117, no. 31 (ill.); Milwaukee 1976, pp. 44–45, no. 17 (ill.); Kingston 1984, pp. 8–9, no. 4 (ill.)

#### COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Milwaukee 1974, unpaginated, no. 27 (ill.)

MOYSES VAN WTENBROUCK is generally seen as peripheral to the group of painters surrounding the Amsterdam painter Pieter Lastman, who came to be known as the Pre-Rembrandtists because of the impact of their style and iconography on Rembrandt's subsequent career.<sup>1</sup> Van Wtenbrouck, however, worked in The Hague, not Amsterdam. It has traditionally been assumed that it was in Italy that he acquired his penchant for Old Testament themes, rich landscape settings and small idealizing figures,<sup>2</sup> but there is no documentation relating to his training or travel. Born probably around 1600 in The Hague, the son of Matheus van Wtenbrouck, Moyses had a brother, Jan (around 1585–before 1651), who also became a painter in their native city.<sup>3</sup> Moyses registered with the St. Luke's Guild in The Hague in 1620, at the age of about twenty.<sup>4</sup> He could not have studied with Adam Elsheimer in Rome, as once thought, because he was probably only around ten years old when Elsheimer died.<sup>5</sup> It was almost certainly the Dutch followers of Elsheimer, the Pre-Rembrandtists, who shaped his development. Van Wtenbrouck established himself as a painter in the city of his birth, married there in 1624 and served in 1627 as dean of its painters' guild. He is recorded as still being a member in 1638.<sup>6</sup> He produced mainly easel paintings of biblical and mythological themes, as well as some etchings. His success was such that his work was already part of the stadholder's collection by 1633, and he subsequently received commissions from the court – in 1638 for decorative scenes in the hunting palace at Honselaarsdijk, and during the 1640s for a series of mythological paintings.<sup>7</sup> He must have died by 1647, as his wife is described as a widow in a document of that year.<sup>8</sup>





Fig. 200a. Moyses van Wtenbrouck, *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, 1623, pen and brown ink on cream paper, 17.2 × 23.9 cm. Sacramento, E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, inv. 149.

Here, Van Wtenbrouck has depicted a theme for which there was no prior pictorial tradition. Chapter 32 of the Book of Genesis describes the dramatic tension that builds as the patriarch Jacob prepares to meet his brother Esau, whose birthright he had stolen years before. Informed that Esau is coming to meet him accompanied by a large body of men, and fearing attack, Jacob divides his own entourage into two groups and sends them on ahead. That night, all alone, he is visited by a man with whom he wrestles. Neither prevails, and their struggle continues until daybreak, even after Jacob is injured in the thigh. The confrontation finally ends when his opponent acquiesces to Jacob's demand for a blessing. The man then reveals himself to be an angel and declares Jacob's special status with God and mankind, bestowing on him the name of Israel.

In this image, the angel hooks his leg around Jacob's thigh – possibly an allusion to the injury he inflicts. Behind them, on the river, the two flat ferryboats laden with cattle no doubt represent Jacob's divided entourage. Van Wtenbrouck has placed the wrestling pair at the far right of the composition, exhibiting the curious tendency to position figures near the edges of the pictorial surface that is evident in much of his work, one effect of which is to emphasize the landscape setting. The artist prepared this composition thoroughly in a drawing now in Sacramento (fig. 200a).<sup>9</sup> The painting, dated 1623, reveals the artist's precocious refinement of his landscape style. The division of the pictorial space into planes of different depth, with the foreground set against forms in the middle distance, is characteristic of this phase of his work and can also be seen in the *Mythological Scene* in Basel, dated to the same year.<sup>10</sup> The lavish description of foliage and decisive rendering of the figures underscore the artist's connection with Elsheimer's Amsterdam followers, in particular Pieter Lastman. Another artist associated with the group, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, appropriated Van Wtenbrouck's figure group for his own 1639 depiction of the scene.<sup>11</sup>

1. In fact, the present painting was included in a 1974 exhibition devoted to this group; see under Exhibition Catalogues at the head of this entry.
2. Weisner 1964, p. 190.
3. Ibid., p. 189.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 190.
6. Ibid., pp. 189-190.
7. Ibid., pp. 195-196.
8. Ibid., p. 190.
9. See exhib. cat. Sacramento 1974, pp. 124-125, no. 35 (ill.).
10. Moyses van Wtenbrouck, *Mythological Scene*
11. Bartholomeus Breenbergh, *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, 1639, oil on panel, 50 × 68 cm, signed, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK-A-1724; see Roethlisberger 1980, p. 78, no. 197 (ill.). ♦



## LITERATURE

- Aikema 1989  
Bernard Aikema. "Een venetiaans schilderij van Willem Drost." *Oud Holland* 103 (1989), pp. 115-117.
- Andrews 1977  
Keith Andrews. *Adam Elsheimer*. New York: Rizzoli; Oxford: Phaidon, 1977.
- Bader 1995  
Alfred Bader. *Adventures of a Chemist Collector*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995.
- Bartsch  
Adam Bartsch. *Le peintre-graveur*, 21 vols. Vienna: J. von Degen, 1803-1821.
- Van Bastelaer 1992  
René van Bastelaer. *The Prints of Peter Bruegel the Elder: Catalogue Raisonné*. Trans. Susan Fargo Gilchrist. San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1992.
- Bauch 1926  
Kurt Bauch. *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1926.
- Bauch 1933  
Kurt Bauch. *Die Kunst des jungen Rembrandt*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1933.
- Bauch 1939  
Kurt Bauch. "Rembrandt und Lievens." *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 9 (1939), pp. 239-268.
- Bauch 1955  
Kurt Bauch. "Entwurf und Komposition bei Pieter Lastman." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd series, vol. 3 (1955), pp. 213-231.
- Bauch 1960  
Kurt Bauch. *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1960.
- Bauch 1966  
Kurt Bauch. *Rembrandt Gemälde*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966.
- Bauch 1967  
Kurt Bauch. "Zum Werk des Jan Lievens." *Pantheon* 25 (1967), pp. 160-170, 259-269.
- Benesch 1973  
Otto Benesch. *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, revised and enlarged edition, 6 vols. Oxford: Phaidon, 1973.
- Bernt 1970  
Walther Bernt. *The Netherlandish Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. London: Phaidon, 1970.
- Bernt 1979-1980  
Walther Bernt. *Die niederländischen Maler und Zeichner des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols. Munich: Bruckmann, 1979-1980.
- Bergström 1983  
Ingvar Bergström. *Dutch Still-life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*. Trans. Christina Hedström. New York: Gerard Taylor, 1983.
- Bialostocki 1956  
Jan Bialostocki. "Rembrandt et ses élèves : trois problèmes." *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 18 (1956), pp. 349ff.
- De Bie 1661  
Cornelis de Bie. *Het gouden cabinet van de edel vry schilder konst*. Antwerp: Jan Meyssens, 1661.
- Bikker 2005  
Jonathan Bikker. *Willem Drost (1633-1659): A Rembrandt Pupil in Amsterdam and Venice*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Blanc 1858  
Charles Blanc. *Le Trésor de la Curiosité*, vol. 2. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1858.
- Blankert 1967  
Albert Blankert. "Heraclitus en Democritus. In het bijzonder in de nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 18 (1967), pp. 31-123.
- Blankert 1978  
Albert Blankert. *Dutch 17th Century Italianate Landscape Painters*, revised edition. Soest: Davaco, 1978.
- Blankert 1982  
Albert Blankert. *Ferdinand Bol (1618-1680), Rembrandt's Pupil*. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1982.
- Bleyerveld 2000  
Yvonne Bleyerveld. *Hoe bedriefflijk dat die vrouwen zijn. Vrouwenlisten in de beeldende kunst in de Nederlanden circa 1350-1650*. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000.
- Van Bleyswijck 1667  
Dirck Evertsz. van Bleyswijck. *Beschryvingen der Stadt Delft*, 2 vols. Delft: Arnold Bon, 1667.
- Bloch 1940  
Vitale Bloch. "Harlemmer Klassizisten." *Oud Holland* 57 (1940), pp. 14-21.
- Bode 1890  
Wilhelm von Bode. *Bilderlese aus kleineren Gemäldesammlungen in Deutschland und Österreich*, vol. 1: *Die grossherzogliche Gemälde-Galerie zu Oldenburg*. Vienna, 1890.
- Bode 1897-1906  
Wilhelm von Bode. *The Complete Work of Rembrandt*, 8 vols. Trans. Florence Simmons. Paris: Charles Sedelmayr, 1897-1906.
- Bode 1908  
Wilhelm von Bode. "Einige neu aufgedeckte Gemälde Rembrandts in berliner Privatbesitz." *Jahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 29 (1908), pp. 179-181.
- Bode 1910  
Wilhelm von Bode. "Neuentdeckte Bilder von Rembrandt." *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 21 (1910), pp. 1-8.
- Bok and Jansen 1995  
Marten Jan Bok and Guido Jansen. "De Utrechtse schilder Johannes van Wijckersloot en zijn 'Allegorie' op de Franse Invasie, 1672." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 43 (1995).
- Bok and Kobayashi 1985  
Marten Jan Bok and Yoriko Kobayashi. "New Data on Hendrick Terbrugghen." *Mercury* 1 (1985), pp. 7-34.
- Bol 1957  
Laurens J. Bol. "Een Middelburgse Breughel-groep. VI. Jacob Jacobsz. van Geel (1584/5-1638 or later)." *Oud Holland* 72 (1957), pp. 20-40.
- Bol 1973  
Laurens J. Bol. *Die holländische Marinemalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Braunschweig: Klinckschardt & Biermann, 1973.
- Boström 1950  
Kjell Boström. "David Baillys Stilleben." *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 18 (1950), pp. 99-110.
- Van Braam 1951  
S. A. van Braam. *World Collector's Annuary* 3 (1951).
- Van den Branden 1881  
F. Joseph van den Branden. *Adriaan de Brouwer en Joos van Craesbeeck*. Haarlem: W.C. de Graaff, 1881 (reprint of an article in *Nederlandsche Kunstbode* 3 [1881], pp. 159ff.).
- Brayley and Britton 1801-1815  
Edward Wedlake Brayley and John Britton. *The Beauties of England and Wales, or, delineations, topographical, historical and descriptive, of each county*, 18 vols. London: Vernor and Hood, 1801-1815.
- Bredius 1884  
Abraham Bredius. "Adriaen van Linschoten." *Oud Holland* 2 (1884), pp. 135-140.
- Bredius 1886  
Abraham Bredius. "Italiaansche Schilderijen in 1672, door Amsterdamsche en Haagsche Schilders Beoordeeld." *Oud Holland* 4 (1886), pp. 41-46.



- Bredius 1890  
Abraham Bredius. "Het schildersregister van Jan Symus." *Oud Holland* 8 (1890), pp. 1-17.
- Bredius 1898  
Abraham Bredius. "Kritische Bemerkungen zur Amsterdamer Rembrandt-Ausstellung." *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge 10 (1898), pp. 161-168, 191-198.
- Bredius 1899  
Abraham Bredius. "De landschapschilder Jacob van Geel." *Oud Holland* 17 (1899), pp. 125-126.
- Bredius 1910  
Abraham Bredius. "Rembrandtiana." *Oud Holland* 28 (1910), pp. 193-204.
- Bredius 1915-1922  
Abraham Bredius. *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst*, 8 vols. "Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte" 5. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915-1922.
- Bredius 1921  
Abraham Bredius. "Wiedergefundene 'Rembrandts'," review of Valentiner 1921. *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 32 (1921), pp. 147-152.
- Bredius 1923-1924  
Abraham Bredius. "Bijdragen tot een biografie van Nicolaes Maes." *Oud Holland* 41 (1923-1924), pp. 207-214.
- Bredius 1936  
Abraham Bredius. *The Paintings of Rembrandt*. Vienna: Phaidon, 1936.
- Bredius 1937  
Abraham Bredius. *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, 2nd edition. Vienna: Phaidon, 1937.
- Bredius/Gerson 1969  
Abraham Bredius. *Rembrandt*, rev. Horst Gerson. Oxford: Phaidon, 1969.
- Briels 1997  
Jan Briels. *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw*. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1997.
- Brière-Misme 1950  
Clotilde Brière-Misme. "Un petit maître hollandais : Cornelis Bisschop (1630-1674)." *Oud Holland* 65 (1950), pp. 24-40, 104-116, 139-151, 178-192, 227-240.
- Briganti 1983  
Giuliano Briganti, Laura Laureati and Ludovica Trezzani. *I bamboccianti: pittori della vita quotidiana a Roma nel Seicento*. Rome: Ugo Bozzi Editore, 1983.
- Van den Brink 1997  
Pieter van den Brink. "David geeft Uria de brief voor Joab: Niet Govert Flinck, maar Jacob Backer." *Oud Holland* 111 (1997), pp. 177-186.
- Broos 1975  
Ben Broos. "Rembrandt and Lastman's *Coriolanus*: The History Piece in Seventeenth-century Theory and Practice." *Simiolus* 8 (1975/76), pp. 199-228.
- Broos 1991  
Ben Broos. "Hippocrates bezoekt Democritus door Lastman, Pynas, Moeyaert en Berchem." *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 43, no. 2 (1991), pp. 16-32.
- Broos 2000  
Ben Broos. "Rembrandts eerste Amsterdamse period." *Oud Holland* 114 (2000), pp. 1-6.
- Brown 1979  
Christopher Brown. Review of exhib. cat. Braunschweig 1979. *Burlington Magazine* 121 (November 1979), pp. 741-746.
- Bruyn 1951  
Josua Bruyn. "David Bailly, 'fort bon peintre en portraits et en vie coye.'" *Oud Holland* 66 (1951), pp. 148-164, 212-227.
- Bruyn 1984  
Josua Bruyn. Review of Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 1. *Oud Holland* 98 (1984), pp. 146-162.
- Bruyn 1987  
Josua Bruyn. Review of Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 2. *Oud Holland* 101 (1987), pp. 222-234.
- Bruyn 1988  
Josua Bruyn. Review of Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 3. *Oud Holland* 102 (1988), pp. 322-333.
- Bruyn 1995  
Josua Bruyn. Review of Sumowski 1983-1994, vols. 4 and 5. *Oud Holland* 109 (1995), pp. 101-112.
- Bruyn 1996  
Josua Bruyn. Review of Sumowski 1983-1994, vol. 6. *Oud Holland* 110 (1996), pp. 165-173.
- Buckeridge  
Bainbrigg Buckeridge, "An Essay towards an English School of Painters." In Roger de Piles, *The Art of Painting*, 3rd edition. London: T. Payne, around 1754; reprint London: Cornmarket Press, 1969.
- Burger-Wegener 1976  
Catja Burger-Wegener. "Johannes Lingelbach 1622-1674." Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 1976.
- Büttner and Unverfehrt 1993  
Nils Büttner and Gerd Unverfehrt. *Jacob van Ruysdael in Bentheim: ein niederländischer Maler und die Burg Bentheim im 17. Jahrhundert*. Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1993.
- Chicago 1973  
*Rembrandt after Three Hundred Years: A Symposium - Rembrandt and His Followers. October 22-24, 1969*. Dierdre C. Stam, ed. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1973.
- Clark 1966  
Kenneth Clark. *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*. New York: New York University Press, 1966.
- De Clippel 2006  
Karolien de Clippel. *Joos van Craesbeeck (1605/06-ca.1660). Een Brabantse Genreschilder*, 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.
- Van der Coelen 1996  
Peter van der Coelen. *Patriarchs, Angels and Prophets: The Old Testament in Netherlandish Printmaking from Lucas van Leyden to Rembrandt*. Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis/Rembrandt Information Centre, 1996.
- Cust 1894  
Sir Lionel Cust. *A Notice of the Life and Works of Lucas d'Heere*. Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1894.
- Dacier 1911  
Émile Dacier. *Catalogues de Ventes et Livrets de Salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*. Paris: Société de Reproductions des Dessins de Maîtres, 1911; reprint Paris: Jacques Laget, 1993.
- Van Damme 1990  
J. van Damme. "De Antwerpse tafereelmakers en hun merken. Identificatie en betekenis." *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1990), pp. 193-236.
- Davidson 1979  
Jane P. Davidson. *David Teniers the Younger*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979.
- Davies 2001  
Alice I. Davies, with Frederik Duparc. *Allart van Everdingen, 1621-1675: First Painter of Scandinavian Landscape*. Doornspijk: Davaco, 2001.
- Descamps  
Jean-Baptiste Descamps. *La Vie des Peintres Flamands, Allemands, et Hollandois, avec les portraits graves en taille-douce, une indication de leurs principaux ouvrages, & des réflexions sur leurs différentes manières*, 4 vols. Paris: Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1753.
- DeWitt 2006  
Lloyd DeWitt. "Evolution and Ambition in the Career of Jan Lievens (1607-1674)." Dissertation, University of Maryland, 2006.
- Dictionary of Art  
*Dictionary of Art*, 33 vols. Jane Turner, ed. New York: Grove, 1996.
- Drossaers 1974-1976  
Sophie Wilhelmina Albertine Drossaers. *De inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken, 1567-1795*, 3 vols. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, ed. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1974-1976.
- Dudok van Heel 1975  
Sebastian A.C. Dudok van Heel. "Waar woonde en werkte Pieter Lastman (1583-1633)?" *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 62 (1975), pp. 31-36.



- Dudok van Heel 1976  
Sebastian A.C. Dudok van Heel. "De Schilder Claes Moyaert en zijn familie." *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 68 (1976), pp. 13-47.
- Dudok van Heel 1992  
Sebastian A.C. Dudok van Heel. "Willem Drost, een ongrijpbaar Rembrandt-leerling." *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 79 (1992), pp. 15-21.
- Dudok van Heel 1994  
Sebastian A.C. Dudok van Heel. "Het Geboortjaar van de schilder Adriaen Backer (... -1684)." *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 81 (1994), pp. 138-141.
- Dudok van Heel 2006  
Sebastian A.C. Dudok van Heel. *Godsdienst en schilderkunst. De jonge Rembrandt en zijn tijdgenoten 1610-1650*. Nijmegen: Nijmegen University Press, 2006.
- Dudok van Heel and Giskes 1984  
Sebastian A. C. Dudok van Heel and Johan Giskes. "Noord-Nederlandse Pre-Rembrandtisten en Zuid-Nederlands muziekinstrumentmakers: de schilders Pynas en de luit- en citermakers Burlon en Coop." *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 76 (1984), pp. 13-37.
- Duverger 1972  
Erik Duverger. "Abraham van Diepenbeeck en Gonzales Coques aan het werk voor de stadhouder Frederik Hendrik, prins van Oranje." *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen* 12 (1972), pp. 181-237.
- Duverger 1984-2002  
Erik Duverger. *De Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen*, 12 vols. Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1984-2002.
- Duverger and Vlieghe 1971  
Eric Duverger and Hans Vlieghe. *David Teniers der Altere*. Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker & Gumbert, 1971.
- Ebert 1963  
Hans Ebert. *Kriegsverluste der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie, vernichtete und vermisste Werke*. Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 1963.
- Van Eck 1987  
Xander van Eck. "Wouter Pietersz. Crabeth II en de parochie St. Johannes de Doper in Gouda." *Oud Holland* 101 (1987), pp. 35-49.
- Eikemeier 1980  
Peter Eikemeier. Review of exhib. cat. Braunschweig 1979. *Pantheon* 38 (1980), pp. 5-7.
- Elliott 1993  
J. K. Elliott. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in English Translation*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Ember 1979  
Ildikó Ember. "Benjamin Gerritsz. Cuyp (1612-1652)." *Acta Historiae Artium* 25 (1979), pp. 89-141.
- Ertz 1984  
Klaus Ertz. *Jan Breughel the Younger (1601-1678)*. Freren: Luca Verlag, 1984.
- Van Eynden and Van der Willigen 1816-1840  
Roeland van Eynden and Adriaan van der Willigen. *Geschiedenis der vaderlandsche schilderkunst, sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw*, 4 vols. Haarlem: Loosjes, 1816-1840.
- Félibien  
André Félibien. *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, 5 vols. Paris: C. Le Petit, 1666-1668.
- Festschrift Seymour Slive 1995  
*Shop Talk: Essays Presented to Seymour Slive in Honor of His Seventy-fifth Birthday*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Art Museums, 1995.
- Van Fossen 1968  
David van Fossen. "The Paintings of Aert de Gelder: The Formation of His Style." Dissertation, Harvard University, 1968.
- Foucart 1978  
Jacques Foucart. "Une fausse énigme : le pseudo et le véritable Van de Venne." *Revue de l'art* 42 (1978), pp. 53-62.
- Foucart 1983  
Jacques Foucart. "Tableaux des écoles du Nord : un bilan d'acquisitions." *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 33, nos. 5-6, pp. 359-370.
- Franits 1993  
Wayne Franits. *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-century Dutch Art*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Frank 2002  
Christoph Frank. "Die Gemäldesammlungen Gotzkowsky, Eimbke und Stein: Zur Berliner Sammlungsgeschichte während des Siebenjährigen Krieges." In *Kunstsammeln und Geschmack im 18. Jahrhundert*, Michael North, ed., pp. 117-194. Berlin: Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz, 2002.
- Franken 2006  
Michiel Franken. "Learning by Imitation: Copying Paintings in Rembrandt's Workshop." In exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2006, pp. 153-178. (Published in German in exhib. cat. Berlin 2006, pp. 145-164.)
- Friedländer 1967-1976  
Max J. Friedländer. *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 14 vols. Lieden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1967-1976.
- Fromentin 1948  
Eugène Fromentin. *The Masters of Past Time, or, Criticism on the Old Dutch and Flemish Painters*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948.
- Füssli 1806-1822  
Hans Heinrich Füssli. *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon oder : kurze Nachricht von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Kunstgiesser, Stahlschneider u.u. nebst angehängten Verzeichnissen der Lehrmeister und Schüler, auch der Bildnisse, der in diesem Lexikon enthaltenen Künstler*, 6 vols. Zurich: Füssli & Comp. Drell, 1806-1822.
- Garas 1968  
Klara Garas. "Das Schicksal der Sammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 64 (1968), pp. 181-288.
- De Gelder 1921  
Jan Jacob de Gelder. *Bartholomeus van der Helst*. Rotterdam: W. L. & J. Brusse, 1921.
- Van Gelder 1953  
Jan G. van Gelder. *Rembrandt's vroegste ontwikkeling*. "Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen Afdeling Letterkunde" 16. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1953.
- Van Gelder and Jost 1985  
Jan G. van Gelder and Ingrid Jost. *Jan de Bisschop and His Icones and Paradigmata: Classical Antiquities and Italian Drawing for Artistic Introduction in Seventeenth Century Holland*, 2 vols. Keith Andrews, ed. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1985.
- German Hollstein  
F.W.H. Hollstein. *German Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400-1700*, 73 vols. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1949-.
- Gerson 1936  
Horst Gerson. *Philips Koninck: ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der holländischen Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1936; reprint Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1980.
- Gerson 1954  
Horst Gerson. "Twee vroege studies van Jan Lievens." *Oud Holland* 69 (1954), pp. 179-180.
- Gerson 1968  
Horst Gerson. *Rembrandt Paintings*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968.
- Ginzberg 1968  
Louis Ginzberg. *The Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968.
- Van Gool  
Johan van Gool. *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen*, 2 vols. The Hague: Johan van Gool, 1750-1751.
- Gottwald 2006  
Franziska Gottwald. Review of exhib. Leiden 2005-2006. *Kunstchronik* 7 (July 2006), pp. 354-339.
- Graswinckel 1956  
Dirk Marius Petrus Graswinckel. *Graswinckel. Geschiedenis van een Delfts brouwers- en regenten-geslacht*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956.



- Grisebach 1974  
Lucius Grisebach. *Willem Kalf (1619-1693)*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1974.
- Grohn 1980  
Hans Werther Grohn, "Ein neuerworbenes Bildnis der Niedersächsischen Landesgalerie Hannover und die Selbstporträts des Wallerant Vaillant." *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 19 (1980), pp. 137-154.
- Gudlaugsson 1948a  
Sturla Gudlaugsson, "Representations of Granida in Seventeenth-century Dutch Painting I." *Burlington Magazine* 90 (1948), pp. 226-230.
- Gudlaugsson 1948b  
Sturla Gudlaugsson, "Representations of Granida in Seventeenth-century Dutch Painting II." *Burlington Magazine* 90 (1948), pp. 348-351.
- Gudlaugsson 1949  
Sturla Gudlaugsson, "Representations of Granida in Seventeenth-century Dutch Painting III." *Burlington Magazine* 91 (1949), pp. 38-41, 43.
- Curatzsch 1980  
Herwig Curatzsch. *Die Auferweckung des Lazarus in der niederländischen Kunst von 1400 bis 1700: Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, 2 vols. Kortrijk: Van Ghemert, 1980.
- Hajdecki 1905  
A. Hajdecki, "Die Niederländer in Wien." *Oud Holland* 23 (1905), pp. 1-26, 108-128.
- Hall 1984  
James Hall. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*. London: John Murray, 1984.
- Hamann 1936  
Richard Hamann, "Hagars Abschied bei Rembrandt und im Rembrandt-Kreise." *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 8/9 (1936), pp. 471-578.
- Härtling 1989  
Ursula Härtling, *Frans Francken der Jüngere. Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*. Freren: Luca, 1989.
- Harwood 1988  
Laurie B. Harwood. *Adam Pynacker (c. 1620-1673)*. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1988.
- Van Haute 1999  
Bernadette van Haute. *David Ryckaert III: A Seventeenth-century Flemish Painter of Peasant Scenes*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
- Havard 1879-1881  
Henri Havard. *L'Art et les Artistes Hollandais*, 4 vols. Paris: Quantin, 1879-1881.
- Haverkamp-Begemann 1969  
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann. Review of exhib. Montreal and Toronto 1969. *Kunstchronik* 22 (1969), pp. 281-289.
- Haverkamp-Begemann 1982  
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann. *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Haverkamp-Begemann 1987  
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The State of Research in Northern Baroque Studies." *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), pp. 510-519.
- Haverkorn van Rijsewijk 1897  
Pieter Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, "De schilders Adriaan en Frans Verwilt." *Oud Holland* 15 (1897), pp. 513-563.
- Hecht 1996  
Peter Hecht, "Browsing in Houbraken: Developing a Fancy for an Underestimated Author." *Simiolus* 24 (1996), pp. 273-274.
- Held 1991  
Julius Held. *Rembrandt Studies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Hoet 1752  
Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamljst van Schilderijen*. 2 vols., The Hague: Pieter Gerard Van Baalen, 1752.
- Hoet and Terwesten 1770  
Gerard Hoet and Pieter Terwesten. *Catalogus of Naamljst van Schilderijen*, vol. 3. The Hague: Johannes Caillard, 1770.
- Hofstede de Groot 1889  
Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, "Wibrand Symonszoon de Geest." *Oud Holland* 7 (1889), pp. 235-240.
- Hofstede de Groot 1893  
Cornelius Hofstede de Groot. *Arnold Houbraken und seine "Groote Schouburg"/kritisch beleuchtet*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1893.
- Hofstede de Groot 1906  
Cornelius Hofstede de Groot. *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt 1575-1721: neu herausgegeben und kommentiert*, 2nd edition. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1906.
- Hofstede de Groot 1908-1927  
Cornelius Hofstede de Groot. *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Work of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters Based on the Work of John Smith*, 10 vols. Trans. Edward G. Hawke. London: Macmillan & Co., 1908-1927.
- Hofstede de Groot 1909  
Cornelius Hofstede de Groot, "Nieuw-ontdekte Rembrandts," review of Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner, *Rembrandt. Des Meisters Gemälde in 643 Abbildungen*, 2nd edition (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1908). *Onze Kunst* 8 (1909), pp. 1-6.
- Hofstede de Groot 1922  
Cornelius Hofstede de Groot. *Die holländische Kritik der jetzigen Rembrandt-Forschung und neuest wiederergefundene Rembrandtbilder*. Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922.
- Hofstede de Groot 1929  
Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, "Einige Betrachtungen über die Ausstellung holländischer Kunst in London." *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 50 (1929), pp. 134-136.
- Hollstein  
F.W.H. Hollstein. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700*. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1949-.
- Hoogewerff 1952  
Codefridus Johannes Hoogewerff. *De Bentveughels*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952.
- Horn 2000  
Hendrick J. Horn, with the assistance of David de Witt. *The Golden Age Revisited: Arnold Houbraken and His Great Theatre*, 2 vols. Doornspijk: Davaco, 2000.
- Houbraken  
Arnold Houbraken. *De Groote Schouburgh der Nederlandsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, 3 vols. Amsterdam: Arnold Houbraken, 1718-1719 (vols. 1 and 2), Amsterdam: Sara Sasbout Souburg (widow of the author), 1721 (vol. 3); facsimile reprint: Amsterdam: B.M. Israel, 1969.
- D'Hulst 1982  
Roger-Adolf d'Hulst. *Jacob Jordaens*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982.
- Huygens/Worp 1891  
Jacob Adolf Worp, "Constantijn Huygens over de schilders van zijn tijd." *Oud Holland* 9 (1891), pp. 106-136.
- Huygens/Worp 1911-1917  
Jacob Adolf Worp. *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens, 1608-1678*, 6 vols. "Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën" 15, 19, 21, 24, 28, 32. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911-1917.
- Huys Janssen 2001  
Paul Huys Janssen. Review of Davies 2001. *Burlington Magazine* 148 (November 2001), pp. 701-702.
- Illustrated Bartsch  
Adam von Bartsch. *The Illustrated Bartsch*. Walter L. Strauss, ed. New York: Abaris Books, 1978-.
- Jantzen 1923  
Hans Jantzen, *Rembrandt*. Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1923.
- Jeroense 1997  
Petra Jeroense, "Govaert Flinck (1615-1660). Eine Künstlerbiographie." *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1997), pp. 73-112.
- Judson 1969  
J. Richard Judson, "Rembrandt in Canada," review of exhib. cat. Montreal and Toronto 1969. *Burlington Magazine* 111, no. 800 (1969), pp. 703-704.
- Van de Kamp 1994  
Netty van de Kamp, "Die Genesis, die Urgeschichte und die Geschichte der Erzvater." In exhib. cat. Münster 1994. pp. 24-53.



- Kieser 1941  
Emil Kieser. "Über Rembrandts Verhältnis zur Antike." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 10 (1941/42), pp. 129-162.
- Klessmann 1997  
Rüdiger Klessmann. "Elsheimers *Verspottung der Ceres*, zur Frage des Originals." *Städel Jahrbuch*, Neue Folge 16 (1997), pp. 239-248.
- Klessmann 2004  
Rüdiger Klessmann. "Adam Elsheimer – Bemerkungen zur Rezeption seiner Kunst im Norden." In *Collected Opinions: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*, Volker Manuth and Axel Rüger, eds., pp. 54-71. London: Paul Holberton, 2004.
- Knipping 1974  
John Baptist Knipping. *The Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth*, 2 vols. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1974.
- Koslow 1995  
Susan Koslow. *Frans Snyders*. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1995.
- Krempel 2000  
León Krempel. *Studien zu den datierten Gemälden des Nicolaes Maes (1634-1695)*. Petersburg: M. Imhoff, 2000.
- Kultzen 1996  
Rolf Kultzen. *Michael Sweerts: Brussels 1618-1664 Goa. "Aetas Aurea"* 12. Trans. Diane Webb. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1996.
- Kuretsky 1974  
Susan Donahue Kuretsky. "Rembrandt's Tree Stump: An Iconographic Attribute of St Jerome." *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), pp. 571-580.
- Kuznetsov 1983  
Yuri Ivanovic Kuznetsov. "Ein Beitrag zum Rembrandt – Lievens-Problem." In *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to E. Haverkamp-Begemann*, pp. 134-138. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983.
- Langedijk 1992  
Karla Langedijk. *Die Selbstbildnisse der Holländischen und Flämischen Künstler in der Galleria degli Autoritratti der Uffizien in Florenz*. Gerhard Ewald, ed. Florence: Edizione Medicea, 1992.
- Larsen 1980  
Erik Larsen. *L'Opera Completa di Van Dyck*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1980.
- Larsen 1988  
Erik Larsen. *The Paintings of Anthony van Dyck*, 2 vols. Freren: Luca, 1988.
- Lawrence 1991  
Cynthia Lawrence. *Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde (1638-1698), Haarlem Cityscape Painter*. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1991.
- LCI  
Engelbert Kirschbaum. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. Rome: Herder, 1968-1976.
- Lecaldano 1973  
Paolo Lecaldano. *The Complete Works of Rembrandt* (translation of the 1969 edition). London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.
- Van Lerijs 1880-1881  
Theodoor van Lerijs. *Biographies d'Artistes Anversois*, 2 vols. P. Génard, ed. Antwerp and Ghent: Buschmann and Hoste, 1880-1881.
- Lewis and Brown 1941  
Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis and R. S. Brown, Jr. *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.
- Liedtke 1998  
Walter Liedtke. Review of exhib. Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998. *Simiolus* 26 (1998), pp. 312-317.
- Liggeren  
Philip Rombouts and Theodore van Lerijs. *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven van de Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde, onder zinspreuk "Wt ionsten versaemt"*, 2 vols. Antwerp: Baggerman, 1864-1876; reprint Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1961.
- Lilienfeld 1914  
Karl Lilienfeld. *Arent de Gelder, sein Leben und seine Kunst*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914.
- Litré 1839-1861  
Maximilien Paul Émile Littré. *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*. Paris and London: J.B. Ballière, 1839-1861.
- Logan 1979  
Anne Marie Logan. *The "Cabinet" of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst*. London, Oxford and New York: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1979.
- Loughman and Montias 2000  
John Loughman and John Michael Montias. *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-century Dutch Houses*. Zwolle: Waanders, 2000.
- LTK  
*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd edition, 10 vols. Michael Buchberger, ed. Freiburg: Herder, 1957-1965.
- Lugt  
Frits Lugt. *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques, intéressant l'art ou la curiosité, tableaux, dessins, estampes, miniatures, sculptures, bronzes, émaux, vitraux, tapisseries, céramiques, objets d'art, meubles, antiquités, monnaies, médailles, camées, intailles, armes, instruments, curiosités naturelles, etc.*, 8 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938-1988.
- De Maere and Wabbes 1994  
Jan de Maere and Marie Wabbes. *Illustrated Dictionary of 17th-century Flemish Painters*, 3 vols. Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1994.
- Mahon 1949  
Denis Mahon. "Notes on the Dutch Gift to Charles II: Reynst Collection." *Burlington Magazine* 91; part I: no. 558 (September 1949), pp. 303-305; part II: no. 559 (November 1949), pp. 349-350.
- Mâle 1951  
Émile Mâle. *L'art religieux du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*. Paris: A. Colin, 1951.
- Van Mander  
Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck*. Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1604.
- Van Mander/Miedema  
Karel van Mander. *Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters: From the First Edition of the "Schilder-boeck" (1603-1604)*, 6 vols. Ed. with commentary by Hessel Miedema. Trans. Michael Hoyle. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994-1999.
- Van Mander/Miedema 1973  
Karel van Mander. *Den grondt der edel vry schilder konst*, 2 vols. Hessel Miedema, ed. Utrecht: Haentjes, Dekker & Gumbert, 1973.
- Manke 1963  
Ilse Manke. *Emanuel de Witte (1617-1692)*. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1963.
- Manuth 1987  
Volker Manuth. "Ikonographische Studien zu den Historien des Alten Testaments bei Rembrandt und seiner frühen Amsterdamer Schule." Dissertation, Berlin, Freie Universität, 1987.
- Manuth 1991  
Volker Manuth. "Zu einem bisher ungedeuteten Gemälde Willem de Poorters." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991), pp. 263-269.
- Manuth 2002  
Volker Manuth. "Gerbrand van den Eeckhout." In Saur, vol. 23 (2002), pp. 233-236.
- Manuth 2004  
Volker Manuth. "Tobias, Anna und das Böckchen: Variationen über ein Thema aus dem Buch Tobias von Rembrandt und Gerbrand van den Eeckhout." In *Collected Opinions: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*, Volker Manuth and Axel Rüger, eds., pp. 89-105. London: Paul Holberton, 2004.
- Marijnissen 1987  
R. Marijnissen and P. Ruyffelaere. *Hiëronymus Bosch: The Complete Works*. Bloemendaal: Tabard Press, 1987.
- Maufort 1994  
Danielle Maufort. "Een zelfportret van Pieter Thijs de Oude (1624-1677) in den Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België." *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* 43-44 (1994), pp. 103-111.
- Mauquoy Hendrickx 1991  
Marie Mauquoy Hendrickx. *L'Iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck: Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols. Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, 1991.
- McNeil Kettering 1983  
Allison McNeil Kettering. *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and Its Audience in the Dutch Golden Age*. Totowa, New Jersey: Allanheld and Schram, 1983.



- Meijer 1983  
Bert W. Meijer. *Rembrandt nel Seicento Toscano*. Florence: Centro Di, 1983.
- Meijer and Van der Willigen 2003  
Fred C. Meijer and Adriaan van der Willigen. *A Dictionary of Dutch and Flemish Still-life Painters Working in Oils, 1525-1725*. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003.
- Meulemeester 1984  
Jean Luc Meulemeester. *Jacob van Oost de Oudere en het zeventiende-eeuwse Brugge*. Bruges: Westvlaamse Gidsenkring, 1984.
- Meyssens 1649  
Jean Meyssens. *Images de divers hommes d'esprit sublimé*. Antwerp: Jean Meyssens, 1649.
- Middeldorf 1973  
Ulrich Middeldorf. "La Fortuna del Pisanello nei Paesi Bassi." In *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio sulla storia della medaglia*. Udine, 6-9 October 1973, pp. 36-44. Republished in *Raccolta di Scritti, That Is, Collected Writings*, vol. 3, pp. 63-67. Florence: Studio per edizione scelte, 1981.
- Miedema 1980  
Hessel Miedema. *De archiefbescheiden van de St Lukasgilde te Haarlem*, 2 vols. Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1980.
- Miedema 1993  
Hessel Miedema. Review of Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-boeck* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). *Oud Holland* 107 (1993), pp. 152-159.
- Miller 1985  
Deborah Miller. "The Paintings of Jan Victors," 3 vols. Dissertation, University of Delaware, 1985.
- Moes 1897-1905  
E. W. Moes. *Iconographia Batava. Beredeneerde lijst van geschilderde en gebeeldhouwde portretten van Noord-Nederlanders in vorige eeuwen*, 2 vols. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1897-1905.
- Von Moltke 1938-1939  
Joachim Wolfgang von Moltke. "Salomon de Bray" and "Jan de Bray." *Marburger Jahrbuch der Kunstwissenschaft* 11/12 (1938-1939), pp. 309-523.
- Von Moltke 1965  
Joachim Wolfgang von Moltke. *Govaert Flinck, 1615-1660*. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1965.
- Von Moltke et al. 1994  
Joachim Wolfgang von Moltke et al. *Arent de Gelder. Dordrecht 1645-1727*. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994.
- Montias 1982  
John Michael Montias. *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socioeconomic Study of the Seventeenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Montias 1989  
John Michael Montias. *Vermeer and His Milieu: A Web of Social History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Muller 1989  
Jeffrey Muller. *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Mullin 1995  
Rick Mullin. "A Chemist at the Cutting Edge." *Chemical Week* 157, no. 17 (8 November 1995), p. 66.
- Murdzeńska 1970  
Maria Murdzeńska. "A Mythological Painting by Jacob Adriaensz. Backer." *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 11 (1970), pp. 97-106.
- Neumeister 2003  
Mirjam Neumeister. *Das Nachtstück mit Kunstlicht in der niederländischen Malerei und Graphik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Ikonographische und Koloristische Aspekte*. Petersburg: Michael Imhof, 2003.
- New Hollstein  
New Hollstein: *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700*. Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1993-.
- Nicolson 1958  
Benedict Nicolson. *Hendrick Terbrugghen*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958.
- Nicolson 1973  
Benedict Nicolson. "Terbrugghen since 1960." In *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, pp. 237-241. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973.
- Nicolson 1989  
Benedict Nicolson. *Caravaggism in Europe*, 3 vols. Luisa Vertova, ed. Oxford: Phaidon, 1989. Revised edition of *The International Caravaggist Movement: Lists of Pictures of Caravaggio and His Followers throughout Europe from 1590 to 1650*, 3 vols. Oxford: Phaidon, 1979.
- Obreen Archief  
Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis, 7 vols. Frederik Daniel Otto Obreen, ed. Rotterdam: Hengel & Eeltjes, 1877-1890.
- Oldenbourg 1911  
Rudolph Oldenbourg. *Thomas de Keyzers Tätigkeit als Maler: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des holländischen Porträts*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1911.
- Orlors  
Jan Jansz. Orlors. *Beschrijvinge der Stadt Leyden*, 2nd edition. Leiden: A. J. Cloeting and A. Commelijnn, 1641.
- Panofsky 1943  
Erwin Panofsky. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943.
- Pauly  
August Friedrich von Pauly. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft*, new edition, 37 vols. Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll, eds. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1894-1963.
- Pennant 1782  
Thomas Pennant. *The Journey from Chester to London*. London: B. White, 1782.
- Pepper 1984  
D. Stephen Pepper. *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works with an Introductory Text*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1984.
- Peyser-Verhaar 1998  
Marijke Peyser-Verhaar. "Abraham Hondius: His Life and Background." *Oud Holland* 112 (1998), pp. 151-156.
- Pigler 1956  
Andor Pigler. *Barockthemen. Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. Budapest: Verlag der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956.
- Plomp 1986  
Michiel Plomp. "Een merkwaardig verzameling Teekeningen door Leonaert Bramer." *Oud Holland* 100 (1986), pp. 81-150.
- Pont 1958  
Daniël Pont. *Barent Fabritius 1624-1673* (dissertation). "Orbis Artium. Utrechtse Kunsthistorische Studien," vol. 2. Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 1958.
- Poorter et al. 2004  
Nora J. de Poorter et al. *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Van Putte 1978  
Petrus Camillus Alfred van Putte. *Heijmen Dullaert. Een biografische studie over de Rotterdamse schilder-dichter*, 2 vols. The Hague: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1978.
- Raupp 1984  
Hans-Joachim Raupp. *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellung in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1984.
- Réau 1955-1959  
Louis Réau. *L'Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955-1959.
- Van Regteren Altena 1974  
Iohan Quirijn van Regteren Altena. "Apollon Cryptogène imaginée par un petit maître d'Amsterdam." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 84 (1974), pp. 215-222.
- Van Regteren Altena 1983  
Iohan Quirijn van Regteren Altena. *Jacques de Cheyn: Three Generations*, 3 vols. The Hague and Boston: M. Nijhoff, 1983.
- Rembrandt Corpus  
Josua Bruyn et al. *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 4 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982-.
- Renckens 1947  
B.J.A. Renckens. "Jan Linsen." *Kunsthistorische Mededelingen van het R.K.D.* 2 (1947), pp. 1-3.
- Renckens 1948  
B.J.A. Renckens. "De Hoornse Portretschilder Jan Albertsz. Rotius." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1 (1948-1949), pp. 165-234.



- Renckens 1959  
B.J.A. Renckens. "Enkele aanvullingen op het werk van Jan Linsen." *Oud Holland* 74 (1959), pp. 112-115.
- De Renesse 1894-1903  
Théodore de Renesse. *Dictionnaire des Figures Héraldiques*, 7 vols. Brussels: Société belge de Librairie, 1894-1903.
- Robels 1989  
Hella Robels. *Frans Snyders. Stilleben- und Tiermaler 1579-1657*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1989.
- Robinson 1982  
William S. Robinson. Review of Sumowski 1979ff. in *Master Drawings* 20 (1982), pp. 280-285.
- Robinson 1996  
William S. Robinson. "The Early Paintings of Nicolaes Maes, 1653 to 1661." Dissertation, Harvard University, 1996.
- Roethlisberger 1980  
Marcel Roethlisberger. *Bartholomeus Breenbergh: The Paintings*. New York and Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980.
- Roethlisberger 1993  
Marcel Roethlisberger. *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints*, 2 vols. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1993.
- Roethlisberger 2000  
Marcel Roethlisberger. "Abraham Bloemaert: Recent Additions to His Paintings." *Artibus et Historiae* 41 (2000), pp. 151-170.
- Ronberg and Wadum 2006  
Lene Bøgh Ronberg and Jørgen Wadum. "Two Paintings in Copenhagen Re-attributed to Rembrandt." *Burlington Magazine* 148 (February 2006), pp. 82-88.
- Roses 1886-1892  
Max Roses. *Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens. Histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, 5 vols. Antwerp: J. Maes, 1886-1892; reprint Soest: Davaco, 1977.
- Roses 1908  
Max Roses. *Jacob Jordaens*. Trans. Elisabeth C. Broers. London and New York: J. M. Dent and E. P. Dutton, 1908.
- Roscam Abbing 2006  
Michiel Roscam Abbing, ed. *Rembrandt 2006: Essays*. Leiden: Foleor Publishers, 2006.
- Rosenberg 1928  
Jakob Rosenberg. *Jacob van Ruisdael*. Berlin: Cassirer, 1928.
- Rosenberg 1948  
Jakob Rosenberg. *Rembrandt: Life and Work*, 2 vols. London: Phaidon, 1948.
- Rosenberg 1964  
Jakob Rosenberg. *Rembrandt: Life and Work*, 2nd edition. London: Phaidon, 1964.
- Roy 1972  
Rainer Roy. "Studien zu Gerbrand van den Eeckhout." Dissertation, Vienna, 1972.
- Russell Corbett 2004  
Jane Russell Corbett. "Seeing Things: *The Alchemist and Death* by Thomas Wyck." In *Collected Opinions: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*, Volker Manuth and Axel Rüger, eds., pp. 163-175. London: Paul Holberton, 2004.
- Šafařík 1967  
Eduard A. Šafařík. "Der Maler Hans de Jode neu erkannt. Ein Beitrag zur Landschaftsmalerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts in Österreich." *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 11 (1967), pp. 7-34. (Translation of an article published in *Umění* 4 [1966], pp. 378-393.)
- Safarik 2001  
Erik A. Safarik. "I volti di Willem Drost." In *Per l'Arte da Venezia all'Europa. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Maria Pilo da Rubens al Contemporaneo*, Mauro Piantone and Laura de Rossi, eds., pp. 405-409, 656-658. Venice: Edizioni della Laguna, 2001.
- Sandart 1675-1679  
Joachim von Sandart. *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild-, und Mahlerey-Künste*, 3 vols. Nuremberg: Johann-Philipp Miltenburger, 1675-1679.
- Sandart/Peltzer 1925  
Joachim von Sandart. *Joachim von Sandarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675: Leben der berühmten Maler, Bildhauer und Baumeister*. Rudolf Arthur Peltzer, ed. Munich: Hirth, 1925.
- Saunders Magurn 1955  
Ruth Saunders Magurn. *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Saur  
*Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 54 vols. Munich and Leipzig: K.G. Saur Verlag, 1991-.
- Saxl 1939  
Fritz Saxl. *Rembrandt's "Sacrifice of Manoah."* "Studies of the Warburg Institute" 9. London: Warburg Institute, 1939.
- Schaap 1936  
H. P. Schaap. "De Brielsche Schilder Maerten van der Fuijck en diens Doelenstukken." *Oud Holland*, 53 (1936), pp. 263-269.
- Schama 1987  
Simon Schama. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. London: Collins, 1987.
- Schatborn 1986  
Peter Schatborn. Review of Rembrandt Corpus, vol. 1. *Oud Holland* 100 (1986), pp. 55-63.
- Schmidt 1977  
Ph. Schmidt. *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel 1522-1700*. Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1977.
- Schnackenburg 1981  
Bernhard Schnackenburg. *Adriaen van Ostade, Isack van Ostade: Zeichnungen und Aquarelle: Gesamtdarstellung mit Werkkatalogen*. Hamburg: E. Hauswedell, 1981.
- Schneider 1932  
Hans Schneider. *Jan Lievens, sein Leben und seine Werke*. Haarlem: Bohn, 1932.
- Schneider/Ekkart 1973  
Hans Schneider. *Jan Lievens, sein Leben und seine Werke*, revised by Rudi Ekkart. Amsterdam: B.M. Israel, 1973.
- Schulz 1972  
Wolfgang Schulz. "Lambert Doomer: Leben und Werke," 2 vols. Dissertation, Berlin, Freie Universität, 1972.
- Schulz 1974  
Wolfgang Schulz. *Lambert Doomer: sämtliche Zeichnungen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974.
- Schulz 1978  
Wolfgang Schulz. "Lambert Doomer als Maler." *Oud Holland* 92 (1978), pp. 69-105.
- Schwartz 1985  
Gary Schwartz. *Rembrandt: His Life, His Paintings*. New York: Viking, 1985.
- Six 1919  
Jonkheer Jan Six. "Bevestigde Overlevering." *Oud Holland* 37 (1919), pp. 80-88.
- Slatkes 1965  
Leonard Slatkes. *Dirck van Baburen (c. 1595-1624): A Dutch Painter in Utrecht and Rome*. Utrecht: H. Dekker & Gumbert, 1965.
- Slatkes 1981-1982  
Leonard Slatkes. Review of Benedict Nicolson, *The International Caravaggist Movement*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979). *Simiolus* 12 (1981-1982), pp. 167-183.
- Slatkes 1992  
Leonard J. Slatkes. *Rembrandt. Catalogo complete di dipinti*. Florence: Cantini, 1992.
- Slatkes and Franits 2007  
Leonard J. Slatkes and Wayne Franits. *The Paintings of Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629): Catalogue Raisonné*. Philadelphia and Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007.
- Slive 1970-1974  
Seymour Slive. *Frans Hals*, 3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1970-1974.
- Slive 2001  
Seymour Slive. *Jacob van Ruisdael: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings, Drawings and Etchings*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Slothouwer 1946  
Dirk Frederik Slothouwer. *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1946.
- Smith 1829-1842  
John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, 8 vols. and Supplement. London: Smith and Son, 1829-1842.



- States Bible  
*Biblia, dat is: De Gantsche Heilige Schrifture, vervatende alle de Canonijcke Boeken des Ouden ende Nieuwen Testaments*. First published Leiden: Paulus Aerts. van Ravesteijn, 1637.
- Stechow 1966  
 Wolfgang Stechow. *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*. London: Phaidon, 1966.
- Steland-Stief 1971  
 Anne Charlotte Steland-Stief, *Jan Asselijn: nach 1610 bis 1652*. Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1971.
- Stewart 1983  
 J. Douglas Stewart. *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.
- Stewart 1990  
 J. Douglas Stewart. "Before Rembrandt's 'Shadow' Fell. Lievens, Van Dyck and Rubens: Some Reconsiderations." *Mercury* 2 (1990), pp. 42-47.
- Stewart 2001  
 J. Douglas Stewart. "Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert and Pieter Thijs: A Tale of Two Tangled Antwerp Painters, with an Excursus on Van Dyck's 'S. Felix of Cantalice.'" In *Van Dyck 1599-1999: Conjectures and Refutations*, Hans Vlieghe, ed., pp. 271-288. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- Stewart 2004  
 J. Douglas Stewart. "Crossing the North-South Divide. The Young Lievens, Van Dyck, Rubens and Rembrandt: Connections and Influences." In *Collected Opinions: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*, Volker Manuth and Axel Rüger, eds., pp. 188-201. London: Paul Holberton, 2004.
- Stewart 2006  
 J. Douglas Stewart. "Kneller, Sir Godfrey, Baronet (1646-1723)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, 2006 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15710>, accessed 13 January 2007).
- Van Straten 2005  
 Roelof van Straten. *Rembrandts Leidse Tijd*. Leiden: Foleor Publishers, 2005.
- Strauss 1977  
 Walter L. Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius: The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts*. New York: Abaris Books, 1977.
- Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979  
 Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen. *The Rembrandt Documents*. New York: Abaris Books, 1979.
- Sumowski 1957-1958  
 Werner Sumowski. "Nachträge zum Rembrandtjahr 1956." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 7, no. 2 (1957-1958), pp. 223-278.
- Sumowski 1961  
 Werner Sumowski. *Bemerkungen zu O. Benesch's Corpus der Rembrandt-Zeichnungen II*. Bad Pyrmont, 1961.
- Sumowski 1962  
 Werner Sumowski. "Gerbrand van den Eeckhout als Zeichner." *Oud Holland* 77 (1962), pp. 11-39.
- Sumowski 1969  
 Werner Sumowski. "Beiträge zu Willem Drost." *Pantheon* 27 (1969), pp. 372-387.
- Sumowski 1979ff.  
 Werner Sumowski. *The Drawings of the Rembrandt School*, 10 vols. New York: Abaris Books, 1979-.
- Sumowski 1980  
 Werner Sumowski. Review of exhib. cat. Braunschweig 1979. *Kunstchronik* 1980, pp. 6-14, 24.
- Sumowski 1983-1994  
 Werner Sumowski. *Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler*, 6 vols. Landau: Pfälzische Verlagsanstalt, 1983 (vols. 1-4), 1989 (vol. 5), 1994 (vol. 6).
- Sumowski 1986  
 Werner Sumowski. "Paintings by Jan van Noordt." *The Hoogsteder-Naumann Mercury* 3 (1986), pp. 21-37.
- Swillens 1961  
 P.T.A. Swillens, *Jacob van Campen. Schilder en bouwmeester 1695-1657*. Arnhem: Gysbers & Van Loon, 1961.
- Van Thiel 1971  
 Pieter J.J. van Thiel. "De aanbidding der Koningen en ander vroeg werk van Hendrick ter Brugghen." *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 19 (1971), pp. 91-116.
- Van Thiel 1999  
 Pieter J.J. van Thiel. *Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, 1562-1638: A Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné*. Trans. Diane L. Webb. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1999.
- Van Thiel-Stroman 2006  
 Irene van Thiel-Stroman. "Biographies 15th-17th century: Hendrick Heerschop." In *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850: The Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, collection cat. Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum, 2006.
- Thieme-Becker  
 Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann (vol. 1), E.A. Seeman (vols. 2-37), 1907-1950.
- Thomson 1950  
 Gladys Scott Thomson. "The Restoration of the Duke of Bedford's Pictures." *Burlington Magazine* 92 (1950), pp. 320-321.
- Tümpel 1966  
 Christian Tümpel. "Ikongrafische Beiträge zu Rembrandt." *Kunstchronik* 19 (1966), pp. 300-302.
- Tümpel 1974  
 Astrid Tümpel. "Claes Cornelisz. Moeyaert." *Oud Holland* 88 (1974), pp. 1-163, 245-290.
- Tümpel 1993  
 Christian Tümpel. *Rembrandt: All the Paintings in Colour*. Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1993.
- Tümpel 2004  
 Christian Tümpel. "Arent de Gelder's Religious Iconography." In *Collected Opinions: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*. Volker Manuth and Axel Rüger, eds. London: Paul Holberton, 2004.
- Valentiner 1909  
 Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner. *Rembrandt: des Meisters Gemälde, mit 645 Abbildungen*. "Klassiker der Kunst." 3rd edition, Stuttgart and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1909.
- Valentiner 1921  
 Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner. *Wiedergefundene Gemälde (1910-1920)*. "Klassiker der Kunst in Gesamtausgabe" 27. Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921.
- Valentiner 1923  
 Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner. *Wiedergefundene Gemälde (1910-1920)*, 2nd revised edition. "Klassiker der Kunst in Gesamtausgabe" 27. Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1923.
- Valentiner 1924  
 Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner. *Nicolaes Maes*. Berlin, Stuttgart and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1924.
- Valentiner 1931  
 Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner. *Rembrandt Paintings in America*. New York: S. W. Frankel, 1931.
- Van de Velde 1975  
 Carl Van de Velde. *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570). Leven en Werken*, 2 vols. "Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten" 30. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1975.
- Veldman 1993  
 Ilja M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck*, part 1: *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450-1700*. Roosendaal: Sound and Vision International, 1993.
- Vermeeren 1978  
 Karel Vermeeren. "Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, zijn leven en zijn werken (I)." *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 1978, no. 1, pp. 3-23.
- Vermeeren 1979  
 Karel Vermeeren. "Constantijn Daniël van Renesse, zijn leven en zijn werken (II)." *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis*, 1979, no. 1, pp. 27-32.
- Vertue I  
 George Vertue. "The Vertue Notebooks." *Journal of the Walpole Society* 18 (1929-1930).
- Vertue II  
 George Vertue. "The Vertue Notebooks." *Journal of the Walpole Society* 20 (1931-1932).
- Vertue IV  
 George Vertue. "The Vertue Notebooks IV." *Journal of the Walpole Society* 24 (1935-1936).



- Vertue V  
George Vertue. "The Vertue Notebooks V." *Journal of the Walpole Society* 27 (1937-1938).
- Veth 1884  
Jan Veth. "Aelbert Cuyp, Jacob Gerritsz. Cuyp en Benjamin Cuyp." *Oud Holland* 2 (1884), pp. 235-255.
- Veth 1888  
Jan Veth. "Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche schilders (II-IV)." *Oud Holland* 6 (1888), pp. 141-142.
- Veth 1890  
Jan Veth. "Aanteekeningen omtrent eenige Dordrechtsche Schilders." *Oud Holland* 8 (1890), pp. 125-142.
- Vey 1962  
Horst Vey. *Die Zeichnungen Anton Van Dycks*, 2 vols. Brussels: Arcade, 1962.
- Vlieghe 1972  
Hans Vlieghe. *Saints, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burkhard*, part VIII, 2 vols. London and New York: Phaidon, 1972.
- Vlieghe 1983  
Hans Vlieghe. "Toward the Identification of the Pseudo-Van de Venne, Alias Jan van de Venne." In *Essays in Northern European Art presented to E. Haverkamp-Begemann*, pp. 287-290. Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983.
- Voorhelm Schneevoogt 1873  
C. G. Voorhelm Schneevoogt. *Catalogue des Estampes Gravées d'après P. Rubens, avec l'indication des collections où se trouvent les tableaux et les gravures*. Haarlem: Loosjes, 1873.
- Voragine  
Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols. Trans. William Granger Ryan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Voskuil-Popper 1976  
Noémi Voskuil-Popper. "Johan de Cordua: A Forgotten Vanitas Painter." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 87 (1976), pp. 61-74.
- De Vries 1885  
A. D. de Vries Azn. "Biografische Aanteekeningen betreffende voornamelijk Amsterdamse schilders, plaatsnijders, etc." *Oud Holland* 3 (1885), pp. 55-84, 135-160, 223-240, 303-312.
- De Vries 1960  
A. B. de Vries. "Old Masters in the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney van den Bergh." *Apollo* 80 (1960), pp. 352-359.
- Waagen 1854-1857  
Gustav Friedrich Waagen. *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 4 vols. London: J. Murray, 1854-1857.
- Van de Waal 1947  
Henri van de Waal. "'Hagar in de Woestijn' door Rembrandt en zijn school." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 1 (1947), pp. 145-169.
- Walford 1991  
E. John Walford. *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Walpole 1928  
Horace Walpole. "Journals of Visits to Country Seats, etc." *Journal of the Walpole Society* 16 (1927-1928).
- Wassenbergh 1967  
A. Wassenbergh. *De portretkunst in Friesland in de zeventiende eeuw*. Lochem: De Tijdstroom, 1967.
- Weisner 1964  
Ulrich Weisner. "Die Gemälde des Moyses van Uytenbroeck." *Oud Holland* 79 (1964), pp. 189-228.
- Weizsäcker 1936-1952  
Heinrich Weizsäcker. *Adam Elsheimer; der Maler von Frankfurt*, 3 vols. Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1936-1952.
- Wessely 1881  
J. E. Wessely. *Wallerant Vaillant. Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche und Schabkunstblätter*. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1881.
- Van de Wetering 2000  
Ernst van de Wetering. *Rembrandt: The Painter at Work*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2000.
- Van de Wetering 2006  
Ernst van de Wetering. "Rembrandt's Oil Studies: New Light on an Old Problem." In exhib. cat. Amsterdam 2006, pp. 179-207.
- Wethey 1969  
Harold Wethey. *The Paintings of Titian*, 3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1969.
- Weyerman  
Jacob Campo Weyerman. *De Levens-Beschryvingen der Nederlandsche Konst-Schilders en Konst-Schilderessen, met een Uyt-Breyding over de Schilder-Konst der Ouden*, 4 vols. The Hague: Widow of F. Boucquet, H. Scheurleer, F. Boucquet and J. de Jongh, 1729-1769.
- Wheelock 1975  
Arthur K. Wheelock. "Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte: Architectural Painting in Delft around 1650." *Simiolus* 8 (1975-1976), pp. 167-185.
- Wichmann 1923  
Heinrich Wichmann. *Leonaert Bramer: sein Leben und seine Kunst. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei zur Zeit Rembrandts*. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923.
- Van der Willigen 1870  
Adriaan van der Willigen. *Les Artistes de Haarlem*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1870.
- De Winkel 1995  
Marieke de Winkel. "'Eene der deftigsten dragten': The Iconography of the Tabbard and the Sense of Tradition in Seventeenth-century Dutch Portraiture." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), pp. 144-167.
- De Winkel 1998  
Marieke de Winkel. "The Interpretation of Dress in Vermeer's Paintings." In *Vermeer Studies*, Ivan Gaskell and Michiel Jonker, eds., pp. 326-339. "Studies in the History of Art" 55. Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- De Witt 2004  
David de Witt. "The 'Scholar by Candlelight' and Rembrandt's Early Transition." In *Collected Opinions: Essays on Netherlandish Art in Honour of Alfred Bader*, Volker Manuth and Axel Rüger, eds., pp. 262-277. London: Paul Holberton, 2004.
- De Witt 2007  
David de Witt. *Jan van Noordt: Painter of History and Portraits in Amsterdam*. Montreal, Kingston, London and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- Wurzbach 1906-1911  
Alfred von Wurzbach. *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexikon*, 3 vols. Vienna and Leipzig: Halm und Goldmann, 1906-1911.
- Young 1770  
Arthur Young. *A Six Month's Tour through the North of England. Containing an account of the present state of agriculture, manufactures and population, in several counties in this kingdom ...* London: W. Strahan, 1770.



## EXHIBITION CATALOGUES

Amsterdam 1935

F. Schmidt-Degener. *Rembrandt-tentoonstelling*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1935.

Amsterdam 1955

*Jubileumtentoonstelling*. Amsterdam: Gebroeder Douwes, 1955.

Amsterdam 1984

Ingvar Bergström et al. *Masters of Middelburg*. Amsterdam: K. & V. Waterman, 1984.

Amsterdam 1991

Astrid Tümpel and Pieter Schatborn. *Pieter Lastman: leermeester van Rembrandt/The Man Who Taught Rembrandt*. Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 1991.

Amsterdam 1992

Michiel Plomp. *Episcopius: Jan de Bisschop (1628-1671), Lawyer and Draughtsman*. Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 1992.

Amsterdam 1995

Koen Ottenheym et al. *Jacob van Campen: het klassieke ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw*. Amsterdam: Royal Palace on the Dam, 1995.

Amsterdam 1996

Christiaan Schuckman, Martin Royalton-Kisch and Erik Hinterding. *Rembrandt and Van Vliet: A Collaboration on Copper*. Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 1996.

Amsterdam 2001

Peter Schatborn. *Drawn to Warmth: 17th Century Dutch Artists in Italy*. Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet, 2001.

Amsterdam 2002

Norbert Middelkoop et al. *Kopstukken: Amsterdammers geportretteerd*. Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2002.

Amsterdam 2006

Ernst van de Wetering et al. *Rembrandt: Quest of a Genius*. Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis in collaboration with the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2006.

Amsterdam and Cleveland 1999-2000

Alan Chong and Wouter Kloek. *Still-life Paintings from the Netherlands, 1550-1720*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; and Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1999-2000.

Amsterdam and Groningen 1983

Albert Blankert. *Impact of a Genius: Rembrandt, His Pupils and Followers in the 17th Century. Paintings in Museums and Private Collections*. Amsterdam: Waterman; and Groningen: Groninger Museum, 1983.

Amsterdam and Jerusalem 1991-1992

Christian Tümpel et al. *Het Oude Testament in de Schilderkunst van de Gouden Eeuw*. Amsterdam: Joods Historisch Museum; and Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1991-1992.

Amsterdam and Washington 1996-1997

H. Perry Chapman, Wouter Kloek and Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. *Jan Steen: Painter and Storyteller*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1996-1997.

Amsterdam, New York and Toledo 2003-2004

Huigen Leeftang and Ger Luijten. *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): Drawings, Prints and Paintings*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art, 2003-2004.

Amsterdam, San Francisco and Hartford 2002

*Michael Sweerts, 1618-1664*. Duncan Bull, ed. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco; and Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 2002.

Antwerp 1982

*Het Aardse Paradijs. Dierenvoorstellingen in de Nederlanden van de 16de en 17de eeuw*. Antwerp: Zoo Antwerpen, 1982.

Antwerp 1991

Margret Klinge. *David Teniers the Younger: Paintings, Drawings*. Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1991.

Antwerp 1993

Roger Adolph D'Hulst, Nora de Poorter and Marc Vandeven. *Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678). Tableaux et tapisseries*. Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1993.

Athens 1999

S. William Pelletier. *From Rembrandt and His Studio: Two Paintings from the Bader Collection*. Athens, Georgia: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 1999.

Berlin 1890

*Katalog der Ausstellung von Werken der niederländischen Kunst des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts. Gemälde der holländischen und flämischen Schule, delfter Fayencen, Möbeln und Gegenständen der Kleinkunst in Berliner Privatbesitz*. Berlin: Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft in Berlin, 1890.

Berlin 1906

*Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst aus dem Privatbesitz der Mitglieder des Kaiser Friedrich-Museums-Vereins*. Berlin: Former Gräfllich Redern'schen Palais, 1906.

Berlin 1909

*Illustrierter Katalog der Ausstellungen von Bildnissen des fünfzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Künste, 1909.

Berlin 1914

*Ausstellung von Werken alter Kunst aus dem Privatbesitz der Mitglieder des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Vereins*. Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1914.

Berlin 1932

*Hundert seltene Holländer* (collection of Rudolph Holzapfel-Ward). Berlin: Galerie Dr. Schäffer, 1932.

Berlin 2006

*Rembrandt: Genie auf der Suche*. Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2006.

Berlin, Amsterdam and London 1991-1992

Christopher Brown et al. *Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop*. 2 vols. Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen zu Berlin at the Altes Museum; Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; and London: National Gallery, 1991-1992.

Birmingham, Alabama, et al. 1957-1958

*Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.* Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Museum of Art; Washington: George Washington University; Columbus, Ohio: Columbus Museum of Fine Arts; Dallas: Dallas Museum of Fine Arts; Columbus, Georgia: Columbus Museum of Arts and Crafts; New Orleans: Isaac Delgado Museum of Art; West Palm Beach Florida: Norton Gallery of Art; Columbia, South Carolina: Columbia Museum of Art; and Chattanooga: George T. Hunter Gallery, 1957-1958.

Boston 2000

Alan Chong et al. *Rembrandt Creates Rembrandt: Art and Ambition in Leiden, 1629-1631*. Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardiner Museum, 2000.

Boston and Chicago 2004

Clifford S. Ackley et al. *Rembrandt's Journey: Painter, Draftsman, Etcher*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts; and Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2004.

Braunschweig 1979

Rüdiger Klessmann. *Jan Lievens, ein Maler im Schatten Rembrandts*. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1979.

Braunschweig 1993-1994

Ursel Berger et al. *Bilder vom alten Menschen in der niederländischen und deutschen Kunst 1550-1750*. Rüdiger Klessmann, ed. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1993-1994.

Braunschweig and Utrecht 1986-1987

Rüdiger Klessmann. *Holländische Malerei in neuem Licht. Hendrick ter Brugghen und seine Zeitgenossen*. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; and Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1986-1987.

Cambridge 1988

*The Dutch Connection*. Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1988.

Chicago, Minneapolis and Detroit 1969-1970

J. Richard Judson. *Rembrandt after Three Hundred Years*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; Minneapolis: Minneapolis Museum of Art; and Detroit: Detroit Art Institute, 1969-1970.

Cologne and Utrecht 1991-1992

*I Bamboccianti: niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock*. David Levine and Ekkehard Mai, eds. Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz Museum; and Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1991-1992.



- Copenhagen 2006  
*Rembrandt? The Master and His Workshop*. Lene Bøgh Rønberg and Eva de la Fuente Pederson, eds. Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 2006.
- Delft 1952-1953  
*Nederlandse Meesters uit Particulier Bezit*. Delft: Museum het Prinsenhof, 1952-1953.
- Delft 1994  
Jane ten Brink Goldsmith and Michiel Plomp. *Leonaert Bramer, 1596-1674: Ingenious Painter and Draughtsman in Rome and Delft*. Delft: Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, 1994.
- Delft 1996  
M.C.C. Kersten, D.H.A.C. Lokin and M. C. Plomp. *Delftse meesters: tijdgenoten van Vermeer*. Delft: Stedelijk Museum het Prinsenhof, 1996.
- Detroit 1930  
*The Thirteenth Loan Exhibition of Old Masters: Paintings by Rembrandt*. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1930.
- Dijon 2004  
Irena Sokolova and Emmanuel Starcky. *Rembrandt et son école*. Dijon: Musée des beaux-arts de Dijon, 2004.
- Dordrecht 1992  
*De Zichtbaere Werelt. Schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands oudste stad*. Dordrecht: Dordrechts Museum, 1992.
- Dordrecht 2002  
*Jacob Gerritsz Cuyp (1594-1652)*. Sander Paarlberg, ed. Dordrecht: Dordrechts Museum, 2002.
- Dordrecht and Cologne 1998-1999  
*Arent de Gelder (1645-1727): Rembrandts laatste leerling*. Dordrecht: Dordrechts Museum; and Cologne: Walraff-Richartz Museum, 1998-1999.
- Dublin 2005  
Adriaan Waiboer. *Northern Nocturnes: Nightscapes in the Age of Rembrandt*. Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2005.
- Eau Claire 1987  
Eugene Hood. *Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader Collection: Selected Prints and Drawings*. Eau Claire, Wisconsin: The Foster Gallery, Fine Arts Centre, University of Wisconsin, 1987.
- Edinburgh and London 2001  
Julia Lloyd Williams. *Rembrandt's Women*. Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland; and London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001.
- Frankfurt 1966  
*Adam Elsheimer. Werk, künstlerische Herkunft und Nachfolge*. Frankfurt: Städelsches Kunstinstitut, 1966.
- Frankfurt 1993  
Sabine Schulze and Ann Jensen Adams. *Leselust. Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer*. Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle, 1993.
- Frankfurt and Rotterdam 1999-2000  
Albert Blankert. *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth-century Painting*. Frankfurt: Städelsches Kunstinstitut; and Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1999-2000.
- Frankfurt, Edinburgh and London 2006  
Rüdiger Klessmann et al. *Adam Elsheimer, 1578-1610*. Frankfurt: Städelsches Kunstinstitut; Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland; and London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2006.
- Genoa 1955  
*100 Opere di van Dyck*. Genoa: Palazzo dell'Accademia, 1955.
- Groningen 2004  
Robert Schillemans and Egge Knol. *Adam Camerarius. Een Groninger Schilder uit de 17de eeuw*. Groningen: Groninger Museum, 2004.
- Groningen 2005  
Luuk Pijl et al. *Van Cuyp tot Rembrandt: de verzameling Cornelius Hofstede de Groot*. Groningen: Groninger Museum, 2005.
- Haarlem and Antwerp 2000-2001  
Jan Baptist Bedaux and Rudi Ekkart. *Pride and Joy: Children's Portraits in the Netherlands, 1500-1700*. Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum; and Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2000-2001.
- The Hague 1991  
Paul Huys Janssen and Peter C. Sutton. *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Dutch Landscapes*. The Hague: Hoogsteder and Hoogsteder, 1991.
- The Hague 1992  
Paul Huys Janssen. *The Hoogsteder Exhibition of Rembrandt's Academy*. The Hague: Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, 1992.
- The Hague 1997  
*Princely Patrons: The Collection of Frederick Henry of Orange and Amalia of Solms in The Hague*. Peter van der Ploeg and Carola Vermeeren, eds. The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1997.
- The Hague 1998  
Edwin Buisen et al. *Haagse Schilders in de Gouden Eeuw. Het Hoogsteder Lexicon van alle schilders werkzaam in Den Haag 1600-1700*. The Hague: Haags Historisch Museum, 1998.
- The Hague 2002  
Quentin Buvelot and Hans Buijs. *A Choice Collection: Seventeenth-century Dutch Paintings from the Frits Lugt Collection*. The Hague: Mauritshuis, 2002.
- The Hague and San Francisco 1990-1991  
Ben Broos and J. Roding. *Great Dutch Paintings from America*. The Hague: Mauritshuis; and San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1990-1991.
- The Hague and Schwerin 2004-2005  
Frederik Duparc, Gero Seelig and Ariane van Suchtelen. *Carel Fabritius (1622-1654)*. The Hague: Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis; and Schwerin: Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 2004-2005.
- Hempstead 1988  
Linda Stone-Ferrier and Donna Barnes. *People at Work: Seventeenth Century Dutch Art*. Hempstead, New York: Hofstra University, Hofstra Museum, 1988.
- Jerusalem 1993  
Martin Weyl and Rivka Weiss. *Painting the Bible in Rembrandt's Holland*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1993.
- Kalamazoo 1967  
*Alfred Bader Collection: 17th Century Dutch and Flemish Painting*. Introduction by James Christie. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Kalamazoo Institute of Arts, 1967.
- Kassel 2006  
*Rembrandt-Bilder. Die historische Sammlung der Kasseler Gemäldegalerie*. Kassel: Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, 2006.
- Kassel and Amsterdam 2001-2002  
Ernst van de Wetering and Bernhard Schnackenburg. *The Mystery of the Young Rembrandt*. Kassel: Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister; and Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 2001-2002.
- Kingston 1984  
David McTavish. *Pictures from the Age of Rembrandt: Selections from the Personal Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader*. Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1984.
- Kingston 1988-1991  
David McTavish. *Telling Images: Selections from the Bader Gift of European Paintings to Queen's University*. Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre; Hamilton: Art Gallery of Hamilton; Regina: McKenzie Art Gallery; Fredericton: Beaverbrook Art Gallery; Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery; Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia; Wolfville, Nova Scotia: Acadia University; and Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1988-1991.
- Kingston 1996-1997  
Volker Manuth et al. *Wisdom, Knowledge and Magic: The Image of the Scholar in Dutch 17th-century Art*. Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1996.
- Kingston 2003  
David de Witt. *Gift of Genius: A Rembrandt for Kingston*. Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 2003.
- Kleve 1965  
*Govert Flinck, der kleeftsche Apelles, 1616-1660. Gemälde und Zeichnungen*. Friedrich Gorissen, ed. Kleve: Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek, 1965.
- Kyoto and Frankfurt 2002-2003  
Jeroen Giltaij et al. *Rembrandt Rembrandt*. Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum; and Frankfurt: Städelsches Kunstinstitut, 2002-2003.
- Laren 1959  
*Kunstschatten. Twee Nederlandse Collecties Schilderijen*. Laren: Singer Museum, 1959.



- Leeuwarden 1936  
*Herdenkings-tentoonstelling Lambert Jacobsz.*  
Leeuwarden: Fries Museum, 1936.
- Leiden 1956  
J. N. van Wessem. *Rembrandt als Leermeester.*  
Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 1956.
- Leiden 1965  
*17de eeuwse Meesters uit Nederlands Particulier Bezit.*  
Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 1965.
- Leiden 1998  
R.E.O. Ekkart. *Isaac Claesz. van Swanenburg 1537-1614. Leids schilder en burgermeester.* Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 1998.
- Leiden 2005-2006  
Christiaan Vogelaar and Gerbrand Korevaar. *Rembrandt's Mother: Myth and Reality.* Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 2005-2006.
- Leipzig and Munich 1998-2000  
Stefan Kemperdick et al. *Maximilian Speck von Sternburg. Ein Europäer der Goethezeit als Kunstsammler.* Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste; and Munich: Haus der Kunst, 1998-2000.
- Lille, Calais and Arras 1977  
*La Peinture flamande au temps de Rubens. Trésors des Musées du Nord de la France III.* Lille: Palais des beaux-arts; Calais: Musée des beaux-arts et de la dentelle; and Arras: Musée municipal, 1977.
- London 1929  
*Exhibition of Dutch Art, 1450-1900.* London: Royal Academy of Art, 1929.
- London 1946  
*Thirty-five Masterpieces of European Painting.*  
London: Thos. Agnew & Sons, 1946.
- London 1952-1953  
*Dutch Pictures, 1450-1750.* London: Royal Academy, 1952-1953.
- London 1953  
*Rembrandt's Influence in the 17th Century.* London: Matthiesen Gallery, 1953.
- London 1963  
*Annual Autumn Exhibition of Dutch and Flemish Paintings.* London: Brod Gallery, 1963.
- London 2002  
Laurie B. Harwood, Christopher Brown and Charlotte Steland-Stief. *Inspired by Italy: Dutch Landscape Paintings 1600-1700.* London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2002.
- London and Amsterdam 2006  
Friso Lammertse and Jaap van der Veen. *Uylenburgh and Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese.* London: Dulwich Picture Gallery; and Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis, 2006.
- London and New York 2001  
Walter Liedtke, Michiel Plomp and Axel Rüger. *Vermeer and the Delft School.* London: National Gallery; and New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.
- London and The Hague 1999-2000  
*Rembrandt by Himself* Quentin Buvelot and Christopher White, eds. London: National Gallery; and The Hague: Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, 1999-2000.
- Marshall Spink 1963  
*Exhibition Old Masters.* London: C. Marshall Spink, 1963.
- Melbourne and Canberra 1997-1998  
Albert Blankert et al. *Rembrandt: A Genius and His Impact.* Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria; and Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1997-1998.
- Milwaukee 1976  
*The Bible through Dutch Eyes: From Genesis through the Apocrypha.* Alfred Bader, ed. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1976.
- Milwaukee 1989  
Alfred and Isabel Bader. *The Detective's Eye: Investigating the Old Masters.* Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1989.
- Milwaukee 2005-2006  
Laurie Winters, David de Witt and Mary Weaver Chapin. *Rembrandt and His Time: Selected Paintings.* Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 2005-2006.
- Minneapolis 1990  
Georg S. Keyes. *Mirror of Empire: Dutch Marine Art of the Seventeenth Century.* Minneapolis: Minneapolis Museum of Art, 1990.
- Montreal 1990  
Frederic Duparc and Linda L. Graif. *Italian Recollections: Dutch Painters of the Golden Age.* Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1990.
- Montreal and Toronto 1969  
*Rembrandt and His Pupils.* Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; and Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1969.
- Münster 1994  
Christian Tümpel and Gerlinde de Beer. *Im Lichte Rembrandts: das Alte Testament im goldenen Zeitalter der niederländischen Kunst.* Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1994.
- Münster and Baden-Baden 1979-1980  
*Stilleben in Europa.* Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum; and Baden-Baden: Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1979-1980.
- Naumann 1995  
Peter C. Sutton et al. *Inaugural Exhibition of Old Master Paintings.* New York: Otto Naumann Fine Arts, 1995.
- New Brunswick 1983  
Frima Fox Hofrichter, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann and J. J. Temminck. *Haarlem: The 17th century.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: The Jane Vorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University, 1983.
- New York 1984  
*Intimate Vision: As Seen through a Selection of Seventeenth-century Dutch Paintings.* New York: Christophe Janet, 1984.
- New York 1995  
Walter Liedtke and Hubertus von Sonnenburg. *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Aspects of Connoisseurship,* 2 vols. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.
- Orléans 1996  
*Mémoire du Nord. Peintures flamandes et hollandaises des musées d'Orléans.* Orléans: Musées des beaux-arts d'Orléans, 1996.
- Osaka, Tokyo and Sydney 1990  
Sam Segal. *Flowers and Nature: Netherlandish Flower Painting of Four Centuries.* Osaka: Nabio Museum of Art; Tokyo: Tokyo Station Gallery; and Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1990.
- Oshkosh 1968  
*Dutch Art of the 1600's.* Introduction by Alfred Bader. Oshkosh, Wisconsin: The Paine Art Centre and Arboretum, 1968.
- Ottawa 1968  
Michael Jaffé. *Jacob Jordaens, 1693-1678.* Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1968.
- Philadelphia, Berlin and London 1983-1984  
Pieter Sutton et al. *Masters of Seventeenth-century Dutch Genre Painting.* Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Berlin: Gemäldegalerie; and London: Royal Academy of Art, 1983-1984.
- Raleigh 1956  
Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner. *Rembrandt and His Pupils: A Loan Exhibition.* Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1956.
- Raleigh, Milwaukee and Dayton 1998-1999  
*Sinners and Saints, Darkness and Light: Caravaggio and His Dutch and Flemish Followers.* Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art; Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum; and Dayton: Dayton Art Institute, 1998-1999.
- Rotterdam 1958  
*Michiel Sweerts en tijdgenoten.* Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1958.
- Rotterdam 1994  
Friso Lammertse. *Van Eyck to Breugel, 1400-1550: Dutch and Flemish Painting in the Collection of the Museum Boijmans-van Beuningen.* Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1994.
- Rotterdam and Frankfurt 1999-2000  
Albert Blankert et al. *Dutch Classicism in Seventeenth-century Painting.* Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen; and Frankfurt: Städtisches Kunstinstitut, 1999-2000.



Sacramento 1974  
Astrid Tümpel. *The Pre-Rembrandists*. Sacramento, California: E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1974.

San Francisco, Baltimore and London 1997-1998  
Joaneath Spicer. *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age*. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery; and London: National Gallery, 1997-1998.

Sarasota 1980-1981  
William H. Wilson. *Dutch Seventeenth Century Portraiture: The Golden Age*. Sarasota: The John and Mabel Ringling Museum of Art, 1980-1981.

South Hadley 1979  
*Baroque Painting in the Low Countries: Selections from the Bader Collection*. John L. Varriano, ed. South Hadley, Massachusetts: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1979.

South Hadley, Williamstown and Washington 1994  
Wendy M. Watson. *Altered States: Conservation, Analysis, and the Interpretation of Works of Art*. South Hadley, Massachusetts: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum; Williamstown: Clark Art Institute; and Washington: National Academy of Design, 1994.

Tokyo 2003  
*Rembrandt and the Rembrandt School: The Bible, Mythology and Ancient History*. Tokyo: The National Museum of Western Art, 2003.

Tokyo, Chiba and Yamaguchi 1992  
Christopher Brown et al. *Rembrandt, His Teachers and His Pupils*. Tokyo: The Bunkamura Museum of Art; Chiba: Kawamura Memorial Museum of Art; and Yamaguchi: The Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum of Art, 1992.

Toronto 1936  
*Catalogue of Exhibitions: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Paintings by European Masters: Paintings by Nineteenth Century French Artists*. Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1936.

Utrecht and Luxembourg 1993  
Peter van den Brink. *Het Gedroomde Land. Pastorale Schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*. Utrecht: Centraal Museum; and Luxembourg: Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, 1993.

Vienna 1893-1894  
*Katalog der Kunst-Ausstellung im Künstlerhause*. Vienna: Künstlerhaus, 1893-1894.

Washington 1990-1991  
Arthur K. Wheelock et al. *Anthony van Dyck*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990.

Washington and Los Angeles 2005  
Arthur K. Wheelock. *Rembrandt's Late Religious Portraits*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; and Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005.

Washington, Detroit and Amsterdam 1980-1981  
Albert Blankert et al. *Gods, Saints and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts; and Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1980-1981.

West Lafayette 1980  
*Old Students and Old Masters: Selections from the Bader Collection*. Introduction by David Parrish. West Lafayette, Indiana: Union Gallery, Purdue University, 1980.

West Lafayette 1987  
*Italian Baroque Paintings: Selections from the Bader Collection*. Introduction by Kathryn Evans. West Lafayette, Indiana: Union Gallery, Purdue University, 1987.

West Lafayette 1992  
*From Private Collection to Corporate Identity: Selections from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Bader, in Honor of Nobel Laureate Herbert C. Brown's 80th Birthday*. Introduction by Mona Berg. West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Galleries, 1992.

Yokohama, Fukuoka and Kyoto 1986-1987  
Christopher Brown. *Rembrandt and the Bible*. Yokohama: Sogo Museum of Art; Fukuoka: Fukuoka Art Museum; and Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum of Modern Art, 1986-1987.

Yokohama, Shizuoka and Osaka 1990  
Christopher Brown et al. *Anthony van Dyck*. Yokohama: Sogo Museum of Art; Shizuoka: Shizuoka Prefectural Museum of Art; and Osaka: Museum of Art, Kintetsu, 1990.

## COLLECTION CATALOGUES

Van Aalst 1939  
Joachim W. von Moltke. *Dutch and Flemish Old Masters in the Collection of Dr. C.J.K. van Aalst*. Foreword by Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner. Hoevelaken: Huis te Hoevelaken, Van Aalst Collection, 1939.

Amsterdam 1943  
M. D. Henckel. *Teekeningen van Rembrandt en zijn school. Catalogus van de nederlandse teekeningen in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1943.

Amsterdam 1976  
Pieter J.J. van Thiel et al. *All the Paintings in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1976.

Amsterdam 1998  
Marijn Schapellhouman and Peter Schatborn. *Dutch Drawings of the Seventeenth Century in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: Artists Born between 1580 and 1600*, 2 vols. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1998.

Antwerp 1988  
Erik Vandamme. *Catalogus Schilderijen Oude Meesters*. Antwerp: Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1988.

Van den Bergh 1968  
A. B. de Vries. *Verzameling Sidney J. van den Bergh*. Wassenaar: Sidney J. van den Bergh, 1968.

Berlin 1914  
Wilhelm von Bode. *Die Gemäldesammlung Marcus Kappel in Berlin*. Berlin: Julius Bard, 1914.

Berlin 1964  
Helmut Börsch-Supan. *Die Gemälde im Jagdschloss Grunewald*. Berlin: Jagdschloss Grunewald, Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, 1964.

Berlin 1976  
*Holländische und flämische Gemälde des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts im Bode-Museum, Berlin*. Berlin: Bode-Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1976.

Berlin 1996  
*Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Gesamtverzeichnis*. Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1996.

Bordeaux 1990  
Olivier Le Bihan. *L'Or et l'Ombre : catalogue critique et raisonné des peintures du dix-septième et du dix-huitième siècle conservées au Musée des beaux-arts de Bordeaux*. Bordeaux: Musée des beaux-arts de Bordeaux, 1990.

Braunschweig 1983  
Rüdiger Klessmann. *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig. Die Holländischen Gemälde*. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1983.

Braunschweig 1990  
Thomas Döring. *Holländische Historienbilder. "Bilderhefte des Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums Braunschweig" 8*. Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 1990.



- Brussels 1984  
Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Inventarisatocatalogus van de oude schilderkunst.  
Brussels: Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, 1984.
- Budapest 1968  
Andor Pigler. *Katalog der Galerie alter Meister*.  
Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 1968.
- Budapest 2000  
Ildikó Ember and Zsuzsa Urbach. *Old Masters' Gallery, Summary Catalogue*, volume 2: *Early Netherlandish, Dutch and Flemish Paintings*.  
Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2000.
- Cape Town 1997  
Hans Fransen et al. *Michaelis Collection: The Old Town House, Cape Town: Catalogue of the Collection of Paintings and Drawings*. Cape Town: The Old Town House; Zwolle: Waanders, 1997.
- Dresden 1992  
Gemäldegalerie Dresden Alte Meister. *Katalog der ausgestellten Werke*. Dresden: Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 1992.
- Dublin 1986  
Homan Potterton. *Dutch Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland: A Complete Catalogue*. Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1986.
- Florence 1989  
Marco Chiarini. *I dipinti olandese del seicento e del settecento*. Florence: Gallerie e Musei Statali di Firenze, 1989.
- The Hague 1992  
Old Master Paintings: An Illustrated Summary Catalogue. The Hague: Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst (now the Instituut Collectie Nederland), 1992.
- The Hague 1993  
Nicolette Sluijter-Seiffert et al. *Mauritshuis: Illustrated General Catalogue*. The Hague: Mauritshuis, 1993.
- Hamburg 2001  
Uwe M. Schneede and Thomas Ketelsen. *Die Sammlungen der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Band II: *Die niederländischen Gemälde 1500-1800*. Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle, 2001.
- Hannover 1891  
Oskar Eisenmann. *Katalog der zum Ressort der königlichen Verwaltungs-Kommission gehörigen Sammlungen von Gemälden, Skulpturen und Alterthümer im Provinzial-Museumgebäude an der Prinzenstrasse Nr. 4 zu Hannover*. Hannover: Fideikommiss-Galerie des Gesamthauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg, 1891.
- Hannover 1905  
Oskar Eisenmann. *Katalog der zur Fideikommiss-Galerie des Gesamthauses Braunschweig und Lüneburg gehörigen Sammlung von Gemälden und Skulpturen im Provinzial-Museum*, vol. 3: *Gemälde-Sammlung*. Preface by Jacobus Reimers. Hannover: Fideikommiss-Galerie des Gesamthauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg, 1905.
- Karlsruhe 1966  
Katalog Alte Meister bis 1800. Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, 1966.
- Kassel 1996  
Bernhard Schnackenburg. *Gesamtkatalog Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister Kassel*, 2 vols. Kassel: Staatliche Museen Kassel, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, 1996.
- Leiden 1983  
Maartin L. Wurfbaai et al. *Catalogus van Schilderijen en Tekeningen*. Leiden: Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, 1983.
- Leipzig 1995  
Dietulf Sander. *Katalog der Gemälde*. Herwig Guratzsch, ed. Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste, 1995.
- Liguria 1998  
Maria Fontana Amoretti and Michiel Plomp. *Repertory of Dutch and Flemish Paintings in Italian Public Collections*, vol. 1: *Liguria*. Florence: Centro Di, 1998.
- London 1991  
Neal McLaren. *Catalogue of the Dutch School, 1600-1900*, 2 vols. Revised by Christopher Brown. London: National Gallery, 1991.
- Milwaukee 1974  
Selections from the Bader Collection. Helen Bader, ed. Introduction by Wolfgang Stechow. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1974.
- Moscow 1995  
State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts: *Catalogue of Paintings*. Moscow: State Pushkin Museum, 1995.
- Munich 2002  
Konrad Renger and Claudia Denk. *Flämische Malerei des Barock in der Alten Pinakothek*. Munich: Alte Pinakothek, 2002.
- New York 1915  
Catalogue of the Gallery of Art of the New York Historical Society. New York: New York Historical Society, 1915.
- New York 1984  
Walter Liedtke. *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984.
- Nuremberg 1995  
Andreas Tacke. *Die Gemälde des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995.
- Paris 1982  
Jacques Foucart. *Peintures de Rembrandt au Louvre*. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1982.
- Philadelphia 1994  
Paintings from Europe and the Americas in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1994.
- Pommersfelden 1894  
Theodor von Frimmel. *Verzeichnis der Gemälde in gräflich Schönborn-Wiesentheid'schem Besitze*. Pommersfelden: Graf Schönborn-Wiesentheid, 1894.
- Rotterdam 1969  
Hans R. Hoetink. *Drawings by Rembrandt and His School*, 2 vols. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 1969.
- Rotterdam 2000  
Jeroen Giltaij. *Honderdvijftig jaar er bij en er af*. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2000.
- St. Petersburg 1981  
A. E. Krol et al. *Musée de l'Ermitage. Peinture de l'Europe Occidentale, Catalogue*, vol. 2. St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Museum, 1981.
- St. Petersburg 1982  
Yuri Kuznestov and Irene Linnik. *Dutch Paintings in Soviet Museums*. St. Petersburg: Hermitage, 1982.
- Speck 1826  
Maximilian Freiherr Speck von Sternburg. *Verzeichniss der von Speck'schen Gemälde-Sammlung mit darauf Beziehung habenden Steindrücken*. Leipzig: Collection of Maximilian Freiherr Speck von Sternburg, 1826.
- Speck 1889  
Alexander Freiherr Speck von Sternburg. *Verzeichniss von Ölgemälden welche sich in der Freiherrlich Speck v. Sternburg'schen Sammlung auf dem Rittergute Lützschena bei Leipzig befinden*. Leipzig: Alexander Freiherr Speck von Sternburg, 1889.
- Stockholm 1990  
Görel Cavalli-Björkman. *Illustrated Catalogue: European Paintings*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1990.
- Stuttgart 1992  
Rüdiger Klapproth. *Alte Meister*. Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie, 1992.
- Utrecht 1999  
Liesbeth Helmus. *De verzamelingen van het Centraal Museum Utrecht. Schilderkunst tot 1850*, 2 vols. Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1999.
- Vienna 1991  
Die Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien. Martina Haja, ed. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1991.
- Washington 1995  
Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. *Dutch Paintings of the Seventeenth Century*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1995.
- Woburn Abbey 1877  
George Scharf. *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Woburn Abbey*, 1877.
- Woburn Abbey 1890  
George Scharf. *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Woburn Abbey*, 1890.



## PHOTO CREDITS

Note: An attempt has been made to contact the known present owners of all of the works illustrated in this catalogue, for their permission to publish.

Amsterdam, Museum Van Loon: fig. 185c

Amsterdam, Museum het Rembrandthuis: figs. 56a, 75b, 115b, 115e, 121b, 150b, 161d

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum: figs. 18c, 33a, 34a, 52a, 57c, 67a, 82a, 98c, 103a, 110a, 114b, 114c, 121a, 132a, 145a, 151b, 161b, 163b, 166b, 177a, 178c, 185b, 197a

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten: figs. 118a, 181a

Leihgabe der Stadt Bamberg, Staatsgalerie in der Neuen Residenz Bamberg: fig. 107a

Kunstmuseum Basel, photo: Martin Bühler: fig. 12a

Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY: figs. 17a, 17b, 62c, 76a, 91c, 92a, 176b

Besancon, Musée des Beaux-Arts: fig. 149b

© Cliché du M.B.A. de Bordeaux/photographe Lysiane Gauthier: figs. 89a, 142a

Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museums Braunschweig, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen: figs. 115d, 141a

Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten: figs. 22a, 124b, 182b

Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum: figs. 148a, 185d

Iziko Museums, The Old Town House, Michaelis Collection: fig. 122a

Cherbourg, Musée Thomas Henry-Octeville: fig. 140a

The Art Institute of Chicago, Bequest of Chester D. Tripp, 1988.265. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago: fig. 150a

The Art Institute of Chicago, Sophia P. Morton Purchase Fund, 1969.111. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago: fig. 194a

© Christie's Images Limited: figs. 78a, 170a

© The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. Wade Fund 1969.69: fig. 108a

Coburg, Veste Coburg: fig. 77a

Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen: figs. 57b, 60b, 138a, 158a

Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum: figs. 32a, 126a

Photothèque - Musée de Douai: fig. 116c

Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: figs. 4a, 16a, 23a, 176a

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: figs. 70a, 154b

Photo © National Gallery of Ireland: figs. 41c, 136a, 164c, 172a

National Gallery of Scotland: figs. 6b, 157a

Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery: fig. 120a

Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY: fig. 18a

Finsiel/Alinari / Art Resource, NY: figs. 64a, 178a

Frankfurt, Historisches Museum: fig. 184a

Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main: figs. 3b, 85a, 123a

Image courtesy of Reproductiefonds: figs. 10b, 96a

Collectie Croninger Museum, foto John Stoel: figs. 48a, 65a

Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY: figs. 72a, 72c, 115c, 143a

Houston, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation: fig. 57a

Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen: fig. 6c

Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre: figs. 100a, 138c, 161e

Leeuwarden, Fries Museum: fig. 87a

Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden: fig. 25a

Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY: figs. 14a, 20a, 38a, 198b

Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY: fig. 36a

© Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum: fig. 149a

© The National Gallery, London: figs. 93c, 99a, 119a, 165a, 174b

National Portrait Gallery, London: fig. 10a

London, Weiss Gallery: fig. 81a

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: figs. 47a, 129a

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of H.F. Ahmanson and Company, in memory of Howard F. Ahmanson, Photograph © 2006 Museum Associates/LACMA: fig. 55a

Lübeck, St. Anna Museum: fig. 99b

Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, Service Image: figs. 144a, 157c

© Manchester Art Gallery: fig. 153a

Felton Bequest, 1936, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia: fig. 130a

Mosigkau, Schloss Mosigkau, Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz, Bildarchiv: Photo: Heinz Fräysdorf: fig. 21a

Munich, Alte Pinakothek: fig. 35a

© National Trust, Polseden Lacey: fig. 15c

New Orleans Museum of Art: Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Weldon: fig. 117a

New York, Daphne Alazraki: figs. 86a, 125a

Jack Kilgore & Co., Inc., New York: fig. 75c

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 53a

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Funds from various donors, 1956. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 46a

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Archer M. Huntington, in memory of his father, Collis Potter Huntington, 1926. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 15b

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 185a

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts: fig. 34b

The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame: fig. 131a

© Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio, R.T. Miller, Jr., Fund, 1941: fig. 178b

Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet: fig. 2a

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: fig. 161a

Paris, Fondation Custodia: figs. 11a, 102b

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY: figs. 15a, 76b, 84a, 109a, 118b, 132b, 145b, 162a

Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André: fig. 164d

Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci: fig. 77b

Netherlands Office for Art History (RKD): figs. 1a, 57d, 74a, 95a, 104a, 113a, 114a, 130b, 147a, 179a

Rotterdam, Historisch Museum Rotterdam, Historisch Museum, Rotterdam: fig. 190a

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam: figs. 6a, 15d, 18b, 41a, 102a, 159a

Sacramento, E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Crocker Art Museum, E.B. Crocker Collection, Sacramento: fig. 200a

Salzburg, Residenzgalerie: figs. 13a, 166a



Staatliches Museum Schwerin: fig. 70b

Sotheby's: figs. 28a, 37a, 98a, 137a, 155a, 185e

Saint-Omer, musée de l'hôtel Sandelin: fig. 125b

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg: figs. 24a, 151a, 174a

Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm: fig. 44a

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum: figs. 42a, 51a, 93b, 161c

Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie: fig. 96b

The Hague, Instituut Collectie Nederland: fig. 141b

Collection Museum Bredius, The Hague: fig. 82b

Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague: figs. 3a, 14b, 41b, 43a, 54a, 124a

Toledo Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey 1978.57: fig. 29a

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frank P. Wood, 1940: fig. 182a

Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, on loan from the Schönborn collection, Pommersfelden: fig. 116b

Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY: fig. 164b

Turin, Biblioteca Reale: fig. 101a

Collectie Centraal Museum, Utrecht: fig. 138b, 198a

Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht: fig. 49b, 75a

Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts: fig. 132c

Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildende Künste Wien: fig. 94a

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien: figs. 45a, 126b, 180a, 193a

National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, Image © 2006 Board of Trustees, Washington: fig. 163a

National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Image © 2007 Board of Trustees, Washington: fig. 93a

Klassik Stiftung, Weimar: fig. 63a

© 2007 Kunsthau Zürich. All rights reserved: fig. 97a























The Dutch and Flemish paintings in the Bader Collection constitute a corpus of unique quality and focus, built over the past half-century. Its 200 works reveal Alfred Bader's longstanding interest in Rembrandt and the artists in his orbit, as well as in Old Testament themes and challenging iconographical and attributional puzzles.

Roughly half of the Bader Collection already resides at the Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Long-time supporters of the University, Alfred Bader (BSc '45, BA '46, MSc '47) and Isabel Bader (LLD '07) have promised the remainder of the collection as a bequest. This catalogue, representing many years' study by 17th-century specialist David de Witt, provides a comprehensive and scholarly analysis of the Bader Collection's Dutch and Flemish holdings, including works by Rembrandt, Jan Lievens, Willem Drost, Jacob van Ruisdael, Pieter Claesz., Philips Koninck and other luminaries of the Dutch Golden Age, and opens a window onto the life, methods and motivations of one of the truly remarkable art collectors of our era.



Agnes Etherington ART CENTRE

ISBN-10: 1553390946  
ISBN-13: 978-1553390947

